



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



LIBRARY

OF THE

University of California.

No. 11769

Division

Range

Shelf 31
C 811 v. 2

Received December 1876

University of California.

GIFT OF

Charles S. Giff
1876.

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA.



Lith. of Wagner & M. Guzman

The Cardinal Richelieu.
Digitized by Google

A
COMPLETE HISTORY
OF
THE POPES OF ROME,
FROM
SAINT PETER, THE FIRST BISHOP, TO PIUS
THE NINTH, THE PRESENT POPE:
INCLUDING
THE HISTORY
OF
SAINTS, MARTYRS, FATHERS OF THE CHURCH,
RELIGIOUS ORDERS, CARDINALS, INQUISITIONS, SCHISMS,
AND THE GREAT REFORMERS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

LOUIS MARIE DE CORMENIN.

VOL. II

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY
CALIFORNIA

PHILADELPHIA:
J. & J. L. GIHON, No. 98 CHESTNUT STREET,
ONE DOOR ABOVE THIRD.
1851.

BX 955-
C 6.
V. 2

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1860, by
J. & J. L. GIBON,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

THE

HISTORY OF THE POPES.

ALEXANDER THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1254.]

Election of Alexander the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—He protects the mendicant monks—The pope offers the crown of Sicily to the king of England—revolt against Alexander—Sect of the flagellants—The pope undertakes to form a league of Christian princes to resist the Tartars—His death.

DURING the sickness of the pope, Mainfroy finding the occasion favourable, anew declared himself hostile to the court of Rome, and had seized upon Nocera and Fogio, two important places. This sudden blow spread consternation through all minds, and the cardinals who were at Naples wished to retreat immediately towards Campania, in order to proceed to the election of a successor of Innocent. The marquis of Berthold, however, who commanded at Naples, reassured them, and determined them to form a conclave. This time, under the impression of fear, intrigues appeared and disappeared with great rapidity; for on the same day, they proclaimed Rainald Conti sovereign pontiff, by the name of Alexander the Fourth.

This cardinal was the son of Philip de Conti, the brother of Pope Gregory the Ninth, and was descended from the illustrious family of the counts of Segni. He was born in the castle of Jeme, a dependency of the abbey of Sublac, in the diocese of Anagni, where he had lived to the age of forty years as a simple member of the chapter of the canons of the cathedral, when his uncle, the pope, took a fancy to call him to Rome. He went on the call of Gregory the Ninth, and took rank among the cardinals, with the title of bishop of Ostia. The new prelate affected a great application to prayer, practised severe abstinences, and made a great show of humility, which did not, however, prevent him from having flatterers and mistresses.

Become pope, Alexander played well his part, and showed himself worthy to continue the policy of Gregory and Innocent. He was at first occupied in resisting the faction of the Ghibelins, who, under the leading of a valiant knight, named Eoclin, had seized the March of Trevisano, and threatened to invade all Sicily, in defiance of the anathemas of the Holy See. Alexander declared the chief of the rebels the enemy of God, degraded from

his dignities, and deprived of his property, which he gave to Count Alberic, the brother of that lord, for the purpose of arming brother against brother. He then excommunicated the fratricide Mainfroy, and opposed to him the cardinal Octavian Ubaldin, to whom he gave the legation of the kingdom of Sicily, in place of William, who had not been able to maintain himself in Apulia since the death of Pope Innocent. Without stopping to justify his conduct, Mainfroy continued his career of conquest, and advanced to meet Octavian, who had a numerous army, composed of troops badly provisioned and equipped. The legate, instead of fighting, cowardly demanded peace. It was agreed between them, that Mainfroy should abandon the territory of Labour to the pope, and should govern all the rest of the kingdom of Sicily, in the name of his nephew Conradin.

Alexander refused to ratify this treaty, pretending that his legate had outstripped his powers, and that he had made it from necessity in order to save his army; consequently, such an engagement could not be obligatory. Mainfroy, indignant, immediately retook the field at the head of his victorious troops, and threatened to punish the pontiff severely for his breach of faith; the latter, who had discovered that his arms were powerless against such an enemy, sought allies abroad, and offered the crown of Sicily to the young Edmund, second son of the king of England; Jacques Bourcambio, bishop of Bologna, was entrusted with this important mission. On his arrival in Great Britain, the legate convened an assembly of the grandes of the kingdom, and solemnly invested prince Edmund with the royalty of Sicily, by a ring which he placed on his finger in the name of the holy father; he also declared the king of England relieved from his vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, on condition that he would authorise a new crusade against Mainfroy.

As this bull excited violent murmurs among the people, Bourcambio, to put an end to them, assembled the prelates of the kingdom, and endeavoured to induce them to recognise that a pope had the right to absolve from all crimes those who shed their blood in his service, or who succoured him with their money. The English bishops, far from approving such a doctrine, spontaneously rose to cry out anathema upon the pope; they addressed sage remonstrances to the king, beseeching him not to accomplish an enterprise so disastrous as that proposed by Alexander, observing to him that the affairs of Sicily were in a deplorable condition, and that the unworthy pontiff offered him a crown it would be impossible to conquer; and that, besides, supposing that he gained advantages over his enemies, the popes would doubtless pursue him in his turn, as they had pursued the Greek emperors, the French princes and the German sovereigns. Finally, one of them, the archbishop Seval, spoke with so much eloquence, that the prince retracted the word which he had already given to the Roman legate; Alexander furious, against the metropolitan who was the cause of this check, resolved to be revenged on him; he sent him orders to confer the best benefits of his diocese on Italians who did not live in the country, and on his refusal to obey this unjust decree, he excommunicated him, and solemnly deposed him to the sound of the bells with an infamous censure. Seval underwent this persecution with courageous firmness, and contented himself with leaving us in his works several remarkable letters against the tyranny of the Roman court.

If the pontiff was an enemy of virtuous priests, by way of contrast he declared himself to be the protector of debauched monks, that hideous leprosy which for so many centuries still gnaws the people. He published a bull in their favour, which restored to them the privileges of which they had been deprived by his predecessor. At the beginning of this act was found this remarkable preamble: "It is not extraordinary that a pope erases the decrees of those who have preceded him in the apostolic chair, especially when their ordinances are infected with errors, and have been made under the influence of baneful prepossessions or with precipitation."

Some months afterwards he published a second bull, to put an end to the quarrels which had broken out between the preaching brothers and the doctors of Paris, and in which, under a pretext for the good of religion, he modified, of his own authority, the regulations of the university, prescribing to the chancellor of Paris in what manner he should grant licenses, and pointing out to him that he wished him to confer them on an unlimited number of doctors. He further intimated to him an order to reinstate the preaching brothers in the ranks of the professors of the university, and renewed the statutes in relation to the intermission of the courses in cases of insults offered to the monks by the students.

Notwithstanding the injunction of the holy father, the university refused to admit into its bosom the preaching brothers whom it had already expelled. Alexander, to intimidate the university corps, fulminated his anathemas. Nothing shook the resolution of the doctors: they replied to the popes that they had excluded the mendicant monks for ever from their ranks, because they maintained horrible maxims, and they sent to him, in support of their assertions, a monstrous work entitled "The Eternal Gospel." The pope, on examining it, found the doctrines it contained so frightful, that he caused it to be secretly burned to avoid casting reprobation on its authors. It was, on the contrary, on William of Saint Amour, the impugner of the mendicant brothers, that all the pontifical wrath fell; he solemnly excommunicated him and caused all his works to be burned.

Notwithstanding these acts of authority, Alexander was far from ruling in temporal affairs; not only had he been unable to subjugate the Sicilians, but even in Rome the people evinced impatience at the yoke of the Holy See. A violent sedition broke out on the occasion of the imprisonment of Brancaléon, the first senator whom the pope disgraced in order to put one of his favourites in his place; the citizens, incited by an English baker, whom the new dignitary wished to whip with rods, hurled themselves on the guards, took their arms from them, hastened to the prison in which the senator was confined, broke open the doors, and led him in triumph to the capitol. Brancaléon, become all-powerful in consequence of this popular movement, boldly resumed his functions as a magistrate, drove his enemies from Rome, and caused two of the relatives of cardinal Anibaldi, the author of his disgrace, to be strangled. The pope endeavoured to intimidate him by excommunications; but the senator informed him it was an useless effort, since he had purchased from his predecessor the privilege of being anathematised; but that if, however, he continued his juggleries, he would hang him and all his cardinals. This menace alarmed the holy father very much, and as he knew Brancaléon to be a man of action, he escaped from Rome to take refuge with his partizans at Viterba.

Mainfroy, on his part, master of Sicily, the principality of Tarentum, of Apulia, and of the territory of Labour, was solemnly crowned at Palermo, while the valiant Ecclin was pushing his conquests over the domains of the church. Finally, every thing presaged for Italy a termination of its miseries through the abolition of the pontifical power, when the death of William, that phantom of an emperor who had succeeded the unfortunate Conrad in Germany, took place.

This event, by awakening ambition, turned aside the minds of men from their first aim, which was the ruin of the popes, and saved Alexander. Two parties disputed for the empire of Germany, the one chose Richard earl of Cornwall, the brother of the king of

arm against the Greeks to recapture the empire.

The pope replied to him:—"You are, my dear son, the only Christian prince who sincerely compassionates the misfortunes of the church, and who show yourself always ready to aid it. Our thanks are given to you. In the extreme affliction which the loss of Constantinople has caused us, we are happy to learn that in you are placed our hope and our consolation. Already has the emperor, Baldwin the Fourth, embarked for Italy, as well as the ambassadors of Duke Rainier Zeno, the delegates of Venice, and the other Latin republics, all driven in disgrace from the territory of the Greek empire. Hasten, then, to succour these proscribed, not only for the greater glory of your crown, but for the interests of the Holy Land.

"An expedition against Constantinople cannot fail of success, being strengthened by the Latin lords, who are still masters of Achaia, the Morea, and the neighbouring islands, who will join their troops to your army. The Venetians offer for their share the services of their galleys for the passage of the crusaders. On account of all these motives we hasten to reply to you, and we send you our chaplain, Andrew of Spoleto, archdeacon of Naples, on whom you can bestow your entire confidence. We beseech you, my dear son, to be active in sending the men and money whom you destine for this holy enterprise; and we solicit from the prelates of your kingdom a private subsidy for the wants of our see."

Michael Paleologus, apprised of the preparations making against him in the west at the instigation of the pope, immediately determined to take measures to gain time, and to permit him to consolidate his power at Constantinople. As the pretext of schism was the sole apparent cause of the enmity of the court of Rome, he made overtures to the pontiff, proposed to him the reunion of the two churches, and at the same time sent him magnificent presents. Urban was well informed as to the secret intentions of Michael, who, whilst making proposals of peace, was carrying on war with William, prince of Achaia, and with the other lords established in the country: but the sums which were offered him were so large, that his avarice triumphed over reasons of policy; he sacrificed for gold the interests of the Latin princes, accepted the arrangements proposed to him by the emperor, and sent four minor brothers to Constantinople to sign the treaty in his name.

The holy father could the more applaud himself for his policy, since the kingdoms of the west, England, France, and Spain, had sharply refused to give any subsidy for the war. It was impossible for Germany to furnish the least aid to the Holy See, being stripped of men and money by the civil war, which the election of Alphonso of Castile and Richard, earl of Cornwall, had lighted in that country.

At last the metropolitan of Mayence, and

some other German prelates, indignant at the conduct of the pope, determined to constrain him to obedience, and to put an end to the disasters of their country. For this purpose they convened a general diet of the electors. Urban, informed that they wished to bestow the crown on the legitimate heir, by declaring Conradin emperor of the west, immediately sent legates to them, prohibiting them, under penalty of anathema, from choosing that prince. Besides, in order to give new aliment to the fury of the parties, and to augment the disorders, he approved of the election of Alphonso of Castile and Richard of Cornwall, and declared them both to be kings of the Romans, reserving the right of pronouncing between them in regard to the imperial crown until the following year.

Whilst Germany, torn by factions, abandoned to pillage and incendiarism, was expiating in the horrors of civil war its fanaticism for popes and its stupid fidelity to emperors, Mainfroy was giving lively disquiet to Urban. He had already drawn into his party the Genoese, the Pisans, and the Tuscans; already was he approaching the March of Ancona, and with the assistance of the Ghibelines, who were all-powerful in the holy city, had seized upon much territory belonging to the Holy See, when the pope made a new appeal to fanaticism, and preached a crusade against his enemy. A crowd of ruined lords and Italian and French vagabonds, immediately hastened to Viterba, and formed an army which the holy father opposed to the troops of Mainfroy. Whilst he was directing the movements of his bands the Romans made a diversion in favour of the king of Sicily, drove Urban from Viterba, and compelled him to retire to Orvieto. In his flight his treasures were taken by his enemy, and as he had no more money left to pay his crusaders, his army disbanded.

The pope, forced to relinquish the hope of subjugating Mainfroy by the temporal sword, fell back once more on spiritual thunders; the king of Sicily was summoned to appear before the sacred college, to defend himself against a great number of accusations, under penalty of a second excommunication. The latter, tired of the war, and fearful of the dagger of assassins, determined at length to obey the pope, and sent to demand a safe conduct for himself and suite. Urban prescribed that his escort should consist of eight hundred persons, of whom only one hundred should be armed, and that the prince should not remain but eight days on the territories of the Holy See. Mainfroy, suspecting justly that the pope had hostile intentions against his person, refused to surrender at discretion, and towards the close of the year his kingdom was put under an interdict.

All hopes of an arrangement having failed, Urban sent into France, Bartholemew Pignatelli, the metropolitan of Cosenza, a man of war rather than of the church, a traitor who had abandoned the cause of Sicily and sold himself to the pontiff. The object of his em-

bassy was to renew with the king, St. Louis, the negotiations which the great event of the capture of Constantinople had broken off, and which were to place the crown of Sicily on the head of Charles of Anjou, his brother.—Whilst the conditions of this compact were under discussion between the king and the legate, Urban was driven from Orvieto to his new residence, by the citizens themselves,

and although sick, was transported in a litter as far as Perouse, where he died on the 2d of October, 1264.

Shortly before his expulsion from Orvieto, the pontiff had instituted the festival of the holy sacrament of the altar, in accordance with the pretended revelations of two extatic nuns, Juhanna of Mont-Cornillon, and Eva, surnamed the recluse of Liege.

CLEMENT THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1264.]

The history of Guy Fucoldi before his exaltation—He is chosen pope by the name of Clement the Fourth—His sentiments in regard to his family—Grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou—The fanaticism of the crusades spreads through all Christian countries—The young Conradin is excommunicated—Affairs of the Empire—Charles of Anjou causes Conradin to be decapitated at the instigation of the pope—Death of Clement.

GUY FUCOLDI, surnamed the Fat, on account of his excessive *embonpoint*, was born at St. Gilles, in Languedoc. Whilst very young he lost his mother, and was even deprived of the cares of his father, who had entered a convent of Chartreuse, after the death of his wife. The young Guy at first followed the profession of arms, which he soon quitted to embrace a more honourable career—that of the bar. He made such rapid progress, that Durand, the celebrated jurist of the thirteenth century, called him the light or the torch of the law. St. Louis, on the strength of his great reputation, admitted him to his secret councils, and married him to a woman of high distinction. His happiness was further increased by the birth of several children; but as nothing is durable in this world, a violent fever carried off his wife and two young sons in nine days. His despair at this loss was so violent, that he resolved to separate himself from the society of men, and become a priest. He was first made archdeacon of Puy, in Vevay, then bishop of that city, and, finally, metropolitan of Narbonne. Urban made him cardinal bishop of Sabine, to induce him to quit his church and go to Italy. The holy father sent him to England with the title of legate, to excommunicate the barons who had revolted against the king; not being able to land in Great Britain, he had assembled some English prelates at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and fulminated an anathema against the rebel lords, the city of London, and the Cinque Ports, which had refused to receive him; after which he retook his way to Rome.

Guy was in France when he received the news of his election; he hastened to Perouse, disguised as a mendicant brother, in order to avoid falling into the power of the people of Mainfroy, who guarded all the routes; he arrived very luckily, and was consecrated on

the 22d of February, 1265, by the name of Clement the Fourth.

On the day succeeding his consecration, he wrote to one of his nephews a very remarkable letter on nepotism, and which might serve for an example to the popes, his successors, who evinced so much cupidity for their families.

"Several of our relatives and friends," said Clement in his letter, "rejoice in our promotion to the pontificate, because they hope to derive great advantages from it. We, on the contrary, deplore our elevation, because we feel the weight of so high a dignity. That you may know how to conduct yourself, now that we are sovereign pontiff, we warn you, that you should be even more humble. We are unwilling, that you or your brothers, or any of our relatives, should come to us without our order. If you do otherwise, you will force us to send you back, disgraced and humbled. Do not seek to marry your sister more advantageously than you would have done before our exaltation, for we will make no sacrifice for her; on the contrary, if you marry her to the son of a knight, we will give her, as her dowry, three hundred pounds of money; if your pretensions are more elevated, do not hope for a penny from us. We, however, wish that all this should be most secret, and that your mother alone should be informed of it.

"We are unwilling that our relatives should be inflated with pride, in consequence of our great elevation; and we desire that our well beloved daughters, Mabilla and Cecilia, should take as husbands those whom they would have chosen, if we were a mere clerk. Write to Gilia, that she does not leave Suza, and that she keeps to the modest vestments of her old position. We prohibit her from giving any recommendations; for all her requests will be

refused, and will indispose us towards her. If they offer her presents, let her refuse them, to preserve our friendship. Salute your mother and brothers from us. We do not write to you and the other members of our family with the bull, but with the seal of the fisherman, which the popes use in their private business."

Clement the Fourth, in his private conduct, did not belie the sentiments which he had manifested in this letter. A canon of Liege relates, that several persons of the highest nobility having sought in marriage Cecilia, the oldest daughter of the holy father, he replied to them in raillery, "it is not Cecilia whom you would espouse, it is the pope." In fact, as he did not wish to give her a larger dower than her sister, both remained unmarried, and consecrated themselves to God. Antonin, in his chronicle, speaks of a brother of the pope, who was in orders, and whom he made the mere curate of his parish, without being willing to elevate him to a higher dignity. He had such an aversion for those who accumulated benefices, that he compelled his nephew, who possessed three prebends, to resign two. Finally, in the course of his reign, neither his relatives, nor princes, nor kings, could ever change his opinions on this subject.

Unfortunately, these beautiful traits as a private man disappeared before his political crimes. After the example of his predecessors, he showed himself to be insatiable in his love of rule, and implacable in his vengeance.

Scarcely seated on the throne, he determined to subjugate Sicily to the court of France; and, regardless of the incontestable rights of Conradin, and of the sentiments of equity which made it a duty not to despoil an heir and especially a pupil, he declared that the Roman church had full power over the kingdom of Sicily, and sold it to Charles, count of Anjou and Provence. The bull of investiture was dated on the 26th of February, 1265. It imposed the following conditions on the new king: "All the moveable or immovable goods taken from churches or priests shall be restored to them by Charles of Anjou; the elections for the metropolitan and other churches, shall be entirely free; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall be reserved entire, with liberty to pursue appeals to the court of Rome; clergymen shall not be bound to appear before a secular judge, and shall not be burthened with taxes or collections; finally, the king shall not claim any right over the vacant churches, and shall leave all the benefices to the Holy See. He shall also restore to the inhabitants of the kingdom the liberties they possessed under William the Second."

Charles of Anjou, urged on by the desire of possessing a crown, acceded to all these conditions, and determined his brother, Louis the Ninth, to furnish him with money to conquer his new kingdom. The prince made his preparations for the war, without loss of time; and after the festival of Easter, he embarked from Marseilles with a thousand knights, and sailed for Ostia, where he arrived very op-

portunately. From that city Charles went to Rome, where the citizens decreed to him the title of first senator, a thing which might have embroiled him with the pope, since Clement, constantly looking to the sovereignty of Rome, was unwilling to permit so great a prince to possess such an authority in that city for life. Means were happily found to reconcile every thing, by obtaining from Charles of Anjou a declaration by which he pledged himself not to accept the title of senator but for three years. He continued, however, to dwell at Rome, and even installed himself in the palace of the Lateran. The holy father still took umbrage at the choice which he had made of his residence, and wrote to him that if he did not immediately abandon the pontifical palace, he would immediately retract the crown of Sicily. Charles, who had need of the pope, obeyed this new injunction. He was, besides, magnificently recompensed for it. Clement sent four cardinals as deputies to him, who gave him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, by a standard.

During this year the new king fought no battle; he remained in Rome, waiting the arrival of the troops which he levied in France with the money of the faithful, as well as the bands of crusaders whom the cardinal of St. Cecilia enrolled for the crusade against Mainfroy, and against the Saracens of Nocera, his allies.

At this period of fanaticism, the fury of the crusades had seized on all minds; the holy war was preached every where; in Spain, against the Moorish kings of Murcia and Grenada; in Hungary, in Poland, in Bohemia, in Styria, in Austria, in Carinthia, and in the March of Brandenburg, against the Tartars; in England, against the rebel lords, who, in defiance of the anathemas of Rome, made war with the king; in France, crusaders were recruited for Palestine and Sicily; thus all Europe was in arms, and the popes, those vicars of a God of peace, urged on millions of men to wars of extermination.

Charles of Anjou, having finally assembled a formidable army, marched against his competitor, whom he met near Beneventum; the French, already defeated on several points, were beginning to fly, when the death of Mainfroy, who was slain in the *melee*, changed the face of the combat. The Italians gave way in their turn, and were soon in full rout. This victory annihilated the party of the Ghibelines; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the sovereign pontiff, at the same time that Sicily recognised Charles of Anjou as its king.

Clement, become all-powerful in Europe, sought to extend his sway over Asia; for this purpose he wrote the following letter to Michael Paleologus: "We invite you, prince, to enter into the holy league against the infidel, after the example of the king of France, who, for the second time, takes the cross with the princes his sons. Do not think by a subterfuge to disobey us; and do not say that you fear lest during your absence your empire should be attacked by the Latins, for it is easy to guarantee you against that danger, by

returning with your subjects into the bosom of the Roman church; if, on the contrary, you persist in schism, and refuse your concurrence in the conquest of the Holy Land, know that nothing shall protect you from the vengeance of the crusaders."

Michael Paleologus appeared convinced by the reasoning of the holy father; and as he could not hope to struggle with advantage against the forces with which he was threatened, he sought to gain time by sending his ambassadors to Rome to ask for authority to convene a general council in a city of the Greek empire, in order to bring about a reunion of the two churches. Clement hastened to grant the required permission, and sent by the ambassadors a confession of faith, which the Greek prelates were to accept without examination, in order to put an end to the schism between the East and West.

During this same year (1267) the holy father issued a bull, which gave to the Holy See predominance over all thrones, and rendered it the sovereign disposer of churches and all ecclesiastical benefices. As he feared, however, to raise a too formidable opposition by immediately declaring himself the master of the property of the clergy, he at first reserved to himself the right to fill vacant benefices. This decree, a masterpiece of audacity and knavery, terminated thus: "Since the free disposal of the goods of the clergy belongs entirely to the pope, so that he can dispose of them as he pleases when they are vacant, and even take them from those who possess them to give them to others, ancient custom has, however, reserved to the holy father more particularly the power to dispose of them when they are vacant. It is on that account we approve of this custom, and order it to be maintained."

In giving this slight modification to his plan, Clement set at work that machiavelian policy which knows how to tighten the chains of slavery without making the people revolt. If he had included in his decree that the disposal of benefices rightly belonged to him, and that he could dispose of them at his will, all Christendom would have exclaimed against the exaggerated extension which the pontifical authority was assuming; in presenting this proposition in the form of a doubt, all received it without remarking on the consequences which might flow from it.

Clement, who had foreseen all, did not delay to avail himself of the new right which he had attributed to himself, to the prejudice of ancient privileges and holy canons. He maintained that the archdeaconate of Sens was one of the cases specified in his decree, and he prohibited Girard de Rampillon, to whom St. Louis had given that church, from taking possession of it before he had received authority from Rome, and had paid for the rights of investiture. This first step taken, he continued to walk in the same path, and ruled in reality all the clergy of the kingdom which had the imprudence to adopt his bull.

In Germany the wars had ceased, and the

people commenced breathing, when Conradin attained his fifteenth year. Urged on by the counsels of the nobles, the young son of the emperor Conrad caused himself to be proclaimed king of Sicily, passed over into Italy, and placed himself at the head of the Ghibelines to contend for his rights with Charles of Anjou. The holy father, alarmed at this levy of armed men, prohibited Conradin from proceeding further, under penalty of excommunication, and addressed the same threat to the cities and lords who had ranged themselves under his banner. All these bulls not preventing Conradin from establishing his lieutenants in Tuscany and appointing governors for the cities of Sicily, the pope declared him excommunicated, deprived of the throne of Jerusalem, incapable of possessing any other, and deprived of all the fiefs which he held of the church; he relieved his vassals from the oath of fidelity, and placed his states under interdict.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Holy See to destroy the party of the young prince, the number of his partizans augmented in Italy; even Rome, which had before given so brilliant a reception to Charles of Anjou, declared for Conradin: The following was the cause of it; Henry of Castile, the son of Saint Ferdinand, and the brother of king Alphonso, surnamed the Astrologer, having quarrelled with this latter, left Spain and went to live with the king of Tunis. He remained among the infidel for four years, and, according to some historians, had even renounced Christianity. When he learned of the new fortunes of Charles of Anjou, his near relative, he left his place of exile, accompanied by several brave Spanish knights, and went to offer his services to Charles. The latter received him with great distinction, and on his departure for Rome, appointed him senator. As soon as Henry had the sovereign power in the holy city, like all those who are invested with too great authority, he abused it; he broke open the doors of the churches, seized the sacred vases and precious ornaments, and pillaged the rich churches of St. John of the Lateran, St. Paul, St. Sabas, St. Bazis on Mount Aventine, St. Sabinus, and a great number of others.

After these achievements against the clergy, as he feared the vengeance of the priests he wished to create assistance for himself, and declared for Conradin, drawing the Romans with him into this revolt. But the punishment was not delayed. Three days afterwards, Clement published the following bull against the holy city: "Since we have excommunicated Conradin, that sprig of an accursed race, the declared enemy of the church, one of his partizans, a child of malediction, Galvan la Lance, has dared to enter Rome, displaying the banners of the prince. And what heightens the infamy of such an action is, that the citizens received him with pomp, have admitted him to their public games, and installed him in the palace of the Lateran. After this, having assembled in the capitol, solemnly de-

clared themselves in favour of Conradin, on the instigation of Henry of Castile their senator, of Guy de Montefeltro his lieutenant, and of several other officers. We excommunicate all these heretics, who have urged on the people to revolt against our authority."

This anathema being fulminated, the holy father, to distract the party of the young prince, resolved to rekindle the civil war in Germany by naming another emperor. He consequently caused the ambassadors of Richard of England and of Alphonso of Castile, to appear before him, both recognised kings of the Romans by Urban the Fourth, his predecessor, under the provision that they should conform to the decision which the Holy See would give after the delay of a year.

Henry, the oldest son of Richard, and Rodolph of Poggibonzi, presented themselves before Clement, the first in the name of the king of England, the other in the name of the king of Castile, to set forth their respective rights to the imperial crown. Henry bore with him insignificant titles of genealogy, by which he pretended to establish the legitimacy of the rights of his father upon Germany; but Rodolph did not even take the pains to produce any, saying, that the justice of the claim of Alphonso was too evident to need proofs. He, however, claimed the right to examine witnesses in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, if his assertions were doubted. Clement declared that inquiry was necessary, and fixed on the cities of Paris, Frankfort, Burgos, and Bologna, as the places of meeting at which commissioners should try the truth of the titles of the pretenders. He reserved always, as a principal condition, that, above all, the two sovereigns should be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, as kings of the Romans, by the archbishop of Cologne.

The term for the inquiry having expired, William, the archdeacon of Rochester, presented himself before the pope, claiming, in the name of Richard of England, that the imperial crown should be definitely adjudged to him, since the delegates of King Alphonso had not attended at the places of conference. The Spanish ambassador objected, because the bishop of Silva, entrusted with the inquiry, having been killed in Tuscany by the Ghibelines, and Rodolph of Poggibonzi having fallen sick in a besieged place, it had been impossible for the king of Castile to produce the titles which established the legitimacy of his rights, and for these reasons he claimed a fresh delay. Clement, whose party had been strengthened in the interval, did not judge it prudent to hasten to confer the imperial dignity on a too powerful defender, and appeared to yield to the urgency of the Castilian ambassador, by deferring the decision of this important cause to the following year.

Discontented at this delay, the Germans, who had hoped to see the termination of their disasters, resolved to convoke a diet to choose themselves a chief capable of defending them against the Holy See. Clement was unfortunately advised of this determination, and im-

mediately wrote to them that he prohibited them, under penalty of excommunication and interdict, to proceed to a new election.

In the midst of all these contests Conradin pursued his way, and continued his march across Lombardy and Tuscany, to reach Rome, where he was proclaimed emperor by the senator Henry of Castile and the people. He then went into Apulia, and offered battle to the troops of King Charles. The two armies met under the walls of Taglia Cozzo. The combat commenced in the morning and lasted until night, and victory still remained faithful to Charles of Anjou. Conradin, the young duke of Austria, and the senator Henry, compelled to abandon the field of battle, took refuge in the states of the church, where soon, through the efforts of the pope, their retreat was discovered. They were sold and led prisoners to Naples.

Charles having consulted the holy father as to what he should do with these unfortunate prisoners, Clement replied: "The life of Conradin is the death of Charles, and the death of Conradin is the life of Charles." This reply decided the fate of the prince.

A council was assembled as a matter of form, in order that the prisoners should be tried and condemned to death as guilty of lèse majesty. This tribunal was composed of deputies from provinces the most devoted to the Holy See; yet among these catiff or sold magistrates there was found but one who dared to pronounce the penalty of death against the unfortunate who came to claim the heritage of his father. Scarcely had this iniquitous judge pronounced this terrible sentence, when Robert of Flanders, the son-in-law of Charles himself, stretched him dead at his feet, "for having," he said, "desired so harsh a punishment on so noble and gentle a lord." Notwithstanding this violent protest, the condemnation was supported by order of the conqueror.

Before the execution of his sentence, the young Conradin was delivered up to two monks, dragged through the park of the castle to the foot of a tomb, despoiled of his clothes, and beaten by these fanatics with loaded thongs, in expiation of the anathema he had incurred. He was then borne, all bleeding, upon the scaffold erected in the great square of Naples, and beheaded, with his cousin, who was scarcely seventeen years old. Historians say that the duke of Austria was executed first, and that Conradin seized his head and received the mortal blow whilst embracing it.

Thus perished, at Naples, in the year 1268, by the hands of the executioner, the last scion of the house of Suabia, which had struggled so long and in so fatal a way against the ambition of the popes. Lancia and Gherardesca, counsellors of the young prince, were beheaded on the same scaffold, as well as the other victims designated by the Holy See. Henry of Castile was surrendered to Charles by the abbot of Monte Cassino, from whom he had demanded an asylum, and the

king reserved him to frighten the Italian lords; he shut him up in an iron cage like a wild beast, and thus led him through all the cities of Sicily.

Clement did not long survive Conradin. On

the 29th of November, of the same year, death struck him in his turn. This pontiff was, it is true, distinguished by extreme regularity of morals, but his political crimes must class him among the most cruel despots.

VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1269.]

Division among the cardinals—St. Louis establishes the pragmatic sanction, and refuses to serve as arbitrator between the Greek and Latin clergy—Six cardinals appointed to choose a pope.

AFTER the death of Clement the Fourth, the cardinals could not choose a new pope, each of them personally intriguing for the honours of the pontificate. The result was, a great scandal for the church and a vacancy in the Holy See for three years.

During this interregnum the fanatical Louis the Ninth placed himself at the head of a new crusade, and prepared to go to combat the infidel. Before, however, embarking for the Holy Land, he was desirous of taking suitable measures to assure the tranquillity of the Gallican church during his absence. For this purpose he published the decree called the Pragmatic Sanction. "In future the metropolitan and other churches shall exercise entire freedom of election; simony shall be proscribed from the kingdom; promotions, collations, provisions, and disposals of prelatships, dignities, and other benefices or ecclesiastical offices whatsoever, shall be made and given according to the disposal of the common law, of the councils and institutions of the ancient fathers; the liberties, franchises, and privileges accorded by kings to churches and monasteries shall be maintained; finally, no impost or exaction ordered by Rome shall force the Gallic churches to give money to the Holy See, without the approval of the sovereign."

Michael Paleologus, informed of the prepa-

rations of king Louis, and fearing lest he should unite with Charles of Anjou, his brother, to drive him from Constantinople, hastened to reconcile himself with the Latin clergy, by sending large sums to the cardinals. At the same time he sent ambassadors to king Louis, beseeching him, by the blood of Jesus Christ, to become the arbiter between the Greek and Latin churches, in order to put an end to the schism. The king refused to act, and wrote to the sacred college to appoint commissioners, who should discuss the mode of re-establishing union between the east and the west.

Although turned aside from his first purpose, Louis the Ninth nevertheless embarked with his troops, and landed at Tunis, with the design of constraining the inhabitants of that city to become converts to Christianity. This extravagant enterprise completely failed; the plague broke out in the camp of the crusaders; the prince himself was attacked with it, and died miserably beneath the walls of the place.

The cardinals had assembled at Viterba for three years, without being able to choose a pontiff; they finally assembled in conclave, and gave their full powers to six of their body, who, after eight days of violent disputes, proclaimed the archdeacon Thealdus sovereign pontiff, by the name of Gregory the Tenth.

GREGORY THE TENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1271.]

History of Gregory before his pontificate—His efforts for a crusade—Negotiations with Michael Paleologus for a reunion of the two churches—Excommunication of Guy de Montfort—The pope causes Rudolph of Hapsburg to be chosen emperor—Council of Lyons—Constitution in relation to the election of popes—Interview between Gregory and the emperor—Return of the holy father to Italy—He dies at Arezzo.

THEALDUS, or Thibald, was of Placenza, and of the powerful family of the Visconti; he had been a canon of Lyons, then arch-

deacon of Liege, finally a cardinal and legate of the Holy See, as the historians Ricordanus Malespina, and Joannes Villanius affirm; con-

tradicting in that the deed of election, which designates him by the title of archdeacon. Whatever he was, authors are agreed on this, that he was very ignorant of both profane and sacred literature.

After his election, the cardinals addressed to him, at Saint Jean d'Acre, where he was legate, the decree which conferred the tiara upon him, beseeching him to hasten his return to Italy. The new pope had no occasion to be urgently solicited to quit the Holy Land with which he was disgusted. He embarked immediately for Brindes, on the 1st of January, 1272. During his sojourn in that city he received an embassy of notables, who besought him to re-enter Rome and instal himself in the old pontifical residence, with his court, which Gregory refused to do. He went to Orvieto, where the cardinals awaited him to proceed to the formalities of the pierced chair and the ceremonies of the consecration.

The holy father then thought of the means to strengthen his authority over the churches of the east and west: and to arrive at his end he discovered there was nothing better than to preach crusades in imitation of his predecessors. For this purpose he wrote to the inhabitants of Pisa, Marseilles, and Venice, that they should furnish armed galleys for the Holy Land, and at the same time he sent legates into every kingdom to collect alms and pious legacies. He also recommenced the negotiations opened with Michael Paleologus, and sent to him the cordelier, Jerome of Arcoli, the most skilful monk of the period, who afterwards arrived in his turn at the pontificate.

Whilst the Roman legate was treating with the emperor, to urge him to approve, without any previous examination, of the profession of faith which Clement the Fourth had prescribed to him, secret agents prevented the Venetians from renewing the truce agreed upon between them and the Greeks, and induced them to send the ambassadors of Michael away from Venice. This sudden blow alarmed the emperor. To allay the storm, he submitted to the pope, and persecuted the Greek prelates so vigorously that he forced them to abjure the schism, in a general council which the pope had convened.

During the following year, Italy was excited by a horrible assassination committed by Guy de Montfort on the person of Henry of Germany. Edward, king of England, was obliged to return from the Holy Land, and go to Orvieto, where the pope resided with his court, to demand justice against the murderer, whom he had dared to take under his protection. Gregory, fearing the wrath of so powerful a prince, determined to fulminate this sentence of anathema against the assassin. "We curse Guy de Montfort, and we permit every one to seize him, but not to kill or mutilate him. We order the governors of provinces to arrest him, and we place under interdict all places which shall afford him an asylum. We prohibit all Christians from lending him any aid, or from having any

communication with him; and, finally, we absolve or dispense his vassals or subjects from the oath of fidelity they may have taken to him."

Guy de Montfort, finding no more safety in his domains, waited for the departure of the king of England, and came immediately to make his submission to the pope, without any clothes on but his shirt, and having a cord around his neck; in this condition he cast himself at his feet, and besought the holy father with tears to take off the sentence of anathema pronounced against him. Gregory, to avoid appearing as his accomplice in this farce, surrendered him to the king of Sicily to retain him as a prisoner during the rest of his life; he, however, some time afterwards, permitted the patriarch of Aquileia to absolve Montfort from the ecclesiastical sentences, and reinstated him in his dignities.

During the following year, Gregory quitted Orvieto and went to Florence, into which he made his entry on the 8th of June, 1273. He was accompanied by Charles of Anjou and Baldwin, the titular emperor of Constantinople. His residence at Florence was so agreeable to him, that he determined to pass the summer there, and chose for his residence the palace of a rich merchant of the family of the Mozzi. Any other than a priest would have shown himself grateful for the generous hospitality which he received; but Gregory only thought of laying the imprudent city which had opened its gates to him under contribution. He availed himself of the divisions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, to lay an imposition of forty thousand marks sterling, which each party was to pay yearly to the Holy See in remembrance of the peace, of which the pope pretended he was the mediator. Unhappily, some turbulent spirit destroyed the intentions of the holy father, and openly accused him of avarice. Nothing more was necessary to break off the negotiations, and Gregory was compelled to quit the city, mortified and humbled at seeing his hypocrisy unmasked. He avenged himself of this affront by lanching an interdict upon Florence. He then went to Placenza, from whence he wrote to the German princes that they must fill the imperial throne without delay, if they did not wish him to appoint a king himself. The electors immediately assembled at Frankfort, and proclaimed Rudolph, of Hapsburg, king of Germany.

After this appointment the holy father was engaged in convening a general council, to remedy the abuses which had crept into the church, and which were such that Gregory wrote to the bishop of Liege: "We are informed, lord bishop, that you have taken an abbess of the order of St. Benedict as a concubine; and that, in a debauch, you boasted of having had, in fourteen months, twenty-two children by fourteen different mistresses. We know that in one of your episcopal residences you keep a seraglio of nuns; and that, alone with these daughters of Satan, you abandon yourself to debaucheries, such as nothing in

pagan history can give us an idea of. We have been informed, that after the death of an abess, you have broken the canonical election of the nun designated to succeed her, in order to give the abbey to one of your daughters, who was at the same time one of your mistresses. Finally, not content with despoiling churches and convents, you dare to sell the ecclesiastical orders and places; you protect robbers and assassins; and you never appear at the altar."

Lyons having been designated as the place at which the assembly was to be held, Gregory went thither at the appointed time, and opened the sessions on the 7th of March, 1274, in the cathedral of St. John. Tartar envoys, ambassadors from all the courts of Europe, as well as the elite of the clergy of France, Germany, England, and Spain assisted at the council. Even a king, the sovereign of Arragon, came to be crowned by the pope.

In the first sitting, Gregory explained the reasons for the convocation of so great a number of prelates; he dwelt particularly on the necessity of publishing a new crusade, and of bringing about promptly the reunion of the Latin and Greek churches, and of reforming the morals of the clergy of the West. In the second sitting he summoned each metropolitan, and claimed from them a tenth of their revenues, which no one dared refuse. In the third sitting, the king of Arragon besought the pope to consecrate him, without exacting from him the tribute which his father had promised Innocent the Third. Upon the refusal of the holy father to agree to his request, he left the assembly and returned to his kingdom.

They were then engaged with the affairs of the East. The ambassadors of Michael Paleologus and the Greek patriarch were placed on the right of the pontifical throne. They addressed a long discourse to the assembly, in which they treated of the question of the schism, and pledged themselves to accept the faith of the Roman church and be submissive to the Holy See. Gregory then caused the letter of Michael to be publicly read, in which he was called sovereign pontiff, oecumenical pope, and father of all Christians. Finally, the grand logothetes, George Acropolitus, took, in the name of the emperor, his oath of abjuration.

On the following day Gregory decreed a constitution in relation to the election of pontiffs. The following was the tenor of this remarkable bull. "After the death of the popes, we order the cardinals who are present in the city in which the apostolical court is held, to wait for the absent for ten days only, before assembling in conclave. This time of delay having expired, they must assemble in the pontifical palace, keeping with them but a single servant. We enjoin on them all to lodge in the same room, without any interior separation of walls or curtains to conceal them, even when satisfying the laws of nature. This room shall be closed on all sides from the exterior, so that it shall be impossible for any one to come in or go out; there shall only

be left a single window, fifteen feet from the floor, through which to pass their food. We prohibit every one from speaking to the cardinals, or addressing messages to them in writing, during the duration of a conclave.

"If, after three days of deliberation, the pope shall not have been chosen, there shall only be served up to the conclavists a single dish for dinner, and but one for supper. Five days afterwards, if the election has not yet terminated, they shall only receive bread, wine, and water until the sovereign pontiff shall be finally proclaimed.

"During the duration of the elections all entertainments of the cardinals shall be suppressed, as well as the other revenues which they receive from the church or the apostolical chamber.

"Those who shall leave the conclave without the apparent cause of sickness, shall not be permitted to return to it: those who shall present themselves after the opening of the deliberations, shall also be excluded.

"When a pope shall die away from the city of his residence, the cardinals shall assemble in the episcopal city of the territory in which he shall have deceased, and the conclave shall be held in the house of the bishop, or a suitable dwelling. The lord or the magistracy of the city shall cause that which has been prescribed to be scrupulously observed, without adding any more severity, under penalty of excommunication, interdict, and all the censures of the church.

"Finally, they shall make no agreement, nor pledge, nor engagement among themselves, under penalty of nullity; and they shall proceed in good faith, without prejudice or passions, to the election of the pontiff."

This electoral constitution excited great opposition on the part of the cardinals, but all their intrigues for its suppression failed before the resolute firmness of Gregory.

In the last sitting of the council, the pope declared the assembly dissolved, and occupied himself exclusively with preparations for the success of the new crusade, and with levelling the obstacles which retarded the execution of his plans. He first wrote to the king of Castile, that he definitely recognised Rudolph of Hapsburg as king of the Romans, and ordered him to abandon his pretensions to the imperial crown. He then wrote to Rudolph to prepare for the crusade, in order to render himself worthy of receiving the investiture at his hands.

Alphonso of Castile refused to obey, and immediately went to the pope at Lyons, to reproach him with his perfidy. Threats, like promises, could not change the determination of Gregory, and the prince was obliged to return, as he came, into his kingdom. All divisions were not, however, extinguished in Germany, so that the king of Castile did not the less continue his intercourse with his partizans, and he even used the formularies and seal, in accordance with the usages of the emperors, in his correspondence with the lords and prelates of Germany.

Gregory, to put an end to the scandal of this revolt against his authority, wrote to the metropolitan of Seville, to summon the king, in the presence of witnesses, to desist from his pretensions, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures. This threat had the result which the holy father anticipated. Alphonso renounced the empire; and to recompense him, the pope permitted him to levy on his subjects a dime in silver, to defray the expenses of the war declared against the Moors.

Thus were terminated the divisions which had desolated Germany for so many years.

The pope then went to Lausanne, where Rudolf of Hapsburg, with his wife and children, waited for him; he took the oath between the hands of Gregory, and pledged himself to preserve all the property and all the rights of the Roman church; to furnish it with assistance to recover the domains which had been wrested from it, and particularly the crown of Sicily, which the holy father wished to retake from Charles of Anjou. He promised to publish an edict, by which he should leave the chapters of the churches of his kingdoms at full and entire liberty in the election of prelates; prohibiting his officers from seizing, in his name, on the property of deceased ecclesiastics, or of vacant prebends and bishoprics. He recognised the right of appeals to the Holy See, and promised to receive from the Romans no office nor dignity which should give him the least power in the holy city, nor over the vassals of the Roman

church. Finally, he took the cross, and swore he would depart for the Holy Land at the first bidding of the pope.

It is remarkable, that the chiefs of the church, since the close of the eleventh century, have always adopted the same policy, which was to show great zeal to reconquer the Holy Land, in order to strengthen more surely their temporal authority.

The conference of Lausanne being terminated, Gregory returned into Italy, and arrived at Milan on the 12th of November, 1275. From thence he continued his route by the way of Florence, but without wishing to enter that city, under the pretext that it was under interdict. As the Arno, however, was swollen by rains, and could not be crossed at a ford, he was compelled to retrace his steps to cross the river over a bridge; he then took off the censures pronounced against the city, and gave his blessing to all those whom he found on his way. But as soon as he thought himself out of danger, he changed his attitude and language, turned himself fiercely on his horse, and stretching out his arms in the direction of Florence, sent this anathema to it—"Cursed city, I devote thee to eternal damnation, for it is of thee that the psalmist wrote."

Gregory pursued his journey as far as Arezzo; but he was there attacked with a violent fever, which carried him off, on the 12th of January, 1276. He was buried in the church of St. Donatus.

INNOCENT THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1276.]

History of Innocent before his pontificate—His election—He re-establishes peace in Italy—His toleration—He removes the censures pronounced by his predecessors—His death.

INNOCENT the Fifth, before his election, was called Peter of Tarentaise, from the place of his birth, a small village of Burgundy, situated on the borders of Iseria. Having entered, when very young, into the order of preaching friars, he soon became one of the most skilful doctors of his order; his talents caused him to be raised to the archiepiscopal see of Lyons, and then to that of Ostia. Onuphus Pauvini says that he even held the place of grand penitentiary during the last pontificate.

Ten days after the death of Gregory, the cardinals assembled in conclave, in conformity with the regulations published at the council of Lyons, and chose as his successor Peter of Tarentaise.

The new pope went immediately to Rome, and was crowned in the church of St. Peter, after which he turned his attention to the quarrels which agitated Italy, in order to put an end to them. He first sent two legates into Tuscany, with the ambassadors of Charles of Anjou, to reconcile the inhabitants of Lucca

and Pisa. He then took off from the Florentines the censures pronounced against them by his predecessor. Finally, his tolerant spirit led him to send nuncios to Michael Paleologus, to obtain the confirmation of the deed of reunion of the Greek and Latin churches.

The cardinals were not long in discovering that they had committed a great error in choosing a simple and tolerant pope, who only desired the good of the people. Thus they hastened to repair it, and according to the expression of Bernard Guido, "this beautiful flower suddenly withered away."

Innocent the Fifth died of poison, and was interred on the 17th of June, 1276, in the church of St. John the Lateran. Charles of Sicily assisted at his funeral ceremonies.

It is truly strange in the history of the church, that among the small number of really virtuous popes who have occupied the throne of the apostle, there is not counted a single one who did not die after a short apparition on the Holy See; and the assassins have almost always been cardinals and monks.

ADRIAN THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1276.]

Intrigues in the conclave—The cardinal Ottobon de Fiesca falls sick—He is chosen pontiff—He revokes the constitution of the conclave established by Gregory the Tenth—He dies before his consecration.

AFTER the death of Innocent, the cardinals assembled in conclave, and remained shut up for seventeen days without being able to agree upon the election of a new pontiff. In accordance with the constitution of Gregory, from the fifth night they gave them only bread. Notwithstanding the severity of this regimen, they would doubtless have still longer prolonged the conclave, if Ottobon of Fiesca, a cardinal deacon, had not fallen grievously sick. They united all voices on the dying man, and proclaimed him sovereign pontiff, on the express condition that he would revoke the constitution of Gregory. The sick man consented to all that was demanded of him, and was immediately installed in the pontifical chair by the name of Adrian the Fifth.

On the next day the new pope revoked the constitution of Gregory the Tenth concerning the conclave,—not to fulfil the promise he had made, since by the very terms of the constitution itself he would have been freed from it, but from a motive more grave than the religion of an oath. Rainaldus maintains, that the holy father had obtained proof that the cardinals had poisoned him before voting for him, to put an end to their forced fast, and

that his reign should not be of long duration.

Adrian, a victim to the sacerdotal ambition, restrained by the constitution of Gregory, wished to prevent, for the future, the renewal of like assassinations, and broke the rules of the conclave. The unfortunate pontiff knew his murderers so well, that he said to his relatives, who had come together to compliment him on his election, "You had better have come before my election: the cardinal was in good health; whilst now, the conclavists have made a pope a dying man."

Adrian was not consecrated a bishop, nor even ordained priest. He had time, however, to write some letters to the faithful in the Holy Land, to raise their courage, by announcing that the crusaders were ready to depart for Palestine.

As his sickness became more and more severe, he wished to change the air, and gave orders to be transported from Rome to Viterba; but, at the moment his litter was passing the gates of that last city, he expired. He was buried in the church of the Minor Brothers, on the 18th of August, 1276. His tomb exists to our days.

JOHN THE TWENTY-FIRST, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1276.]

Divisions among the cardinals—The inhabitants of Viterba constrain them to enforce the constitution of Gregory the Tenth—The election of Pierre Julien by the name of John the Twenty-first—Commencement of his pontificate—Charles of Anjou does homage to the holy father for his estates in Sicily—John intrudes himself as an arbiter between the kings of France and Castile—He is crushed to death by the fall of a part of a wall.

AFTER the death of Adrian, the Holy See remained vacant for twenty-eight days. At length the cardinals assembled in the palace of Viterba, not in conclave, but as a mere assembly, to proceed to the revocation of the constitution of Gregory the Tenth. Despairing of putting an end to the ambitious views of their colleagues, the wisest among them declared their determination to retire to their bishoprics, without making a pontiff. This resolve was soon known in the city; and, as the inhabitants of Viterba feared the consequences of a schism, they immediately assem-

bled before the episcopal palace, with threats of death to the cardinals.

This manifestation was brought about by the procurers and other patricians of the court of Rome, who had come to Viterba to supervise the election of the pope; and who, aware of the ambition of the cardinals, knew that they would constantly raise obstacles to the elevation of a pontiff, as soon as they should be at liberty. They then went to the cathedral, in which these prelates announced that they would solemnly read the revocation of the constitution of Gregory the Tenth; and,

when the metropolitan and his assistants appeared to publish it, they threw themselves upon them, tore the document from the hands of the patriarch, and drove him away with blows. After this scene of violence, the crowd went to the episcopal palace and broke open the doors. They then seized on the cardinals and shut them up in the conclave, forcing them to proceed to the election of a pope. Under the inspiration of fear, Pierre Julien, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, was chosen on the first ballot, and received the name of John the Twenty-first.

This pontiff is counted by some chronologists as the twentieth of that name; the last pontiff John the Nineteenth having died in 1033, and the anti-pope John the Twentieth not occupying a place in the order of the chiefs of the church. According to other historians, all of them blind partizans of the Roman church, he is counted as the twenty-first of the name of John—they reinstating the popess Joan in her chronological place, by the name of John the Eighth.

The new pope was originally from Lisbon, where he had taken the four degrees, which caused him, in the style of that age, to be called the universal clerk; he had, however, applied himself especially to the study of medicine, and a very bad work on therapeutics called "The Treasure of the Poor," which is still in the Vatican, is attributed to him.

As soon as he was consecrated, John revoked the constitution of the conclave, by publishing a bull which is cited by Rainaldus; at the same time he gave orders to arrest the persons who had committed violence on the cardinals before his election, and caused them to appear before a commission especially appointed to try them, declaring all who should protest against the competency of the tribunal anathematised. He then wrote to Charles of Anjou, that if he wished to preserve his relations of amity with the Holy See, he must do homage for his kingdom on the conditions dictated by Clement, especially in regard to the order of the succession. The king of Sicily, whose authority was not well affirmed, went speedily to the holy father, and took the oath of liege homage to him. In the following year John was desirous of reviving the plan of the crusades, interrupted by the death of the last popes; and as the disputes between Philip the Hardy, king of France, and Al-

phonso, king of Castile, might degenerate into a terrible war and retard the consequent execution of his designs, he sent legates to re-establish concord between the two princes.—In case the two sovereigns should persist in their disputes, the delegates were instructed to represent to them that the council of Lyons had ordered a general peace among all the people of Christendom, under penalty of excommunication and interdict, and to launch an anathema against their persons and kingdoms, if they did not immediately accept the pope as the arbiter of their quarrels. This menace produced its effect; Philip and Alphonso were reconciled.

John also sent ambassadors to the court of Rudolph, to claim the realization of the promises which he had made concerning the holy war. From thence his legates proceeded as far as the residence of the Khan of the Tartars, to achieve the conversion of that people. Other mandatories from the court of Rome went to Hungary to put an end to the civil wars which were depopulating that kingdom and depriving the Holy See of the succour of their armies: and, finally, an embassy sent to Constantinople was instructed to summon the Greek emperor to confirm the reunion of the two churches by a solemn act of approval.

He who had displayed this prodigious activity, and in the course of a single year, executed so many schemes, was not the pontiff, but the cardinal John Gaëtan, who directed all the business of the Holy See: Martin Polonais, Henry Stero, Ptolomæus, Lucensis, Bernard Guy, Platinus, Naucier, and many other historians, agree in representing John the Twenty-first as the most of a nullity of any pope who had ever been seated in the apostolical chair. If nature had done nothing for his mind, it had, by way of compensation, prodigiously developed his body; thus trusting to the strength of his constitution, which promised him secular longevity, he flattered himself that he would possess the pontifical chair long enough to see two generations of men live and die. But it happened otherwise. One day, whilst visiting a new palace that he was constructing at Viterba, a piece of wall fell upon him and crushed him. This event took place on the 16th of May, 1277. His remains were deposited in the church of St. Lawrence, at Viterba.

NICHOLAS THE THIRD, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1277.]

Election of Nicholas the Third — Embassy from the Greeks — Rudolph yields to the popes the right of rule over Italy — Treaty between Nicholas and Charles of Anjou — Causes of the hatred of the pope for the king of Sicily — He prohibits tournaments — Quarrel between the pope and the king of Hungary — Nicholas secretly prepares the Sicilian vespers — His death.

THE constitution of the conclave having been a second time revoked by John the

Twenty-first, the cardinals could give the reins to their ambition, and six months after

the death of the last pope, the apostolic chair was still vacant. At last John Gaëtan, a cardinal deacon, succeeded, and was chosen sovereign pontiff on the 25th of November, 1277, by the name of Nicholas the Third.

He was a Roman by birth, and of the Ursini family. Ancient chronicles relate, that he was presented in his childhood to St. François d'Assise, who predicted that the child would be the prop of the Franciscans and the master of the world. He was well formed in his person, and so modest and discreet, that he was surnamed the "Composer." He took his first ecclesiastical degrees in England and France, in the churches of York, Soissons, and Laon. Innocent the Fourth afterwards elevated him to the dignity of cardinal, and appointed him the protector of the Minor Brothers. At length, according to fathers Pagi and Desponde, he filled the office of inquisitor-general of the faith.

Nicholas went to Rome after his election, and was solemnly consecrated in the church of St. Peter. He received, in that city, the ambassadors of Michael Paleologus, who came to bring, on the part of the patriarch of Constantinople and the other oriental prelates, a profession of faith similar to that of the council of Lyons, and the promise of submission by the Greek church to the Holy See. Christians from Georgia also arrived at the same time, and for the first time, at Rome, who announced themselves as the ambassadors of Abaka, khan of Persia, and who came to offer the assistance of an army against the Saracens of Syria. The pope received them with distinction, and in a solemn audience gave them letters for their master. He then dismissed them, and sent with them five Minor brothers, commissioned to catechise the khan, and ask from him authority to teach the gospel to his people. This fact of the embassy of the Persians is contested by some esteemed authors, who maintain that this comedy was got up by the ambitious Nicholas to make an impression on the dull minds of the kings of the west, and to increase the prestige of his spiritual and temporal sway.

Rudolph of Hapsburg also sent an embassy to Nicholas to beseech him to proceed to his coronation, a ceremony which, from the disturbed state of the times, had not yet been performed. The pope replied, that he was ready to grant him solemnly the imperial crown, provided he would surrender to the church all his rights over Italy. The prince, who, happily, had not the ambition of his predecessors, immediately gave full powers to Conrad of Lubinge, provincial of the Minor Brothers, in upper Germany, to ratify the treaties concluded with Gregory the Tenth, and to renew his renunciation in favour of the Roman church, of the property which had been conferred on it by the donations of kings and princes, without even excepting the cities of Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cessene, Ravenna, Rimini, and Urbino, which had been for very many years subject to the emperors of Germany. The same ambassador was in-

structed to conclude a treaty between Rudolph and the king of Sicily, concerning the boundary of certain domains. As the pope had great influence over Conrad, he availed himself of it to be revenged on Charles of Anjou, who had refused to give one of his nieces in marriage to one of his nephews, replying insolently to his delegate: "Though Nicholas wears the red stockings, does he on that account think his family worthy of being allied to ours? Does he not know that his greatness will perish with him?" This ill-considered reply was the first cause of the disasters of Charles of Anjou. From that moment the holy father pursued him with his hatred. At first he ordered him to renounce the vicariate of the empire in Tuscany, and the dignity of senator of Rome; he compelled him never to undertake any thing against Germany without the authority of the Holy See; and finally, he forced him to sign a constitution, which declared the popes sole and legitimate masters of Rome, by virtue of a donation from Constantine. By this act, the king of Sicily and the emperor of Germany recognised, that, in future, neither emperor, nor king, nor prince, nor titled lord, could be placed in possession of the government of the holy city, under title of Senator, captain, patrician, or any other denomination.

During the following year, Charles, prince of Salerno, the eldest son of the king of Sicily, made a journey into France to see his cousin german, Philip the Hardy. His arrival gave birth to rejoicings and tourneys, to which all the nobility of France and Germany were invited. Nicholas, informed of the magnificent reception given to the young prince, hastened to write the following letter to his legate, the cardinal of St. Cecilia: "It is affirmed that tournaments are an useful exercise, and that the nobles learn in these meetings to exercise themselves in the management of arms for the defence of religion and the Holy Land: the popes, our predecessors, have, however, had another opinion, since they have refused ecclesiastical burial to those who die in these condemnable strifes. It is our will, then, that you publicly excommunicate the counts, barons, knights, and other lords, who have taken part in the late tourneys celebrated at the court of France, until they shall have confessed their fault, and implored the mercy of the church. It is not for secular men to judge whether exercises are useful or condemnable; they should be submitted to the decision of the pope, and he should be obeyed as God."

At this time brother Bonne Grâce, the new general of the Minor Brothers, went to Surien, the residence of the pontiff, to ask him to give them a protector, as their rule required, beseeching him to accept this post himself, as Alexander the Fourth had done. The holy father replied to the monk: "There is nothing I would do more willingly, if the cares of government would permit me to give the necessary attention to the good of your order." The shaven general then turned to the nephew of the pontiff, Mathew Rosso d'Ursini, a cardinal,

"and you, my lord," said he, "will you consent to become the protector of our brotherhood?" The cardinal having signified his acceptance, the pope drew a ring from his finger, and gave it to his nephew as a sign of his new office. "This order," added he, "does not need your government; it has wise and enlightened superiors, capable of directing its affairs; you will have only to protect it against its adversaries, who are powerful and numerous."

Nicholas always showed great attachment to the order of the Minor Brothers, and even worked for several months with two cardinals, Jerome of Ascoli, bishop of Palestrina, and Bensivena, the prelate of Albano, in forming the declaration of the institution of the society which was published on the 4th of August, 1279.

During this year (1279), a revolt of the lords against the priests took place in Hungary; the latter had pushed their desire for sway so far, that the nobles, weary of their tyranny, took up arms to drive them away; a terrible struggle was the consequence, at the close of which the country was found to be devastated, cities ruined, churches burned, and convents sacked. To check the consequences of so serious a revolution, Nicholas despatched the bishop Philip into Hungary, giving him at the same time the legation of Poland, Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Comania, and the adjacent countries. This ambassador obtained an edict against the Hungarian lords from King Ladislaus the Third, in which he admitted, that the Roman church having brought the light of evangelical faith into his kingdom, he owed it full and entire obedience, and that, consequently, all his subjects should execute the orders of the court of Rome as he himself did. He convened, at the same time, a council at Buda, to take some steps on the subject.

Some lords having, in the interval, shown to Ladislaus that the pretensions of the priests were as injurious to the state as they were insulting to the royal dignity, he yielded to their representations, and gave orders to the magistrates and citizens of Buda to drive the legate away from their city and refuse provisions to the priests.

Nicholas being apprised of the unsuccessful issue of this legation, used all his efforts to induce the king of Hungary to return to more favourable sentiments; he even employed the intervention of Charles of Anjou, whose daughter Ladislaus had married, and of Rudolph of Hapsburg. With the same end, he addressed pathetic letters to the queen, bishops, and lords of Hungary; he induced his envoy Philip to remain in the environs of Buda, and to employ all his energy to subjugate this rebellious king. At length, as nothing could change the hostile sentiments of Ladislaus, he employed strong measures, and threatened him to release his subjects from the oath of fidelity to him, to place his states under interdict, to excommunicate him and nominate another sovereign in his place. The king, who dreaded the consequences of a civil war, was forced to

submit to the Holy See. He begged pardon, re-established matters on their former footing, permitted the clergy to return to Buda, and, as a mark of his repentance, founded an hospital in that city, to which he assigned an annual revenue of a hundred marks of silver, charged upon the treasury. He however exacted that the legate Philip should leave his kingdom, and the envoy was exiled into Poland.

Nicholas, endowed with a strong physical organization, counting upon a long reign, had formed an infernal plan; the execution of which he pursued with rare perseverance, and which was to bring back the whole of Italy beneath the sway of the Holy See, by the extermination of the French in Sicily. But God did not permit him to see this horrible massacre, which took place at a later date, and which history has handed down to us by the name of the Sicilian Vespers. He was struck by a fit of apoplexy on the 22d of August, 1280, and died in the city of Surien near Viterba. His body was taken to Rome, and buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the church of St. Peter.

The life of the pontiff presents another proof of the truth, that supreme power almost always perverts the best natural gifts. Whilst he was a cardinal, Nicholas had shown perfect disinterestedness; as soon as he was made pope, he became avaricious; he pillaged churches and monasteries, and begged for money in every court in order to enrich his family, so that, in the few years during which he governed the church, his relatives, from being poor, became the richest lords of Italy. When death surprised him, he was preparing to create a kingdom in Tuscany, and another in Lombardy for his nephew. Happily, God, who is more powerful than pontiffs and kings, struck down this guilty head and prevented the execution of his wicked plans.

During this year (1280) died the celebrated Albert the Great, of the order of Preaching Friars, less known as a monk than a magician. The prodigious diversity of his learning, and the taste which he had for experiments in alchemy, which he himself called magical operations, caused a superhuman power to be attributed to him. Thus, in addition to the automaton which St. Thomas de Aquinas his disciple broke with a club, and which was his work, it is affirmed that Albert entertained William, count of Holland, at a miraculous banquet in the garden of his cloister; and that, though it was in the depth of winter, the trees appeared as in spring, covered with flowers and leaves, which vanished, as if by enchantment, after the repast. The number of his writings assures to him the title of the most fruitful of the ancient polygraphists. His works form twenty-one folio volumes; the first contains his commentary on the logic of Aristotle; the second, fifth, and sixth, notes upon physics; the third and fourth, dissertation on metaphysics, morals and politics; five volumes contain commentaries upon the scriptures—one his sermons, and the others a commentary on the pretended miracles of St. Dennis.

MARTIN THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1280.]

Divisions among the cardinals in regard to the election of a pope—Revolt at Viterba—Exaltation of Simon de Brie—Viterba is placed under interdict—Martin the Fourth is made senator of Rome—Michael Paleologus is excommunicated—The Sicilian Vespers—The pope deposes the king of Arragon—Martin bestows the crown of Arragon on the Count de Valois—check on the holy father—Sicilian affairs—Death of the pope.

THE same thing happened after the death of Nicholas, as had occurred after the preceding reign. The cardinals assembled at Viterba to choose a new chief for the church. Not being able to agree, the Holy See remained vacant for six months. Charles of Anjou availed himself of this conflict of ambition, to assure himself of a protector in the new pope, by contributing to his election; for this purpose he went to Viterba, and took a part in all the intrigues. The cardinals were then divided into two factions. The one—that of the Ursini, had at its head the cardinals Mathew Rosso and Jourdain, relatives of the deceased pope. The other was sustained by the king of Sicily, and managed by Richard Annibaldi, whose family was one of the most powerful in Rome.

During the vacancy of the Holy See, Annibaldi endeavoured to take the government of Viterba from Orso of the Ursini, which so exasperated the cardinals of that family that they thwarted all the elections for the purpose of tiring out their colleagues, and causing them to restore the government of the city to Orso. Charles, finally, seeing that it was impossible to arrive at a conclusion whilst his enemies were at large, caused the tocsin of alarm to be sounded, assembled the citizens, and besieged the palace in which the conclave was held. The two cardinals of the Ursini were taken out of their chairs and confined in an apartment of which the doors and windows were walled up, so that there was only left a small opening through which to pass to them bread and water. This step succeeded perfectly; for three days afterwards the other cardinals of the same faction asked for a new conclave, and chose Simon de Brie, a cardinal priest, for pontiff.

The new pope was born at Mount Pincé, in Brie. As he had dwelt for a long time at Tours with the rank of a canon and treasurer of the cathedral of St. Martin, some Italian authors have supposed him to have been a native of that city. Urban the Fourth, one of his predecessors, a Frenchman also, had raised him to the cardinalate, in 1261, and had entrusted him with several legations in his own country. It is affirmed that he was not only not desirous of the pontificate, but that he even refused to put on the insignia of his new dignity. He however gave way at length by yielding to the urgency of the faction of King

Charles, and was enthroned by the name of Martin the Fourth.

On the day succeeding his election, Viterba was placed under interdict, and its inhabitants excommunicated, for having committed violence to the two cardinals, Mathew and Jourdain des Ursini. He set these prelates at liberty, after which he retired to Orvietto, not being able to enter Rome, which was still divided between the factions of the Annibaldi and Ursini. To put an end to these disputes, and especially to facilitate his return to the holy city, Martin instructed two cardinals—Hatin, bishop of Ostia, and Godfrey, a deacon of the order of St. George of the Veil of Gold—to threaten the two factions with ecclesiastical thunders, and to order the citizens to confer on him the government of Rome, with the title of senator. This was done, as the following act attests:—"On Monday, the 10th of March, in the year 1281, the Roman people having assembled as usual, at the ringing of the bells, the noble lords, Peter de Conte and Gentil des Ursini, senators and electors appointed by the people, considering the virtues of our holy father, pope Martin the Fourth, and his affection for the city of Rome, hoping that by his wisdom he will be enabled to re-establish order and peace among us, we have granted to him the government of the senate and the city, as well as the territories of Rome. We also grant him full authority to exercise this government in person or by deputies; to institute one or more senators, and for such time and with such salary as he shall please. He shall also dispose of the revenues of the city or the community of the Roman people. He shall be permitted to restrain rebels and factious persons, by all the means which he shall judge suitable. The present act, however, shall neither diminish nor augment the rights of the people, nor of the Roman church, in regard to the election of senators after the death of pope Martin."

This decree is an irrefutable proof that the pontiffs did not regard themselves, at that period, as the sovereigns of Rome; since Martin solicited from the citizens a regular election, in order to have the right to govern them.

As soon as the holy father had taken possession of the palace of the Lateran, he was occupied in fulfilling the engagements he had entered into with Charles of Anjou in

regard to Sicily and Greece. The ambassador of Michael Paleologus having come to Rome to renew the oath of obedience to the Holy See, and to compliment Martin on his election, he refused to receive them, and sent to them this sentence of excommunication, which he fulminated against their masters:—"We declare Michael Paleologus, who is called emperor of the Greeks, anathematised; and we prohibit kings, princes, lords, and other men of any condition, from associating or confederating with him, and from giving him aid and counsel, under penalty of being also excommunicated and placed under interdict."

Michael, indignant at the conduct of the pope, and comprehending that the intentions of the Holy See were to take the empire of the East from him, and confer it on Philip, the son-in-law of Charles of Anjou, immediately took steps to ward off the blow which threatened him. Through his means, emissaries traversed Sicily, organised conspiracies, renewed the old intrigues with the partizans of Nicholas so well, that from one extremity of the kingdom to the other all the cities and villages became active juntas, which only waited the signal to move. The soul of the conspiracy was Procida, a noble citizen of Salerno, proscribed since the time of Manfred. At length arrived the terrible day,—a day ever memorable,—the day of the Sicilian Vespers.

Let Mezerai describe this bloody catastrophe:—"John, the lord of the isle of Procida, had been despoiled of his property by Charles, and been banished from Sicily; which excited in him such resentment, that he formed the design of introducing the king of Arragon, as the heir of the house of Suabia, into Sicily. He found himself seconded in his plans by Nicholas the Third, who never pardoned Charles for refusing one of his daughters to one of his nephews. These two implacable enemies of the French introduced Michael Paleologus and Peter of Arragon into this league; and, in order to succeed the more easily in overthrowing the power of Charles of Anjou, they organised an infernal conspiracy in every city of Sicily. The gold which was scattered lavishly by the Holy See bought up all consciences, and they only waited this signal to commence the massacre, when Nicholas died.

"Martin the Fourth, his successor, mounted the Holy See with very different sentiments, and declared himself to be the protector of Charles; but the plans of the conspirators were not on that account abandoned,—their execution was only suspended. John of Procida, disguised as a monk, went to Constantinople, informed Michael that he was about to be excommunicated, and determined him to send his emissaries into Sicily. The prince gave him three hundred thousand ounces of gold for Peter of Arragon, with authority to levy troops in his kingdom, in order to hasten the execution of their plans. The indefatigable Procida immediately started, traversed the Mediterranean, and rejoined Peter at Barcelona, where he was with his fleet, ready to set sail, under

the pretext of making war on the Saracens, without exciting the suspicions of Charles of Anjou. Peter had even the address, the better to dissimulate his plans, to borrow twenty thousand crowns of gold from Charles, and a like sum from the king of France. His numerous galleys in fact sailed towards Tunis, to favour the concerted enterprise, whilst John of Procida disembarked at Palermo with a troop of bold adventurers.

"As for Charles, fascinated by a kind of fatality, he neglected the secret information which was given him in regard to this conspiracy, and dreamed of nothing but the conquest of Constantinople. His preparations being made, he wished himself to command his fleet, and besiege Michael Paleologus in his capital. Unfortunately, his army was defeated by the Greeks, and he was constrained to return to Naples.

"This news soon reached Sicily, and increased the boldness of the conspirators. On Easter day, the 30th of March, 1282, at the hour of vespers, at the first sound of the bells, the Sicilians rushed upon the French, massacred them in the streets, the houses, and even at the foot of the altar. Women also played their part in this butchery. Fathers were even seen to disembowel their daughters—to tear from them the fruits of their adulteries with the French. In fine, in less than two hours, eight thousand victims were massacred." Such were the frightful consequences of the pride of a prince, and the vindictiveness of a pope.

Charles of Anjou having escaped the general massacre, went at once to Rome to demand justice against Michael Paleologus and Peter of Arragon, of whose arrival at Palermo he had been apprised; and especially against the revolted Sicilians. Martin renewed the sentence of excommunication against the Greek emperor, and sent Gerard Branchi, of Parma, with the rank of legate, to threaten the Sicilian cities with the thunders of the church, if they persisted in their rebellion. That done, Charles came with the remains of his fleet to besiege Messina. That city offered to capitulate, in order to shun the horrors of a siege; and its example would without doubt have drawn in the other cities, if the implacable tyrant had been willing to receive the inhabitants to mercy; but he followed the counsels of his mortified pride, and replied to the envoys—that he had sworn to take a brilliant vengeance on Messina, and to inflict on all Sicily such a punishment that none of its cities would ever afterwards dare to revolt.

As the Sicilians knew what was the vengeance of a king, they thought no longer of any thing but defence. Despair doubled their strength, and they held the troops of Charles in check for a whole month. On his side, Peter of Arragon was occupied with assembling his partizans in the middle of the island; but discovering that it would be impossible for him to maintain a war against the French, who were every day receiving by sea fresh troops sent by Philip the Hardy, he hit upon

this singular ruse to disband the hostile forces. He sent heralds to Charles, to offer him to terminate their quarrel by a duel, in which they should each be assisted by an hundred chosen champions. Charles, imprudent and presumptuous, accepted the challenge, in opposition to the reiterated counsel and prohibitions of the pontiff. The day of meeting was fixed for the 1st of July, 1283, and the city of Bordeaux, which belonged to the king of England, Edward the First, was chosen as the field of battle. The French immediately raised the siege of Messina, and Charles granted a truce to the Sicilians until after the issue of his combat with Peter.

Pope Martin, more clear sighted than the prince, had divined the policy of the king of Arragon; he, therefore, employed all his efforts to ruin his party. He not only excommunicated him, but even degraded him from the princely dignity, and gave all his estates to one of the sons of the king of France by a bull thus conceived: "Philip the Hardy shall designate one of his sons, on whom our legate shall confer the kingdom of Arragon, to take possession of it, and enjoy it fully, to him and his descendants for ever, on condition, however, that they shall recognise themselves as vassals of the pope, and shall pay us yearly five hundred small tournois of gold as quit rent."

Peter of Arragon treated the ecclesiastical censures with open contempt; the lords, magistrates, bishops, clergy, and even the monks of his kingdom imitated his example. At last the day fixed for the combat arrived. Charles went to the plain of Bordeaux, followed by a hundred chosen knights of his nobility. He entered the field, and remained there from the rising to the setting of the sun. "The Arragonese," says Mezerai, "did not care to appear, but at dusk he presented himself, when the field was clear. He went to the residence of the seneschal of Bordeaux, caused this magistrate to give a writing stating his presence in the enclosed field, and left his arms with him as a testimony thereof; he then retired in great haste, alleging that he feared some surprise by King Philip of France."

Charles of Anjou, mortified at having been tricked by his enemy in the face of Europe, immediately wrote to Martin to second him in his plans of vengeance. The holy father, who had already exhausted all his spiritual censures against Peter of Arragon, declared uncompromising war, and then preached a crusade against him. His emissaries tra-

versed Italy, France, and Germany, and promised plenary indulgences to all who should take up the cross against the king of Arragon.

Philip the Hardy, who had accepted the donation which the holy father had made him of the kingdom of Arragon, and of Valencia, as well as of the countship of Barcelona, for Charles of Valois, his second son, took the cross with several lords, and made great preparations for war. But, in the interval, Peter had improved his affairs prodigiously. Lauria, his admiral, having laid siege to Naples, had drawn into an ambuscade the son of the king of Sicily, Charles the Second, surnamed the Hobbler, and having cut the French to pieces, had seized upon the prince, whom he had carried a prisoner to Palermo, to be judged there. Constance of Arragon, fortunately, arrived in time to prevent the Sicilians from putting him to death; she carried him off from Messina during the night, and sent him, well guarded, to her husband.

Charles of Anjou, ignorant of these events, arrived with a numerous and well armed fleet, determined to accomplish his plans of vengeance. When he was informed of the defeat of his troops, and the captivity of his son, his anger was so violent that he fell, as if struck down by a thunderbolt. The care bestowed on him recalled him to life, but succeeding attacks of epilepsy carried him to the tomb in a few months. Such were, for this prince, the deplorable results of his usurpation of the crown of Sicily, and of the hatred of Nicholas the Third.

This melancholy end of the king of Sicily sensibly affected the holy father, who saw himself deprived of a powerful protector; he sought, however, by new intrigues, to preserve the crown for Charles the Second. He thus wrote to the legate Gerard:—"We received from the deceased king, letters patent to govern his states, until his son shall be able to take possession of them. We, therefore, order you to take all steps which you may approve, to exterminate the rebels and re-establish order in the provinces which have rebelled against their legitimate sovereign." Martin had not time to put his plans in execution; on Easter day, the 25th of March, 1285, after having celebrated mass and taken his first repast, with his chaplains, he fainted; the physicians pronounced his sickness trifling; but notwithstanding this decision of the men of art, he died at the end of three days. He was interred in the church of St. Lawrence, of Perouse.

HONORIUS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1285.]

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

Election of Honorius—He continues the policy of his predecessor—Shameful conduct of the croises in Catalonia—Absolution of the inhabitants of Viterba—Constitution granted by the pope to the states of Sicily—He protects the Count of Valois, declared king of Arragon by Martin the Fourth—Excommunication of the republic of Venice—Treaty of Charles the Lame disapproved of by the pontiff—His death.

SOME days after the death of Martin, the cardinals chose a cardinal deacon, named James Savelli, to replace him, who was enthroned by the name of Honorius the Fourth. The new pope, descended from a noble family of Rome, had studied in the university of Paris, and had then been received as a canon at Chalons-sur-Marne, and had, finally, been made a cardinal by Urban the Fourth. He was, as a consequence of his debaucheries, subject to the gout in his feet and hands, and this malady had attacked him so severely that he could only celebrate mass by the aid of instruments most ingeniously made. After his election he went to Rome, and was consecrated and crowned on the following Sunday. On the next day he received the ambassadors of Rudolph of Hapsburg, who came to complain that pope Martin had ordered his legates to levy a dime on the dioceses of Treves, Verdun and Basle, which were dependencies of the empire, to defray the expense of a crusade against the kingdom of Arragon. They claimed that this demand should be revoked, as the cause was one to which they were entirely indifferent. Honorius was unwilling to admit their reasoning, pretending that as this war was made by the Holy See against an enemy of the church, all the allies of Rome should bear the expense of it. The dime continued to be levied, and in the following spring the French army commenced its operations in Catalonia.

Wherever they went, the crusaders committed frightful ravages. The country was devastated, cities were abandoned to pillage, the citizens massacred even in the sanctuaries where they had taken refuge, and virgins violated even on the steps of the altar. All the convents of Catalonia, for males or females, were burned. The sacred vessels, the crosses, the holy pyxes—profaned in scenes of luxury—even the very bells of the churches were broken up and the pieces divided among the soldiery. These madmen were called the avengers of God! And the priests, to exalt their fanaticism, collected stones, and casting them at their victims, exclaimed to the soldiers: "In the name of the pope slay these infamous Arragonese, if you wish to gain heaven."

Exasperated by so many evils, the Spaniards in turn flew to arms, fell upon the French, and made a general massacre of them. The crusade found itself naturally terminated from

want of combatants, and Philip was obliged to renounce the hope of giving the throne of Arragon to his son. Honorius also gave himself no anxiety about it. He was otherwise employed—in selling to the city of Viterba absolution from the anathemas which it had incurred during the reign of his predecessor. He made, as the first condition, that the inhabitants should throw down their walls; that they should pay a thousand marks of gold, and build, at their own expense, an hospital dependent on that of the Holy Spirit at Rome. He also deprived them of all jurisdiction, and reserved the right of proceeding as he judged proper, against the citizens who were accused of sedition. The holy father also published a constitution for Sicily, and suppressed several abuses which had been introduced into the exercise of government under Charles of Anjou. He lanced, at the same time, a bull against the partizans of the king of Arragon, who refused to submit to Charles the Lame. A few days after these events, Peter of Arragon died, leaving the crown of Sicily to James, his second son, who was immediately crowned king, at Palermo.

This young prince had been, with his mother, Queen Constance, already excommunicated by Honorius. When the holy father was apprised of his consecration, he excommunicated him a second time, and placed all the cities which acknowledged his authority under interdict. Then, availing himself of the division which existed in the family of Peter of Arragon, on account of his will, which conferred his states of Spain on his eldest son, and those of Sicily on James, he endeavoured to excite a war between the two brothers, and demanded the freedom of Charles the Lame.

Alphonso of Arragon dared not openly resist the pope, from fear of a new crusade; he temporised, and sent ambassadors to him, who promised, in his name, to do justice to the claims of the church, as soon as he had reduced his kingdom to order. Honorius, too skilful not to see the end of these steps of his enemies, imperiously demanded the freedom of Charles the Second, and a solemn engagement that Alphonso would take up arms against James, under penalty of incurring the same censures as his brother. This declaration broke off the negotiations. The ambassadors at once quitted Rome, and the pope wrote to his legate, the cardinal John Cholet,

to suspend from their functions all ecclesiastics who favoured Alphonso of Arragon, or who refused to excommunicate him in their dioceses.

Whilst the pope was struggling energetically for Charles, the latter was soliciting Edward of England to negotiate a peace between him and Alphonso, offering to abandon all Sicily, and the archbishopric of Reggio, as the price of his liberty. He engaged, besides, to have the treaty approved by the pope, and to obtain from the court of Rome a revocation of the censures pronounced against the deceased king, the queen Constance, and the two princes Alphonso and James. The outline of this treaty was immediately sent to the pontiff, who rejected it as derogatory to the rights of the Roman church. He even prohibited Charles from entering into any engagement with his enemies, under penalty of being included in their excommunication.

Honorius then employed himself in raising the censure of interdiction pronounced against the city of Venice during the pontificate of Martin, by the legate Bernard, bishop of Porto, on account of its refusal to arm a fleet against the revolted Sicilians. The envoy of the holy father maintained, that the fact alone of the repugnance of the Venetians to succour Charles of Anjou, was enough to render them partakers in the anathemas incurred by the rebels. He had in consequence excommunicated them, and placed their city under interdiction, which had lasted until the death of Martin. They then decided to send ambassadors to the new pope, to represent to him that they had never been wanting in submission to the Holy See, and that their refusal having been dictated by simple considerations of equity, they besought him no longer to maintain the anathema fulminated against them. Honorius listened to their request, and permitted the bishop of Venice to raise the interdiction, on the condition that the inhabitants should not hereafter take any part in the affairs of Sicily to the detriment of the Roman church or the heirs of King Charles.

This order was no sooner given than the pope revoked it, on receipt of the news that the doge had proceeded with rigour against the citizens who had enrolled themselves to

succour the French, without the permission of the council of ten. He immediately wrote a new letter to the bishop, and prohibited him from raising the interdiction, until the chief of the republic had abandoned the prosecutions against those who had obeyed his legate. The doge and the ten did as the pope ordered, and sent as deputies to him two Preaching Friars and two Minor Brothers, to testify their submission to the Roman church; and at length the interdiction which hung over Venice was raised by the bishop.

This was Honorius's last act of authority. He died on the 3d of April, 1287, from a frightful malady brought on by his debauchery. His remains were exposed in the palace which he had built near the church of St. Sabine at Rome. He was interred in St. Peter's.

The Jews were at this period the object of execration among the people of Germany and France, without any one being able to explain the cause of this universal hatred. They were accused of murdering children during the holy week, for the purpose of using their blood in magical operations. Different chroniclers have repeated to us these atrocious accusations, and have transmitted to us the history of young girls or boys hung or crucified. The most remarkable of these legends is that of young Verner, killed at Vesel in 1287.

The Bollandists give the following version of it:—"Verner was a lad of fourteen years of age, who was born in the village, and accustomed to labour with his hands for his support. He lived at Vesel, and was labouring for a Jew. When the holy week arrived, his hostess said to him, 'Take care of the Jews, Verner, on holy Friday: they will eat thee.' He replied, 'I trust in God, and have no fear.' On Thursday, however, of the holy week, he confessed and communed before commencing his work; but he had scarcely commenced his work, when the Jews cast themselves upon him, gagged him to stifle his cries, and then suspended him to a post, head downwards, to make him disgorge the host which he had eaten—after which, they murdered him with their poignards, opened all the veins in his body, and pressed them, to extract from them every drop of blood."

NICHOLAS THE FOURTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1288.]

Death of seven cardinals—Election of Pope Nicholas—His history before his pontificate—He continues the policy of his predecessor—Conversion of the Tartars—Charles the Lame is set at liberty—He is crowned king of Sicily—The infidels conquer the Holy Land—Nicholas claims the kingdom of Hungary for his see—Death of the holy father—Vices of the ecclesiastics of the thirteenth century.

AFTER the death of Honorius, that pope whom Probus, the bishop of Toul, called the satrap of anti-christ, the cardinals assembled in a new palace which he had built. But, as the walls of this building were still damp, the heat of the summer produced from them a

pestilential miasma which carried off seven members of the sacred college. The other prelates quitted Rome with precipitation, leaving the cardinal Jerome d'Ascoli alone in this palace, during the nine months that the vacancy in the Holy See lasted. At the end of the following winter, the cardinals assembled a second time in conclave; and, on the first ballot, chose for pope that same Jerome, who was bishop of Palestrina. He was submitted to the ordinary ceremonies, and crowned on the 23d of February, 1288, by the name of Nicholas the Fourth. According to Ciaccinus, the new pontiff was originally from Ascoli, a city of the March of Ancona, and his parents were honest and laborious artizans.

Having entered the order of Minor Brothers when very young, Jerome distinguished himself by his application to study, and reached the grade of doctor of theology. St. Bonaventure, then the general of the order, made him provincial of Dalmatia, from whence he was sent as nuncio to Constantinople, by Gregory the Tenth. In the interval, the post of general of his order having become vacant, he was promoted to this high dignity in a chapter held at Lyons, in 1274; he was afterwards sent as legate to France. Pope Nicholas the Third, in gratitude for his services, made him a cardinal, and in his favour augmented the honours which the prelates of France paid the legates of the Holy See. In this matter Jerome evinced great disinterestedness; he refused an increase of his subsidy, and as the pope, in the act of promotion, called him the *ci-devant* minister-general of the order of the Minor Brothers, he believed himself discharged from the generalship, and refused to retake the functions until after a new order from the court of Rome. At length the pontiff Martin, his predecessor, had conferred on him the bishopric of Palestrina.

Nicholas the Fourth was the first pope of the order of the Minor Brothers. Scarcely was he seated on the throne when his character and habits changed, as if by enchantment. From being generous he became avaricious—from tolerant, fanatical. Before his elevation he had exhibited great attachment to the church—after it he sacrificed even the interests of the Holy See to the aggrandisement of his family; and, what no other priest had ever done before him, he became the protector of the party of the Ghibelines, the avowed enemies of Rome—all this, it is true, secretly, and always showing himself favourably disposed towards the Guelphs and Charles the Lame.

A month after his elevation, the pope created six cardinals, among whom were Peter Colonna, one of his relatives, who was already married. This appointment was the beginning of the greatness of the Colonna family, who we shall see ruled over Italy in the following reigns. Nicholas received this year an embassy from the Khan Argoun, the sovereign of Iran, which announced to him the news, that several Tartar chiefs had embraced Christianity; the prince added in his letter, that it was his most ardent desire to be baptised at

Jerusalem, as soon as he had wrenched that city from the infidels. The holy father, justly fearing that this great devotion of the khan for Palestine only covered ambitious views beneath the veil of religion, wrote to him that it was not necessary to defer his conversion until that period, and that he would permit him to receive the remunerating water, before undertaking the conquest of the Holy Land, if his conscience was pure. Argoun did not reply to the pope, and Jerusalem remained in the power of the Musselmans.

Charles the Lame, unable any longer to support the weariness of captivity, resolved to put an end to it at any price and to purchase his freedom. Through Edward of England, he offered to Alphonso, a second time, to surrender to him all his claim on Sicily and the archbishopric of Reggio, and to procure for him a peace with Philip the Handsome and Charles of Valois. He moreover agreed to give three of his sons as hostages, and to return as prisoner to the king of Arragon, if he did not fulfil his engagements in three years.

Alphonso acceded to these proposals, set the prince at liberty, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to justify his past conduct to the pope. A consistory having been assembled to hear them, they argued, at length, that it was not equitable to render their sovereign responsible for the actions of his father; that long before the death of King Peter he had been placed in possession of the kingdom of Arragon; and that it was unjust to wish to despoil him of it; they finished their harangue, by offering to put the states of Alphonso beneath the protection of the pope.

Nicholas replied to them, "We would, my lords, find your master innocent. Unfortunately, however, he himself proves himself to be guilty by persevering in his sin. Do not his troops traverse Sicily? Has he not invaded the territory of the king of Majorca, an ally of the Holy See? Does he not retain in prison Charles the Lame; and does he not continue to govern the kingdom of Arragon in contempt of the excommunication of Pope Martin? And yet, notwithstanding all this, we are ready to pardon your master if he comes and casts himself at our feet to implore our mercy."

When Nicholas was evincing such favourable dispositions towards Alphonso, he still believed Charles the Lame in the prisons of Barcelona: but he had scarcely learned that his protégé had obtained his liberty, when, without even taking cognizance of the treaty which was presented to him, he fell into a frightful rage, and declared that he erased all that had been agreed upon without his authority.

Some months after, the hypocritical Nicholas solemnly crowned Charles the Second king of Sicily, and, in return for his oath of homage, granted him authority to levy tenths upon his estates for three years, to pay the expenses of a war against Alphonso. He annulled all the engagements entered into by that prince, by Charles of Valois, and by Edward of England, as having been exacted against

the laws of Christian morality. Finally, he declared Alphonso and James excommunicated and unworthy to wear the crown.

As one disaster is always followed by another, the holy father learned from the bishop of Tripoli of the capture of that city by the infidels, and of the siege of St. Jean d'Acre by an army of Saracens. The prelate had come himself to Rome, so pressing was the danger, to ask for twenty galleys well armed, and furnished with all the munitions necessary to remain at sea for a year on the coast of Syria; a service for which he offered to pay very generously. Nicholas hastened to comply with his demand, and in less than thirty days he had obtained the galleys from Venice. Before, however, placing them at the disposal of the prelate, he exacted from him a large sum of money, and an engagement to divide the command of the fleet with the patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom he counted to extract a new tribute.

As a compensation for this sacrifice, the pope promised to publish a crusade for the purpose of exciting the people of the west to go over into Palestine, which he did faithfully. But the rage for crusaders was beginning to fade away in the west, and notwithstanding the efforts of Nicholas and his legates, no prince would agree to take the cross, and the unfortunate city of St. John d'Acre fell into the power of the Mussulmen. The capture of this city drew in its train the loss of all Palestine to the Christians.

Ladislaus the Third, the cruel king of Hungary, had at length received the punishment of his crimes, and had been assassinated by a brave Pomeranian, in the midst of his courtiers. As he had no heirs, three competitors for his crown appeared. Rudolph of Hapsburg, the most redoubtable of the three, took possession of it as a fief of the empire, and gave it to his son Albert. The pope, furious that Rudolph had seized upon it without his authority, claimed it in his turn for the Roman church, as the heir of all empires, and threatened the prince with ecclesiastical thunders, if he did not immediately restore it to him. A power more redoubtable than his own, death, terrible death, that cruel enemy of the great ones of the earth, did not permit him to put his threats in execution; he died of old age, on the 4th of April, 1292, and was buried in St. Maria Majora.

Nicholas possessed vast information. He loved science and letters, and protected the learned, and even took a very active part in the foundation of the celebrated university of Montpelier. Unfortunately, he had imbibed, in the order of Minor Brothers, that spirit of intolerance which would impose its belief on

all the world, and which does not recoil from any mode of conversion.

His memory should be handed down to the execration of men, because he first regularly constituted tribunals of inquisitors, in the cities of Venice and Avignon, to exterminate heretics. He augmented and confirmed the privileges of the Dominicans, who were in possession of these frightful functions; he gave them power to interpret ecclesiastical laws to their fancy; he authorised them to pursue heretics by sword and fire—to take from them their property, and to deprive them of their employments, their honours, and their benefices: and not only them, but even their children, their dependents, their adherents, and those who held employments, honours, or benefices from lords who were excommunicated, or who had obtained them through their influence. He also permitted them to destroy houses which had been used by heretics, as also the adjacent ones; and made a bull by which he enjoined on the lords and magistrates of cities which the inquisitors traversed, to aid them with force; to obey them in all things; to proceed against all regular ecclesiastics, whosoever they might be, notwithstanding their privileges, even though abbots, bishops, and archbishops, were pointed out to them; thus placing their jurisdiction above that of all the authorities, and making them only dependent on the see of Rome.

Following the example of one of his predecessors, Nicholas profaned the tombs of his enemies; he disinterred the dead bodies of John de Beziars, a Cordelier, and of Peter Cassiodore, his disciple, and commanded the executioner to burn them on a scaffold, and cast their ashes to the wind, because these holy monks had preached against him during their life time.

As a close to the history of his reign, we will cite a proclamation which Menard, count of Tyrol, addressed to his subjects when the holy father sought to push them into rebellion. "Give to the bishops your robe, and they will want your mantle," said the prince. "Who can be so stupid, or so cowardly, as to endure, without complaining, the pride, avarice, perfidy, debaucheries, in a word, all the crimes of these wretches? The occupations of the priests are to get bastards, preside over orgies, and invent new modes of extorting money from the people. What! is it not enough for the shepherd to shear his flock—must he also murder it? We have been long enough under the prestige of religious ceremonies. We have been long enough trampled under the feet of the priests. Let us rise and exclaim, 'Death and extermination to these enemies of humanity.'"

VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1293.]

Divisions among the cardinals—Sedition at Rome—The conclave reassembles at Perouse—Singular election of Peter de Mouron.

AFTER the death of Nicholas, two factions were formed in the sacred college for the election of a pope. That of the Guelphs had at its head the cardinal Mathew Rosso des Ursini, that of the Ghibelines, James Colonna, the avowed enemy of Charles, the king of Sicily. Notwithstanding their mutual hatred, the conclave assembled in the palace of St. Maria Majora. The bishop of Ostia, Latin des Ursini, opened the session in a discourse full of wisdom; but he was not listened to, and ten days afterwards the conclavists separated without having made a pope. During the following month, they reassembled in the palace of St. Sabine on Mount Aventine, to separate a second time: and, finally, after several useless attempts at an arrangement, they retired to their estates.

During their absence, the election of the senators of Rome took place, when a violent sedition broke out. They fought in the streets, pillaged houses, set fire to the palaces of the Guelphs, and some cardinals who were in the holy city, having shown themselves in their sacerdotal robes with a view to put a stop to the disorders, were pelted with stones and driven away in disgrace. After several months of combat and strife, the senators were chosen and quiet was restored; three cardinals returned at once to instal themselves in the palace of the Lateran to choose a pontiff. But as they feared lest their colleagues, who had taken refuge at Viterba, should make a second choice, they wrote to them in these terms: "We can proceed to the election of a pope without your assistance, since you absent yourselves from Rome; we prefer, however, to wait some days in order to form a more regular conclave. Hasten, then, your departure; and reflect that there is urgent

need to put an end to the vacancy in the Holy See."

This declaration gave rise to the dread of a schism. For if, on the one hand, the three cardinals who were at Rome had the right to choose a pope on account of the privilege of the place, on the other hand the others might pretend to the same right on account of their numbers. The most skilful lawyers were consulted on the subject, and the result of their deliberations was, that the cardinals all assembled at Perouse, to put an end to the deplorable divisions which had deprived Christendom of a supreme chief for twenty-seven months.

In this new conclave, intrigues recommenced with the same ardour as in the preceding meetings, and threatened to prolong the vacancy in the Holy See—when, fortunately, an incident entirely foreign to the elections suspended the disputes. The brother of the cardinal Napoleon of St. Mark, having been killed by a fall from his horse, that prelate demanded permission to leave the conclave to perform the last duties to his brother. John Bouccamace, bishop of Tusculum, availed himself of this circumstance to recall to the recollection of the members of the sacred college, that death might in its turn strike them down; and that Jesus Christ had appeared to a holy man, named Peter de Mouron, to whom he had revealed that they would all die in less than four months, if they did not hurry to put an end to the conclave. Under the inspiration of this singular prophecy, one of them proposed Peter de Mouron himself as the pope. This opinion prevailed with the rest, and the pious anchorite was immediately proclaimed chief of the church, by the name of Celestin the Fifth.

CELESTIN THE FIFTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1294.]

History of Peter de Mouron before his pontificate—The cardinals wish to retain him by force in Perouse—Consecration of Celestin—New promotion of cardinals—Arts and tricks of the cardinal Gaitan to reach the pontificate—Imbecility of Celestin—He abdicates.

PETER DE MOURON was born in 1213, in the diocese of Isernia in the province of Apulia. His father's name was Angelier, his mother's, Mary; they were poor agriculturists

and had twelve sons, of whom Peter, who was the eleventh, was the only one who devoted himself to the service of God. From his earliest youth he manifested so decided a

love for prayer and meditation, that his mother determined to teach him to read and even to give him some knowledge of the holy scriptures. Having arrived at the age of manhood, Peter retired to an hermitage situated on the side of a mountain near to the chateau of Sangre. Afterwards, not finding this asylum sufficiently solitary, he climbed the summit of the rocks which formed the crest of the mountain, and dug himself out a cell, which was a real burrow; for it was so small that he could scarcely stand upright in it, or stretch himself out to sleep.

He remained three years in this cave, living on the alms of the peasants who came to solicit the aid of his prayers. As very many pious persons interested themselves in having him ordained a priest, he went to Rome, where, notwithstanding his ignorance, he received orders. He was then obliged to abandon his residence, because the cultivators cut down the trees which covered the sides of the mountains. He then retired to another cave, called the cave of Magella, which had a very spacious grotto. He reared an altar in this retreat and inhabited it with several anchorites, his disciples.

Peter de Mouron passed whole weeks in fasting and maceration, which produced ecstatic fevers and reveries of madness, during which he was deprived of the senses of sight and hearing. The brethren around him regarded these ecstasies as revelations, and respected as prophecies the incoherent words which he uttered during these strange hallucinations. Ignorance aiding superstition, the anchorite obtained a great reputation for sanctity throughout all Italy, and numerous pilgrims came to offer up their devotions at the mount of Magella, and to ask a blessing from Peter. The concourse of the visitors became so great, that the brethren decided to employ the presents which were offered them, and solicited from pope Urban the Fourth authority, to found a monastery, and to live as a community under the rule of St. Benedict, which was allowed them.

Peter, far from softening his mode of living, rebouled his austerities, walled up his cell, and only left a wicket which he opened once a day to receive bread and water in small quantities. On Sundays and great festival days the only recreation he allowed himself was to open his wicket a second time to celebrate mass, that the brother who served might say the responses of the service. He slept on the bare ground without straw or hay, and with a stone for his pillow; he wore a girdle of iron chains, and a coat of mail for a shirt. The legend adds, that at length there exhaled from his cell and his body an odour so infected, that no one could approach him without being suffocated. Such was the man whom the cardinals elevated to the papacy.

The election having been regularly made, the cardinals deputed five of their number to go to the convent of Peter de Mouron. Having arrived at Salmona, the ambassadors traversed the mountain by a very rough road,

and presented themselves at the cell of the recluse, who opened his wicket to hear them. There they saw, at the bottom of this living tomb, by the light of a smoking lamp, an old man of about seventy-two years—ghastly, attenuated by fasting, with a bristled beard, and eyes inflamed and full of tears. They uncovered themselves before him, and prostrated themselves with their faces to the ground.—After a short prayer they rose, and the archbishop of Lyons, speaking in the name of all, announced to Peter that he had been chosen sovereign pontiff by the will of God, to put an end to the troubles which desolated the church.

At this news, as extraordinary as unexpected, the poor fanatic shed abundant tears, and demanded permission to counsel with himself before replying. He took the decree which conferred on him the papacy, and closed the wicket of his cell. Three hours afterwards he was heard to cry out, "I accept the pontificate." They immediately demolished his prison, and the cardinals kissed his feet. This strange appointment excited general curiosity, and a crowd hastened from all sides to see the new pope. Cardinals, bishops, nobles, princes, and kings, all went to Mont de Mouron. Charles the Lame, and his son, even wished to hold the bridle of the ass on which Peter was mounted, when he went to the city of Aquila.

The new pope, though very ignorant, had a simple and good soul; he, however, evinced an extreme distrust of the cardinals and secular clergy, and only bestowed his confidence on King Charles and some lawyers, for whom he had conceived great affection. He even chose a layman for his secretary, to the great scandal of the priests, who strongly opposed this innovation, and he appointed the monks of Abruzzo to a great number of ecclesiastical offices, in preference to the Roman priests. He then sent to the cardinals an order to come to the city of Aquila, where he was about to take up his provisional residence, not being able to make the journey to Perouse, during the heat of summer, on account of his infirmities. They, discontented at the step, replied to him, that it was impossible to remove the court without considerable expense; besides, that such a step established a bad precedent: since, if they should even choose a pope in a strange country, this example might be quoted to remove the residence of the pontiff from Rome. They cited to him the example of Pope Martin the Fourth, who preferred captivity to the shame of retiring into Apulia.—"As for your excuse as to the difficulty of the journey in the month of August, with your infirmities, could you not," they added, "be carried twenty leagues in a litter?"

Peter de Mouron did not allow himself to be influenced by their reasoning, and at the instigation of King Charles, he declared to the cardinals, that he had resolved to inhabit the city of Aquila, and to be consecrated there. In fact, he informed Hugh Séguin that he was about to elevate him to the see of Ostia, vacant by the death of cardinal Latin des Ursini, in order to dispose every thing for the cere-

mony. On the day fixed for the ceremony, he clothed himself in his pontifical ornaments, and caused himself to be crowned with a mitre adorned with gold and precious stones, by cardinal Napoleon; he then seated himself on the pierced chair, and kings, bishops, cardinals, and clergy, took the oath of obedience to him, by kissing his feet. On the next day he celebrated mass, and took the name of Celestin the Fifth. After the ceremony he mounted a platform erected on the steps of the church and gave his blessing to the people.

Celestin was full of sense and modesty. He spoke but little and always in Italian, not understanding Latin. He never advised with his cardinals, whom he called the enemies of the faith and the sores of Christians. A single passage of a synodical letter which he wrote on the day of his installation, is sufficient to apprise us of the humility of his mind, and the charity of his soul.

"For half a century," he wrote to the bishops, "we had renounced all care of the affairs of this world to devote ourselves entirely to God. Hence, on the news of our elevation to the pontificate, we were alarmed at the greatness of this dignity. We bent our forehead in the dust, as weighed down by the charge which Christ had imposed upon us, beseeching that Divine Master to bestow on our intellect the light which he caused to descend upon the apostles, in order to strengthen our heart against the danger of power and honours. After a fervent prayer, we rose up with the resolve to re-establish the practice of evangelical morality in the church by confiding the administration of its temporal affairs to seculars capable of administering them, and the safety of the faithful to prelates truly worthy of being the ministers of a God of peace and charity. We will consecrate all our watchings to accomplish this holy mission; but if our efforts are powerless to destroy the vices of the court of Rome; if, notwithstanding our perseverance and our firmness, we see the impossibility of driving without the sanctuary ambition, avarice, debauchery, and crime, we will cast the mundane crown of the popes beneath our feet and return to our solitude to weep over the misfortunes of the people."

He, in fact, informed himself most scrupulously as to the priests whom the Italian people recognised as truly worthy of veneration. He only found twelve, of whom seven were French and five Italian. He immediately made them cardinals, to the great scandal of the old prelates who composed the court of Nicholas. He renewed the decrees of the conclave published by Gregory the Tenth, and ordered that they should be executed in all their rigour when the Holy See should be vacant from the death of a pope or a renunciation of the pontificate. This prudent step indisposed the members of the sacred college towards Celestin, and their hatred became the more violent when the holy father declared he was about to establish his residence at Naples, the capital of the dominions of Charles

the Lame. A conspiracy was formed to hurl him from the throne, and the ambitious cardinal, Benedict Gaëtan, placed himself at the head of the conspirators.

They used the following trick to determine Celestin to abandon the pontificate. Having been informed by a chamberlain that the pope was frequently in the habit of shutting himself up in a secret chapel, to give himself up to fasting and prayer, as he did in his cell at Mont de Mouron, the cardinal caused the wall to be pierced behind the place occupied by the crucifix, and introduced into the opening a speaking trumpet, which communicated with a chamber of the upper story: then, during the silence of the night, when the pontiff had retired to his chapel to pray, he called out to him in a terrible voice: "Celestin! Celestin! cast aside the burden of the papacy—it is a charge beyond thy strength."

As the holy father saw that, notwithstanding his efforts, the disorders of the clergy increased, his imagination, already much weakened, received this warning as an order from heaven, and he promised God to return to his hermitage. He still, however, hesitated; fearful, lest he had been under the prestige of the devil, and not knowing whether it were possible for him canonically to renounce his dignity, and not daring to consult any one on the subject. Several weeks passed in this perplexity of mind. At length one night the voice was heard, more threatening than on the first occasion. Celestin exclaimed in tears: "They maintain, my God, that I have all power in this world over souls; why then cannot I assure the safety of my own, and free myself from the weight of dignity, to gain repose? Do you not know, Lord, that which you demand from me, is impossible; and have you elevated me so high, but to precipitate me into an abyss? In accordance with the maxims of the popes, I can do all, and I am infallible; how is it, that from all sides complaints arise against me? Am I not obliged, myself, to admit the impossibility of preventing the misconduct, debauchery, exactions and divisions of my ecclesiastics? Would it not be better for me to trample the tiara under foot, and avoid this impure Babylon which is called the church—to devote myself as before, entirely to thee, Lord, in an inaccessible solitude? Have you, then, condemned me to bear this cross until my last hour?" Gaëtan replied through his speaking trumpet: "Abdicate the papacy, Celestin: abdicate the papacy."

Five days afterwards, Peter de Mouron sent for some cardinals to his palace; he related to them how he had passed his life in repose, and poverty; how he had been borne from this contemplative life, which had obtained for him the protection of the Lord; and he added, shedding many tears, "My great age, my rustic manners, the simplicity of my language and morals, the ignorance of my mind, and my small experience in ecclesiastical intrigues make me fear lest I shall fall into an abyss. I believe that it is impossible to shun eternal damnation if I remain pope,

and I come to ask from you authority to yield this dignity to one more worthy of it than I am." The cardinals feigned a great repugnance to reply, and counselled the pontiff to order public prayers and processions, to obtain from God a manifesto of his will, for the greater good of the church.

The Celestine monks, however, were none the less advised of the design of their founder to abdicate the tiara, of which they spread abroad the news; and placing themselves at the head of the Neapolitans, hastened in crowds to the pontifical palace, and penetrating even to the cell of the holy father, knelt before him, and besought him to preserve the tiara—glorifying him as the only priest who had shown himself worthy to be called the Father of the Faithful since the apostle Peter. The king of Sicily, the bishops, cardinals, lords, monks, and all the clergy came in procession to beseech him not to abdicate.

Celestin felt his resolution waver before so general a demonstration; he kept silence and replied only by his tears to this testimony of the love of his people. He then advanced towards a window, and bestowed his blessing on the crowd which pressed into the court yard of the palace. Every one hoped that the holy father had abandoned his thought of abdicating; but the mysterious voice of the chapel recommenced its lugubrious warnings, and the holy father determined to obey it. On the day of the festival of St. Luke, he appeared in the consistory of the cardinals, his tiara on his head, and clothed in the scarlet cape. When all the members of the sacred

college had taken their places, he rose, and unrolling a paper which he held in his hand, read from it, "I, Celestin, Fifth of the name, declare that it is impossible for me to insure my salvation on the throne of St. Peter. Desiring, then, to lead a better life, and find again the repose and consolation of my past existence, I renounce the sovereign dignity of the church, of which my predecessors have made a trade. I recognise myself as incapable of exercising the pontifical functions: and I now give to the sacred college full and entire power to choose a chief to govern them." One of the cardinals, Mathew Rosso, then represented to the holy father that his abdication would not be regular, unless he gave, beforehand, a constitution expressly providing that the pontiffs might renounce their dignity, and that the cardinals had the right to accept their renunciation. Celestin complied at once with this form, and ordered that this constitution should be inserted in the decretals; he then quitted the session, that he might not influence their deliberations.

Benedict Gaëtan caused the renunciation of the pope to be approved at once. An hour afterwards, the assembly sent to inform Celestin that he was free. The holy father, then again become Peter de Mouron, quitted the pontifical garments, and retook his coat of mail, his iron chain, and his hermit's frock; he made a last prayer before the miraculous crucifix of his chapel, and then went with naked feet towards his retreat on Mont de Mouron. Thus terminated the reign of this pious anchorite.

BONIFACE THE EIGHTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1294.]

The cardinal Gaëtan causes himself to be chosen pope—His history before his pontificate—He establishes his court at Rome—His severity towards the unfortunate Celestin—He causes him to be confined in a horrid dungeon, and starves him to death—Boniface excites universal hatred against himself—He proposes himself as the arbiter of the destinies of kingdoms—Affairs of France—The pope makes terrible threats against Philip the Handsome—Quarrels of the pontiff with the Colonna—He preaches a crusade against his enemies—Philip avenges himself on Boniface—Institution of the Jubilee—Bull of the pope against Philip—The king causes the bull to be burned—The pope claims the kingdom of Poland—He pursues heretics—He excommunicates Philip the Handsome—He recognises Albert, king of the Romans, names Frederick king of Sicily, and declares Charobert king of Hungary—Pursuit of the pope by the king of France—The pope escapes from Rome—He is surprised by the French in the city of Anagni, and struck violently by Sciarra Colonna—The inhabitants of Anagni deliver him—He returns to Rome—His death—His impieties.

AFTER the retirement of Celestin, the cardinals waited ten entire days, before reassembling, so that Benedict Gaëtan had time to finish his measures, and to assure himself of a majority in the sacred college. The conclave having at last formed in the palace of King Charles, the cardinal Gaëtan was chosen sovereign pontiff, by the name of Boniface the Eighth.

Benedict Gaëtan was originally from the city of Anagini, and his father was descended from the illustrious family of the Gaëtan. From his youth, Benedict, destined for the ecclesiastical state, had applied himself to the study of the canon law. When he had obtained the grade of doctor, his parents sent him to Paris, where he was made a canon of the cathedral. He then returned to Rome,

where his eloquence, as well as his flexibility of mind, caused him to be distinguished by the pope, who raised him to the grade of consistorial advocate, and pontifical notary. Martin the Fourth made him a cardinal, and Nicholas the Fourth entrusted several important legations to him. Ciaconius thus expresses himself, when speaking of him:—"This cardinal had a great depth of iniquity, knavery, audacity, and cruelty, as well as a measureless ambition, and an insatiable avarice." From this portrait we may foresee what will be the misfortunes of his reign.

As soon as Boniface had been proclaimed sovereign pontiff, he left Naples and started for Rome, passing through Anagni, where the inhabitants gave him a magnificent reception, and where he found a deputation of the Roman nobility, who had come to meet him to confer on him the title of senator. Two days afterwards the holy father continued his journey, and entered the holy city amidst an immense concourse of the people. All the streets and public places were strewn with flowers, and it appeared as if all had been seized with a vertigo, on hearing the shouts of joy, and seeing the frenzied dances with which they celebrated the return of the tyrant to Rome. Boniface first went to the church of the Lateran to be seated on the pierced chair—from whence he went to St. Peter's, where he was solemnly consecrated, on the 16th of January, 1295. After the ceremony he mounted a white horse richly caparisoned; Charles, king of Sicily, held one of the reins, and the king of Hungary, his son, the other; they conducted him in this manner to the palace of St. John of the Lateran; then they assisted him to dismount from his horse, and accompanied him to his apartment, and served him at his table as mere waiting men.

On the day succeeding his consecration, he caused the act of abdication by Celestin to be confirmed by the sacred college, and in contempt of all the ecclesiastical rules, which formally prohibit the abdication of pontiffs, he caused all ecclesiastical renunciations made under oath to be valid. These precautions did not appear to him to be sufficient—he even had the cruelty to arrest his unfortunate predecessor.

The Bollandists thus relate this proceeding in the acts of the saints: "Peter de Mouron was torn from his cell by the guards of the pope, and conducted to his enemy. On his way the people ran to him in crowds to receive his blessing; some kissed his feet, others cut off pieces of his robe and plucked the hairs of the ass he rode, to preserve them as precious relics. On his arrival at Rome, he was received by the hypocritical Boniface with great demonstrations of friendship, but on the same evening they confined the unfortunate old man in the castle of Fulmona, giving him orders to confess, that he might prepare to die. Whilst the holy hermit was unveiling the secrets of his soul, the pope was concealed behind a tapestry, and when he had finished his confession, he suddenly appeared

before him, reproached him for the impious regrets he had expressed for his abdication, and caused him to be carried immediately to a horrible dungeon. Six knights and thirty soldiers were placed at the outer gate of the castle, to prevent any attempt to rescue him. Not being yet satisfied with this excessive rigour, and fearful of a rising of the people in favour of his victim, Boniface decided to starve him to death. It was announced, some days afterwards, that the holy anchorite, enfeebled by age, had expired whilst in the act of blessing the holy father; but the crime was soon discovered, and it rendered the assassin odious to all Christendom."

We will not narrate the numerous miracles which the legendaries attribute to Peter de Mouron to establish his sanctity; we will only say that Celestin was a good man, and had justly attracted the veneration of the people, by renouncing the trade of pope, as he quaintly called it.

Boniface, being now freed from his competitor, dreamed only of realising the plans which he had long formed of establishing the temporal and spiritual authority of the Holy See over all Christian kingdoms. At first he claimed new donations from the king of Sicily and other princes who were sustained by the court of Rome: he invested James, by his own authority, of the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, as if he had been the sole dispenser of thrones; he even disposed, in favour of his partizans, of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica; he ordered the kings of France and England to put an end to their disputes—and, upon their refusal to obey him, he sent a bull containing conditions of a treaty, which he commanded them to observe, under penalty of excommunication. He even essayed to chase out of Sicily Frederick the Second, the sovereign of that country. But his efforts failed before the obstinacy of the Sicilians, who treated his threats with contempt, and defeated his soldiers. He then made use of great means; he lanced his excommunications against the prince, called him a sacrilegious usurper, declared his election null, freed his people from their oath of fidelity, and prohibited Frederick from taking the name of sovereign and interfering with the government. The prince, without being disturbed by the anathemas of the pope, continued to keep the field, and finally gained the decisive victory of Falconara, which assured to him the throne of Sicily, and the conquest of a great part of Calabria.

In the midst of this struggle very important events took place, which, if they did not turn aside entirely the attention of the pontiff, at least suspended his plans on Sicily, and compelled him to combat with Philip the Handsome, to unite all his forces to the confederated troops of the king of England, the count of Flanders, the dukes of Austria and Brabant, and the new sovereign of Germany, Adolphus of Nassau, who had succeeded Rudolph of Hapsburg. The cause, or rather the pretext for this war, was the arbitrary detention of

the young daughter of the count of Flanders, whom the king of France had traitorously seized, and whom he refused to restore to her father. Boniface greedily seized on the opportunity of performing an act of political authority in France. He sent a bishop to Philip to summon him to render justice to the count of Flanders, in regard to the liberty of his daughter, and to appear before the sacred college at Rome to be judged there, under penalty of excommunication and deposition.

Philip, surprised and offended, replied to the legate: "Do you not know, lord bishop, that we have to render an account to God alone for the government of our kingdom and subjects? We think it very strange that the pope speaks so loudly in temporal matters. We have no need of the canonical light of the sacred college to judge our vassals; for, thanks be to God, our court is composed of very skilful magistrates. Thank Boniface for his officious care: tell him not to interfere in our kingdom beyond his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to be careful how he unites with our enemies."

Without regarding this considerate address, the pope, by a bull addressed to the clergy of France, prohibited them from granting subsidies to laymen, declaring those who paid and those who imposed this tax alike excommunicated. Philip in his turn published two edicts, by which he expressly prohibited all persons, of what quality or nation soever they might be, from transporting gold or silver out of his kingdom in ingots, vessels, jewels, or money; he also prohibited the exportation of provisions, arms, horses, or munitions of war without especial authority.

Boniface immediately wrote to the king that he must retract his ordinances, if he did not wish to incur his anathemas and be deposed from his throne: and as the prince dared not yet come to an open rupture with the pope, he consented to suspend his edicts for some time. Besides, the wary Philip saw that the court of Rome would soon need his aid against the family of the Colonna, who were levying troops to make war on the holy father.

This family was the more powerful that it was numerous, being composed of seven rich and powerful men—the two cardinals James and Peter Colonna, and five brothers of the latter, Otho, Agapet, Stephen, John of St. Vit, and James, called Sciarra Colonna. The holy father well knew the resources of the Ghibelin party, since he had been one himself until the day of his election, when he had changed his banner and his fortune together. Amelot de la Houssaye relates on this subject, that a month after his exaltation, the pope said to an archbishop, during the ceremony of Ash Wednesday: "Recollect, man, that thou art a Ghibelin; and will descend with them into the flames of hell;" and that in place of sprinkling the ashes on his forehead he cast them into his eyes; thus showing how little importance he attached to religious mummeries.

His hatred to the Ghibelins, and principally

to the Colonna, arose from the repugnance with which this party had sworn to recognise him as pope. Thus, on a vague suspicion that his enemies thought of deposing him, he hastened to send one of his chamberlains to the cardinal James and his nephew Peter, to summon them to appear immediately before the sacred college to renew their oaths of obedience. The two cardinals, who knew the perfidy of Boniface, judged it prudent not to appear before this assembly, and decided to quit Rome, in order to place their liberty and life beyond the reach of the holy father. He, furious at seeing them beyond his power, immediately accused them of rebellion; and, in a full consistory, fulminated against them a bull of excommunication, declaring them incapable of holding any public charge, ecclesiastical or secular; he placed all their domains under interdict, and ordered the inquisitors to pursue them as heretics. The Colonna having retired to their castle of Longuezza, protested against these proceedings of Boniface, and appealed from his censures to a general council; where they engaged to prove that their enemy had poisoned Celestin the Fifth. Unfortunately, the troops, whom they had levied in foreign countries, could not pass the frontiers; and they were obliged to struggle with their partizans alone, against the multitude of fanatics whom the holy father had assembled.

As, however, the want of money to pay his troops began to be felt, Boniface sought a reconciliation with the court of France. To this end he canonised St. Louis and offered the crown of Germany, which he engaged to take from Adolphus of Nassau, to Philip, for his brother the Count de Valois. Duped by this perfidy, the king of France permitted the agents of the Holy See to carry all the money which they could amass in his kingdom, into Italy. But scarcely was the gold of the French in the treasury of St. Peter, when the pope, changing his language and conduct, favoured the party of Albert of Austria, and crowned him emperor, in contempt of his engagements.

His hatred towards Philip did not stop with this first treason; he incited Edward of England and the count of Flanders to invade France by virtue of the truce which he had granted them: and when the prince, informed of the preparations which the English and Flemings were making for war, complained of them, beseeching the pope to be the arbiter between him and his enemies, Boniface had the boldness to reply to him, that the only counsel he could give him, was to offer his sister Margaret in marriage to Edward, and his daughter Elizabeth to the son of that prince; to place all that he had taken from England at the disposal of the Holy See; to restore to the count of Flanders his young daughter, who had now been a prisoner for two years; and lastly, to embark with all his nobility and a numerous army, to conquer the Holy Land.

This letter was carried to France by the

bishop of Durham, the ambassador of King Edward, who read it in full council; the Count d'Artois, who was present, rose indignantly, snatched it from the hands of the English prelate, tore it in pieces, and cast it in the fire. Philip protested against the orders of the pope, and declared, that instead of taking up arms to invade Palestine, he would march on Rome. He, in fact, commenced hostility, by permitting Stephen Colonna, and other members of his family who were flying from the fury of the pope, to enter his kingdom. Then, under pretence that the interdict with which the bull struck the churches of France put an end to all ecclesiastical functions, he seized on the revenues of the clergy, and used them to recruit fresh troops, with which the Count de Valois took the field, and gained a brilliant victory over the Flemings.

Philip, soon after, gained a powerful ally by marrying his sister Blanche to the emperor of Germany. Boniface, as soon as he heard of this alliance, immediately abandoned the party of Albert, and declared to the ambassadors of that prince, at a solemn audience, that the election of their master was null, that he devoted him to the hatred of the people as a homicide, and that he did not recognise him as either king of the Romans or emperor. Then, putting on a gilded cuirass and covering himself with a casque, he poised a sword above his head, exclaiming:—"There is no other Cæsar, nor king nor emperor, than I, the sovereign pontiff and successor of the apostles." He, after this, appeared in the great ceremonials, sometimes in the costume of the pope, sometimes in the imperial ornaments.

This year, the last of the thirteenth century, offered a very favourable opportunity to Boniface to extort money from the people, and to avail himself of the general superstition, which, since the commencement of civilization, attributed a remunerating virtue to the secular year. He instituted the jubilee, a kind of pilgrimage which was to take place at the close of the century, and for which he granted plenary indulgences to the fanatics who came to visit the tomb of the apostle and make offerings on it.

John Villani, the Florentine historian, relates, that during the year 1300, more than two hundred thousand pilgrims to Rome were counted. "I can bear witness to it," adds he, "since I dwelt in that city. By day and by night, there were two clerks at the altar of St. Paul, with rakes in their hands, to rake up the gold which the faithful unceasingly threw down there. Boniface amassed an immense treasure from these donations, and the Romans were enriched by selling their wares, at excessive prices, to the simple people who came to obtain indulgences and empty their purses." This institution was but a transformation of the secular games of the pagans. Moses, in his law, had established an analogous ceremony, which was renewed every fifty years. During this ceremony debts were remitted, each one regained the heritage of his fathers,

and slaves were set at liberty. Thus the popes have not even the merit of inventing this festival, which is of early origin; they only denaturalised it, to transform it into an ignoble speculation.

Philip the Handsome, who was, like his father, under the sway of the French clergy, determined to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land; but he wished to put an end to every cause of misunderstanding, previous to his departure, between the pope and himself, and sent William of Nogaret, as his ambassador to the pope, to treat of the conditions of peace. Boniface received the diplomatist very badly, and permitted insulting remarks towards the king to be made in his presence. Nogaret replied to him with the firmness becoming the representative of a great nation, and exposed to him the dangers to which he was exposing the Roman church by declaring himself the enemy of France. The pope, finally, discovered that the system of intimidation and violence which had succeeded with the Colonna, would be attended with very serious results, if attempted with the king of France. Making use of dissimulation, he pretended that the eloquence of Nogaret had led him to pacific sentiments, and persuaded the ambassador to write to Philip that there was nothing now to retard his departure for the Holy Land, as he accepted his proposals. He besought him, at the same time, to send the Count de Valois into Italy, at the head of his army, under the pretence of pacifying the troubles of that country—but, in reality, that France should be entirely freed from troops, and unable to oppose the guilty manœuvres of his policy.

When he supposed the moment favourable, Boniface sent to the court of Philip as his legate, Bernard Saisetti, bishop of Parma, a violent and proud man. This worthy ambassador of the pope spoke so insolently to the king that he drove him from his presence, and prohibited him from reappearing at court under penalty of being treated as guilty of lèse majesty. Bernard, forced to obey, immediately advised the holy father of the affront which had been offered him, and started for Languedoc, for the purpose of exciting, on his journey, the populace of the south against the royal authority, by preaching against Philip and promising indulgences and recompense to whoever would assassinate him.

This demoniac was arrested by the metropolitan of Narbonne and sent to the king, who immediately sent Peter Flotte to Rome, to inform the pope of the conduct of his legate, and to demand the papal authority to punish him. But instead of complying with this just demand, Boniface became enraged. He replied to the ambassador, that the legate having only obeyed his orders, merited only eulogies for his firmness; and that if a single hair of his head fell, he would take a terrible vengeance. Three days after, the holy father dropped the mask, and published a bull, in which he declared himself to be the absolute sovereign of the kingdom of France, and

claimed for himself the power of disposing of dignity, and of secular and ecclesiastical benefices. At the same time he cited all the chiefs of the French clergy to Rome, to justify their conduct. Philip then judged that it was useless to put off matters any longer, and on the 10th of April, 1302, he convened at Paris the nobility, clergy, and third estate in high parliament, before whom he laid his complaints against the pope.

All the members of the Assembly declared that they were ready to sacrifice their property and their persons to oppose the criminal enterprises of the head of the church. The ecclesiastics themselves blamed his ambition, and condemned the scandal of his pride. Philip declared, in the presence of the grandees of the court, the peers of the kingdom, and the principal magistrates, "That he disowned his eldest son as the heir of his crown, and all his descendents, if they ever submitted to the Roman pontiffs;" and he addressed the following letter to Boniface: "Know, insolent priest, that we are subject to no one in our temporal affairs, and that your great fatuity must humble itself before us."

Boniface relaxed none of his proud pretensions, in the hope that Charles of Valois, who was still in Italy, would defend him against his brother Philip. But all his efforts to gain over that prince were useless. In vain did he appoint him generalissimo of the armies of the church, with power to make war and peace. In vain did he make him count of Romagna and grand pacificator of Florence. Charles remained faithful to the interests of France, and refused to take up arms against his brother. He even went to Florence, which was then rent by the factions of the Bianchi and Neri, to put an end to those deplorable quarrels. His good intentions were, however, illy understood by the Florentines. The faction of the Neri, believing themselves favoured by him, pursued the Bianchi to extremities. They burned their houses, devastated their domains, murdered their women and children, and committed every where excessive cruelties. The celebrated poet Dante, one of the chiefs of Florence, and a member of the council of ten, who had been sent as a deputy to Rome to negotiate a peace, had his palace demolished, his estate laid waste, and was condemned to perpetual banishment in the city of Ravenna, where he died.

Boniface, finding it impossible to push on Charles of Valois to revolt against his brother, wished, at least, to detain him in Italy, in order to deprive France of the aid of his sword; and he amused him into apparent preparations for war against the king of Sicily, whilst he was intriguing in England, Spain, and Germany, to obtain large sums for the Flemings, who had risen against Philip. The holy father finally assembled a consistory, at which a large number of prelates assisted, who had been convened at Rome to deliberate on the conduct of France towards the Holy See. The bishop of Auxerre was the representative of

Philip, and the prelates of Noyou, Constance, and Beziers, appeared in the name of the French clergy.

In his opening discourse Boniface declared, that the dynasty of the Capets was a race of thieves and murderers—that their great power was derived from the Holy See, which had unceasingly augmented their estates at the expense of other lords, by successively legitimatising all their usurpations and by authorising them to levy imposts and dimes upon their subjects. He remarked, that during the reign of Philip Augustus the kings of France had a revenue of but eighteen thousand livres, whilst, under his pontificate the reigning king received forty thousand, by means of the favours and dispensations which had been granted to him. He accused the king of ingratitude, in refusing to submit to his spiritual father; and finally, becoming gradually more animated, he concluded with these words:—

"Yes, if the king does not become wiser, I shall chastise him as a scholar, and take his crown from him." He hoped that his prophecy would be realised, as he knew the Flemings were on the eve of a revolt. In fact, they soon heard the news, that the inhabitants of Bruges and Ghent, exasperated against the French, had assembled to the number of twenty thousand, and cut to pieces an army of more than forty thousand men, commanded by the Count d'Artois and the best captains of Philip. This encounter took place under the walls of Courtray. Twelve thousand gentlemen remained upon the field of battle; and amongst them were the Count d'Artois, Peter Flotte, and a number of distinguished lords. The pope ordered solemn masses to be celebrated in the churches of Rome as a token of his joy, and then renewed to Charles of Valois the offer to place him on the throne of France. The prince indignantly rejected his overtures, and hastened to the court of his brother to repair the disasters of the last campaign.

The king being apprised of the intrigues of the Holy See, resolved to be avenged, and held an assembly in the palace of the Louvre, on the 12th of March, 1303, to hear the complaint which William of Nogaret had to present against the pope. The ambassador thus expressed himself:—"I demand, illustrious lords, that the cardinal Benedict Gaetan, who calls himself pontiff, should be placed on trial as an atheist, a simoniac, an enemy of God and men, incestuous, a robber, a sodomite, and a destroyer of religion. I beseech the king to assemble the estates, to publish an ordinance convening a general council to judge Boniface. I also demand that they proceed without delay to the appointment of a vicar to govern the Roman church; and that the anti-pope be immediately arrested, that he may not oppose the reforms which shall be undertaken for the good of Christendom. Do not forget, great prince," he added, addressing Philip, "that you are compelled by the example of the kings, your predecessors, and by the oath which you have taken to protect

the churches of your kingdom, to pursue the cardinal Gaëtan until he shall be made powerless for injury."

The pope, having been informed of the proceedings against him in the conference of the Louvre, immediately wrote to the cardinal Lemoine, his legate, to excommunicate, individually, the king of France, and to depose the ecclesiastics who should be bold enough to administer the sacraments or to celebrate divine service after his prohibition. He sent an order to father Nicholas, a Jacobite, the confessor of Philip, to appear at Rome in three months, to answer before the consistory for the resistance which the king had made to the will of the holy father; he cited, also, all the French bishops to appear before his tribunal for the same cause.

The king, informed of these senseless attempts, caused the archdeacon of Constance, and Nicholas of Benefracto, the bearers of the pope's bull, to be arrested; at the same time he published an edict confiscating the property of the ecclesiastics who should go to Rome.

Boniface, who thus found himself at war with the most powerful princes of Europe, discovered but too late the danger to which he had exposed himself by pursuing Philip too far. He, however, endeavoured to contest the matter with him, and, as a preamble, put in use this political axiom: "When you have three enemies, make peace with two, in order to combat the third; then exterminate the two others in succession." He commenced by reconciling himself with Albert of Austria, recognising him as emperor; he no longer called him a rebellious subject and an assassin; he proclaimed him, on the contrary, sole and legitimate emperor of Germany, thus supplying, by all his ecclesiastical power, the irregularity of his first election. Before issuing this bull he exacted the following declaration from Albert:—"I recognise the empire to have been transferred, by the Holy See, from the Greeks to the Germans, in the person of Charlemagne; that the right of choosing the king of the Romans has been delegated by the pope to certain ecclesiastical or secular princes; and, finally, that the sovereigns receive from the chiefs of the church the power of the material sword."

Boniface had demanded a like declaration from Frederick, king of Sicily, and upon his refusal, had excommunicated him and placed his kingdom under interdict. But as Robert, duke of Calabria, the eldest son of Charles the Lame, and Frederick, had been reconciled by signing a treaty which assured to the latter the sovereignty of that island during his life, on condition that he would marry Eleonora, the daughter of Charles of Valois, the pope was obliged to absolve him from the excommunication, and to grant him a dispensation to marry Eleonora. Frederick, however, consented, in order to obtain the investiture, to do liege homage for his kingdom to the holy father, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute of three thousand ounces of gold, and to furnish an hun-

dred armed knights for three months, whenever they should be required; and, finally, declared that he regarded the enemies of the Roman church as his own, and that he would combat them to the death at the first order from the court of Rome.

Boniface also thought of creating for himself alliances in Hungary, and availed himself of the lords of the kingdom having bestowed the crown on Venceslas, the son of the king of Bohemia, without being authorised to do so by him, to declare the election irregular, and to claim the free disposal of the throne. He cited the different pretenders to the royalty of Hungary to Rome, and declared that he would decide in favour of him who offered the greatest advantages to the Holy See. Neither Venceslas nor his son appeared; they merely sent three ambassadors, who declared in the name of these two princes, that they simply came to assist at a synod, and not to plead the cause of the king, who had been chosen by the free will of the Hungarians.

The pope replied insolently to them, that the throne of Hungary was transmitted by order of succession, and not by the voice of election, and that he consequently adjudged it to Queen Mary and her grandson Charobert. Orders were immediately expedited to Nicholas of Treviso, the legate of that kingdom, to put the city of Buda under interdict, and to return to Italy; but the Hungarian priests, regardless of ecclesiastical censures, continued to celebrate divine service and administer the sacraments; nay, further, they even excommunicated the legate and Boniface himself. But the blow was struck and a civil war broke out, which lasted until 1310, when Charobert was universally acknowledged as king of Hungary.

Having thus assured himself of powerful allies, the pope recommenced his strife with Philip; he declared him deprived of the throne, and gave his kingdom to whoever would deliver him up, dead or alive, to the Holy See. The king, on his side, held an assembly of the states-general, in the gardens of the Louvre, to depose the holy father. William of Plessis, Louis, count of St. Paul, and John, count of Dreux, presented themselves before the nobility, clergy, and commons as the accusers of the pope. "They accused him of denying the immortality of the soul, and holding that it perished like the body, and that there was consequently no other life; they affirmed, that he denied the presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist, and called the host a piece of bad bread to which he paid no respect. They maintained that he preached publicly that the pope, being infallible, could commit incest, robberies, and murders without being criminal, and that it was heresy even to accuse him of having sinned; also, that he openly proclaimed fornication to be one of the most beautiful laws of nature, and that it alone revealed to him the existence of God. This execrable pope, they added, observes neither fasts nor abstinences; he eats flesh at all times and without lawful cause,

and orders his domestics to do the same; he orders priests to reveal to him the secrets of the confessional, under the pretence that they should unveil to him the crimes of his enemies; he persecutes the Minor and Preaching Brothers, and deprives them of their goods, under the pretext that these monks are hypocritical knaves, who levy extortions on the people,—and thus deserves to be called the robber of robbers. Finally, they produced witnesses, who affirmed, that the pope lived in concubinage with his two nieces, and had several children by both of them."

After having formally produced these different accusations, Du Plessis formally demanded an appeal to a future council; the king declared himself the appellant; the bishops, abbots, the university of Paris, and all orders in the kingdom, followed this example and demanded the convocation of a general synod. Finally, at Rome itself, ten cardinals approved of the proceedings of France, and adhered to the appeal. Philip then sent deputies to all the courts of Europe, to announce that the council was to be held. Nogaret, his ambassador at Rome, received orders to inform the pope of the decision of the states-general, and to publish it in the cities of Italy. He acquitted himself very happily in his mission, and drew over to the party of his master a great number of lords, magistrates, citizens, and ecclesiastics, who were tired of the tyranny of Boniface. The latter then resolved to quit the holy city, where his enemies were all-powerful: he secretly abandoned the Vatican, and went to dwell at Anagni.

A few days after his arrival there he assembled the cardinals who had followed him, and fulminated a terrible bull against Philip, whom he devoted, with his family and his posterity, to Satan and the execration of men; declaring his kingdom under interdict, freeing his subjects from the oath of fidelity, and giving his estates to the emperor Albert of Austria. In this bull he summoned the Germans, English, and Flemings to take up arms against France, and granted to them plenary indulgences for this war. Without losing time, Nogaret, on his side, acted with activity and remarkable address. Seconded by Sciarra Colonna and John Mouschet, two implacable enemies of the pope, he detached most of the cities adjoining the patrimony of St. Peter from the party of Boniface, and secretly assembled a troop of determined men, with whom he suddenly invested Anagni. His soldiers forced the gates of the city at the break of day on the 7th of September, 1303, and spread themselves through the streets, exclaiming, "Life to the king of France, death to Boniface." They then attacked the palace of Peter de' Gaëtan, the nephew of the pope, which they carried at the first assault, and then laid siege to the fortress which the holy father and his cardinals inhabited.

In this extremity, Boniface demanded a truce of some hours, under pretext of determining on what he would do, but in reality to excite a rising of the people in his favour.

They, however, restrained by fear, dared not make the least movement. The holy father then finding the delay which he had asked for about to expire, besought Sciarra Colonna to give him, in writing, the conditions which they demanded as the price of peace. Sciarra replied to his envoy, that if Boniface wished to save his life, he must, above all things, immediately reinstate the family of the Colonna in all their wealth and dignities, and renounce the papacy. These conditions having been reported to Boniface, he exclaimed, "No! I would rather die than cease to be pope."

In consequence, at three hours after noon, the truce having expired, a fresh assault was made by the soldiers, who scaled the walls and rushed into the apartments of the palace, which they pillaged. They found in the treasury so great a quantity of silver, gold, precious stones, and valuable articles, that if we may believe Walsingham, it exceeded the united wealth of all the kings of that period.

Boniface, seeing that he had no means of escape from his enemies, clothed himself in his pontifical ornaments, placed the crown of Constantine on his head, and holding the apostolic keys in one hand and the cross in the other, placed himself on his throne, awaiting with firmness the arrival of his enemies. Nogaret, without being stopped by the majesty of this spectacle, approached him without any respect, and informed him of the proceedings of the states of France, summoning him to appear before a general council to justify his conduct. The pope not having even replied to this first address, Sciarra Colonna advanced in his turn, and demanded of him, if he were willing to renounce the papacy. "No," replied Boniface, "I would rather lose my life; slay me if you dare—I will at least die pope." This would probably have happened but for the interference of Nogaret, for the soldiers had already seized the holy father. He stopped them by a gesture: "No, we will not put to death this infamous priest," he said: "we will drive him in disgrace from this apostolic chair, to which he is more attached than to existence; and it will be the most terrible of chastisements for this proud man to spare his days, that he may pass them in opprobrium and humiliation. Then prepare thyself, dog," said he, turning towards Boniface, "for the general council which is to assemble at Lyons to condemn thee."

This new insult exasperated the holy father; he forgot the part of impassability, which he had played until then, and fell into so violent a fit of rage that they thought him mad. He blasphemed the name of God, abjured Christ, cursed the king of France to his fourth generation, and called Sciarra Colonna the son of a prostitute. The latter could not restrain his indignation; he fell on Boniface, struck him on the face with his iron gauntlet until the blood flew, and would have broken his head if Nogaret had not wrested him from the hands of his enemies. Boniface was carried off wounded, and confided to the custody of Renaud de Sulpino, a Florentine captain, who

confined him in one of the halls of the palace. His captivity lasted for three days, during which he refused to take any nourishment, fearful lest his enemies should poison him. He only ate four eggs, which were given to him by an old woman.

At length, on the fourth night, the inhabitants of Anagni, excited by the priests, attacked the French so furiously, that they forced them to abandon the pontifical palace, and Nogaret and Colonna barely escaped with some soldiers, leaving the banner of France, which they had planted on the tower of the city, in the hands of their enemies. The pope being freed from the hands of his foes, was carried to the public Place, where, fearful of a return of ill fortune, he declared in the presence of the people, that he pardoned those who had taken up arms against him; that he reinstated the Colonna family in all their possessions and dignities; and that he even pardoned William de Nogaret, the author of all his misfortunes. This hypocritical language gained for him some partizans.

But as soon as he was at Rome, and out of the reach of danger, he dreamed of nothing but vengeance, and passed his days and nights in preparing it. Concealed in the depths of his palace, for the purpose of maturing his machiavelian plans, he passed whole weeks in reflection, without being willing to speak even with the officers of his court. He was heard frequently to exclaim aloud, "Malediction—*anathema*." This continual irritation at last brought on a violent fever, and the holy father became very ill. In his fits of delirium he accused himself of a prodigious number of crimes, and uttered frightful yells, as if Satan had seized on him. They then remembered this prophecy of Pope Celestin: "Curses on thee, Benedict Gaëtan. Thou hast mounted the throne like a fox, thou wilt reign like a lion, and die like a dog." Boniface, in a paroxysm of madness, gnawed his arms, and died on the 11th of October, 1303. He was buried at St. Peter's, in a chapel which he had built at the entrance of that church.

Dante has placed the soul of this pontiff in the depths of hell, in the hole which Pope Nicholas the Third had occupied before him; and there were, in his time, designs at Rome representing Peter de Mouron, with a dove on his head, figuring the Holy Spirit; behind him came Boniface with a speaking trumpet in his hand, having a fox in his arms, whose claws were fixed in the back of Celestin the Fifth, while he lifted off his tiara with his nose. In the background of the picture, the artist had represented Boniface a second time with the pontifical ornaments, and dragged along by armed men, who struck him in the face with their gauntlets.

The result of all the testimony we can gather is, that this pope was reputed as damned, even by the clergy. John Villani calls him a cruel, ambitious, corrupt, proud, and avaricious priest. He says he possessed great skill in the management of temporal affairs; that he was profoundly versed in the

Holy Scriptures, and in the canon and civil law, and reports at length different propositions or axioms of Boniface, which had been transcribed on authentic documents. The following are some of them: "God made me only for good in this world."—"I care no more for another life than for a bean."—"Men have souls like those of beasts; the one are as much immortal as the other."—"The gospel teaches more falsehoods than truths: the delivery of the Virgin is absurd: the incarnation of the Son of God is ridiculous: the dogma of the transubstantiation is a folly."—"The sums of money which the fable of Christ has produced the priests, are incalculable."—"Religions are created by the ambitious to deceive men."—"Ecclesiastics must speak like the people, but they have not the same belief."—"It is no greater sin to abandon one's self to pleasure with a young girl or boy, than to rub one's hands together."—"We must sell in the church all that the simple wish to buy."

As a finishing stroke to this portrait of Boniface, and to show that he put his maxims into practice, we will recount the burlesque adventures of the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, as narrated by the historian Desmarets: "The cardinal, Benedict Gaëtan," he says, "had so skillfully used a speaking trumpet to determine Peter Mouron to abdicate, that when he was chosen pope, he made use of another piece of trickery, to extort money from the faithful. He publicly announced that the angels being at his orders, he would cause them to carry off from Nazareth in Galilee, from the hands of the Mussulmen, the house in which the Virgin Mary had been born, in which she had been married to Joseph, and in which she had conceived through the operation of the Holy Spirit. But eight days had elapsed after this promise, when the holy father ordered the people to go to Dalmatia to see the house which the angels had transported in their arms, and which they had placed on a desert hill called Tersatto—it remained there for three years and seven months.

"As the length of the journey prevented many Christians from carrying their offerings there, the angels, always obedient to Boniface, transported it a second time into the midst of an immense forest, in the territory of Racanati, a dependency on the March of Ancona. After this second prodigy, the priests published the miracles of the holy house; they related that all nature thrilled with joy around the residence of the Virgin; that the winds murmured celestial melodies; that the oaks bent their heads in homage to the mother of God, and that a brilliant light illuminated the forest by night. The people soon hastened from all parts of Italy to see these marvels, and to offer presents to the holy Madonna. Unfortunately, the robbers, who are always so numerous in lower Italy, wished to divide with the Virgin the gifts of the pilgrims; and as the pope did not find his account in this, he ordered his angels to transport the house out of the forest. They deposited it in a field belonging to two brothers who had lost their father the

evening before; it became a cause of dispute between them, each of them claiming possession of the lot on which it stood. To produce harmony, the angels carried off this miraculous house a fourth time, and deposited it in the midst of a field, belonging to a holy woman named Loretta. The Virgin Mary was doubtless much pleased with this choice,

for from the thirteenth century down to our own times, it has not changed its place—or, what is more probable, the pope did not cause it to perform a fifth journey, because he had brought it near enough to Rome, not to fear the brigands who had the sacrilegious audacity to share, with the Madonna, the offerings of the faithful."

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

BENEDICT THE ELEVENTH, THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1303.]

Reflections on the history of the church in the fourteenth century—Election of Benedict the Eleventh—The states-general of France beseech Philip to declare the memory of Boniface infamous—Re-establishment of the Colonna—The pope wishes to reform the morals of the clergy—He is poisoned by the cardinals.

ROBERT GALLUS, in his apocalyptic style, says, in speaking of the church in the fourteenth century, "I was in prayer, with my looks towards heaven, when I suddenly perceived in the air a monster clothed in the pontifical cape; it had feet in the form of a sword, and immense hands which it plunged into the east and west, to draw them out full of gold and precious stones. Having approached me, I heard an infernal voice, which exclaimed, 'it is the Roman church!'"

The spirit of humility and charity had, indeed, entirely abandoned the chiefs of the Roman clergy. From the time of Saint Gregory to Gregory the Seventh, they had combatted against the bishops of the East and West, to usurp the supreme power in the church. They had then commenced the same strife against kings, down to the time of Boniface the Eighth, for the purpose of establishing their temporal sway. At length, when they had elevated the chair of St. Peter above all sees and all thrones, when they had united in their grasp the spiritual and temporal swords, they desired to exercise this power to draw to themselves the riches of the whole world. The Inquisition, established by Innocent the Third, had already done marvels in Europe, where its tribunals condemned to the scaffold the faithful, whose wealth excited the covetousness of the court of Rome. But as this mode of extortion, independently of some danger attending it, was not sufficiently expeditious, the popes fell back on the relics, and, following the maxim of Boniface the Eighth, made money out of every thing they could sell. After having exhausted Italy, they settled down on France, where, thanks to the progress of information, the enfranchisement of the Communes, and the emancipation of the serfs, they were assured of finding resources for a long time. Besides, during the whole age in which they held their court

at Avignon, it appeared as if virtue had been driven from the kingdom by their presence; so many shameful actions were committed.

After the terrible end of Boniface, the cardinals assembled in conclave, and proclaimed as chief of the church, Nicholas of Treviso, cardinal archbishop of Ostia. The new pontiff was consecrated on the 27th of October, 1303, by the name of Benedict the Eleventh. He was the son of a notary named Boccasio Boccasini; he had studied at Venice, where he had afterwards performed the duties of a teacher. He then entered the order of preaching friars, in which, from his zeal, he had merited to be promoted to the post of sub-prior, prior, provincial, and general of the order. Boniface had elevated him to the cardinalate, and bishopric of Ostia, giving to him the singular recommendation to be less virtuous, if he wished to be loved by the clergy of his diocese.

As soon as his elevation was known in France, Philip sent the lord of Mercœur, Peter de Belle-Perche, a canon of Chartres, and William du Plessis, who united with Nogaret in congratulating the new pope upon his exaltation, and in submitting to him the following request, which the states-general had presented to the king of France:—"To you, most noble prince Philip, our sire, the people of your kingdom beseech you to preserve the franchises and sovereignty of your estates—that is, that you recognise, on earth, no other master of your temporal goods than yourself. They also beseech you to declare in the face of nations, that pope Boniface the Eighth has merited eternal damnation, in proclaiming, by his bulls, that your kingdom belonged to him, and that he could dispose of it at his pleasure."

Benedict, guided by a sentiment of probity and justice, openly blamed the conduct of his predecessor; he freed Philip from all the

ecclesiastical censures pronounced against him, and published several bulls to repair the disorders which those of Boniface had caused. He also revoked the decrees lanced against the Colonna, except those of confiscation, which the cardinals would not consent to annul. Very different from his predecessors, this pontiff was such an enemy of luxury and ostentation, that his mother having come to see him, after his exaltation, magnificently dressed, he feigned not to recognise her. As she perceived the cause of his discontent, she left the palace, and returned in her ordinary dress; he then received her most affectionately, before all the court, and seated her at his side. The same sentiments of humility induced Benedict to favour the mendicant brothers, who possessed neither residence nor domains, and lived by alms, passing the night on the threshold of the houses which offered them an asylum for it.

This good pope devoted all his attention to

the pacification of Italy, and the reform of the ecclesiastics. He thus excited a violent hatred against himself. The cardinals, whose irregularities he wished to repress, became his most ardent enemies, and determined to free themselves from an inconvenient censor. On the day of a grand festival, when the holy father was dining with several of them, a young clergyman presented himself in the dress of a nun of the monastery of Saint Peter's, and offered to Benedict, in the name of the abbess, who was one of his penitents, a silver plate, having on it some freshly culled figs. The pope took two of them, and offered the others to the guests, who refused them, not to deprive his holiness of them. On the same night he was attacked with severe pain in his bowels and with vomiting; his physician perceived that he was poisoned. But it was too late to arrest the evil, and the virtuous Benedict expired on the 6th of July, 1304.

CLEMENT THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDREDTH POPE.

[A. D. 1304.]

Disorders, debaucheries, and intrigues of the cardinals—Philip chooses Clement the Fifth—Conditions of his agreement with Philip—The new pope is crowned at Lyons—Origin of the Annats—The holy father pillages the churches of France—Persecutions of the templars—Philip exacts the condemnation of the memory of Boniface by the pontiff—The king is deceived by the pope—He is compelled to renounce the pursuit of the memory of Boniface—Absolution of Nogaret—Council of Vienne—The Christian princes engage to undertake a new crusade in the Holy Land—The emperor, Henry the Seventh, invades Italy and seizes Rome—He is poisoned by a Jacobin monk—Bull of the pope against the memory of that prince—Death of Clement.

THE funeral of Benedict the Eleventh being over, the cardinals shut themselves up in conclave at Perouse, to give him a successor. From the first day they were divided into two equally powerful parties. The one was led by Mathew Rosso des Ursini and Francis Gaëtan; the other by Napoleon des Ursini and the cardinal de Prato. The first sought to place on the pontifical throne an Italian cardinal who was favourable to the friends of Boniface; the others opposed their enemies with a French cardinal, who was favourable to Philip and the Ghibelines. In all their divisions they agreed in one matter, which was, not to choose a virtuous priest. "We do not want another beggar," said they, thus designating the unfortunate Benedict. Both parties having decided to make no concessions, they broke up the conclave, and returned to their palaces to resume their habits of debauchery, with their mistresses and minions, without disturbing themselves about the misfortunes of the church, which remained abandoned to the most deplorable anarchy. At last the cardinal de Prato, who had sold himself to the king of France, undertook to reassemble the conclave, and proclaim a pope

of the party of Philip. To effect this he proposed an accommodation between the two parties, which was to leave to the Guelphs the right of naming three ultramontane candidates, and to the Ghibelines that of choosing which of them they pleased, as the sovereign pontiff. No one saw the snare; the party of the cardinal Mathew consented readily to name the pretenders to the papacy, and nominated three ultramontanes who were the avowed enemies of the king of France.

Among these three candidates, the one most hostile to Philip was Got, archbishop of Bordeaux. He was the one whom the cardinal Prato determined to bring over to his party and make pope. He sent the king a copy of the agreement among the cardinals, informed him of his plan, and advised him to give a secret rendezvous to the ambitious prelate to propose to him the conditions of the compact. Philip wrote to Bertrand de Got, and designated an abbey situated in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely, as a place of interview. The archbishop went to meet him, very curious to know why the prince wished a conference with him. When the king had presented him the letters in which the cardinal de Prato

announced to him that the party of the Ghibelines only awaited his orders to make Got the sovereign pontiff, the latter cast himself at his feet, exclaiming, "Sire, I see now why you wished to render me good for evil, and I submit entirely to you. Command and I am ready to obey. From this moment I forget the past, I renounce my friends, and am ready to sacrifice all my existence for you."

Philip raised him, and having embraced him, said, "Thus, then, it depends on me to make you pope; but I will only do it on the express condition that you reconcile me with the church, that you commune with me and those who have followed my party; that you grant me all the titles of my kingdom for five years, and that you condemn the proceedings and the memory of Boniface; that you entirely reinstate the Colonna in their wealth and dignities; and finally, that you will make cardinals of the ecclesiastics whom I will designate to you. I also reserve an important condition which you must accept without knowing what it is."

The archbishop swore upon the host to comply with all the wishes of the king, and gave him as hostages for the security of his promise one of his brothers and two of his nephews. A courier was at once sent to the cardinal de Prato, at Perouse, and on the next day, the latter presented himself at the conclave, to proclaim Got sovereign pontiff. The Guelphs immediately thundered forth a *Te Deum*, in celebration of the victory they had gained, believing that they had elevated to the throne of the apostle the most bitter foe of the king of France.

Bertrand de Got was born at Villandean, in the diocese of Bordeaux, of an old family. His father was a knight, and his uncle a bishop of Agen. Destined from his earliest infancy to the church, he had studied the canon law, and acquired a profound knowledge of the texts of the sacred writings. Boniface the Eighth, who preferred knaves and immoral men to virtuous priests, having regarded him as worthy of his protection, he had been elevated first to the see of Cominges, and then to the archbishopric of Bordeaux. As soon as he received the decree of his election to the papacy, he left his diocese, traversed in triumph through the cities of the south of France, and went to Montpellier, to receive the oath of liege homage from James of Arragon, who placed his kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica under the protection of the Holy See. He then went to Lyons to be consecrated, and sent orders to the cardinals to cross the mountains to assist at his coronation. He also wrote to the kings of France and England, and several other princes, inviting their presence to add to the splendour of this imposing ceremonial. Mathew Rosse des Ursini, dean of the sacred college, on receiving the imperious orders of the new pontiff, said to the cardinal de Prato, "Your ruse has deluged us into the hands of a Gascon, and you will be the cause of our abandoning for a long time our magnificent palaces."

In conformity, however, with the instructions of the pope, the cardinals went to Lyons, and proceeded to the consecration; the ceremonies took place in the church of St. Just, on the 14th of November, 1305, in the presence of an immense concourse of bishops, archbishops, kings, princes, and lords. Mathew Rosse then placed the imperial crown on his head, and he took the name of Clement the Fifth.

After mass, he returned to his palace, followed by cardinals, nobles, and monks, and an immense escort of people; the kings of France and Arragon led by the bridle a white horse, on which the pope, clothed in his pontifical ornaments and wearing his tiara, was mounted. The procession having arrived at the foot of the hill on which the church of Saint Just is built, the kings yielded their place, by the side of Clement, to Charles of Valois and Louis d'Evreux, the two brothers of Philip. Scarcely had this change been made, when a horrible crash was heard; an old wall, on which a scaffolding had been erected, fell on the train and drew down in its fall all who were on it. The Count de Valois and the king of France were badly wounded; the pontiff himself was thrown from his horse, and in the tumult a large diamond of considerable value was stolen from his tiara. His brother Gaillard de Got was instantly killed, with the duke of Brittany and a large number of lords and priests.

Several cardinals, already discontented with Clement, took occasion of this accident to proclaim openly their intention of returning to Italy; but the pope promptly informed them, that he knew how to constrain them to obey his will, and to inhabit the city in which he pleased to dwell.

Some days afterwards, Clement celebrated his first pontifical mass, and gave a grand entertainment to all his court. As we might suppose, the most delicious meats and wines of France were lavished at it, so that towards the end of the banquet, their heads being exhilarated, they laid aside reserve. An imprudent word brought on a quarrel between the cardinals and the holy father; from words they came to blows, daggers leaped from their sheaths, and one of the brothers of the pope was slain before his eyes. Clement, who had so unfortunately lost two of his brothers, perceived the necessity of reinforcing his party, and created ten French cardinals. He then took off the bulls lanced by Boniface the Eighth against the Colonna, and restored the cardinalate to James and Peter, with power to reach all the dignities of the church, even that of sovereign pontiff.

During his sojourn at Lyons, the pontiff, though much grieved by the death of his brothers, did not forget the interests of his see. He extorted enormous sums from the bishops and abbots of France who came to his court, and when he perceived that a fear of being mulcted prevented the clergy from visiting him, he determined to make a tour through the dioceses; he passed through a great num-

ber of cities, and every where carried off treasures from the churches and monasteries; it is related that it took five whole days to carry away from the rich abbey of Cluny, the gold and silver that he found in the cellars of the monks. He compelled Giles, the archbishop of Bourges, to pay so large a fine for not having visited him, that the unfortunate prelate was compelled ever after to live on alms. Not content with his own extortions, on his return to Bordeaux, he sent three legates, Gentil de Montésiore, Nicholas de Fréauville, and Thomas de Jorz, to squeeze the lower clergy of the Gallic church. They imposed such onerous contributions on the priests, and exacted the payment so rigorously, that the latter, in their despair, complained to the monarch.

Philip instructed Milon de Noyers, the marshal of France, to complain to the holy father against his extortioners, and to obtain their recall. But this embassy, instead of arresting the evil, increased it. The pope, fearing lest energetic measures would be taken to shackle his financiering expedition, urged the receipt of the money, and ordered his legates to increase their severity and set all ecclesiastic dignities up at auction. He also resolved to use the tribunals of the inquisition, with which Blanche of Castile and St. Louis had endowed France, so as to avail himself of the decrees of the fourth council of the Lateran, which provided that the property of heretics and their accomplices belonged to the Holy See, without the children or relatives of the condemned being able to claim the least part. As Philip alone could offer any serious opposition, he determined to associate him with him in its benefits, and offered to divide with him the immense wealth of the templars and hospitaliers, whom he proposed to attack as heretics.

This infernal project, sprung from the brain of a pope, was worthy of a king. Clement the Fifth and Philip the Fourth soon agreed upon the execution of it. The holy father addressed a letter to the prince on the subject, and gave him a rendezvous at Poitiers, where he remained almost a year, confined to his bed by a grievous malady, produced by his debaucheries with his minions, and the beautiful Countess de Foix, his mistress. This time of inaction was not, however, entirely lost to the pope, for after his interview with the king he was enabled to meditate at his leisure upon the most ready method of exterminating the templars and hospitaliers.

Clement adopted the following ruse:—he first caused a new crusade to be preached in Europe and even in Syria; he then sent the following letter to Palestine, to the grand masters of the templars and hospitaliers:—"We inform you, my brethren, that we have been urgently solicited by the kings of Arragon and Cyprus for aid for the Holy Land. We order you to come to France as secretly as possible, to deliberate with us. You will also be careful to bring with you large sums to equip a numerous army."

Jacques de Molay, grand master of the

templars, obeyed the injunctions of the holy father; but Foulques de Villaret, the grand master of the hospitaliers, occupied with the siege of Rhodes, could not quit his army, and thus postponed the ruin of his order. The unfortunate Molay sailed for France, and delivered himself up to his enemies. The pope and Philip had agreed that the knights of the temple should be arrested at the same time, in the different Christian kingdoms, and that they should be handed over to the inquisitors as suspected of heresy; that their property should be seized in the name of the church, and that they should be put to death upon the scaffold, after having been put to the torture to make them avow imaginary crimes.

The execution of this frightful plot was not deferred; the pope informed the kings of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, of his determination to annihilate the templars, and, on the appointed day, they were all arrested and plunged into the dungeons of the inquisition. The iniquity of the judges was such, that they pardoned a murderer named Squin de Florian, who had been confined with a knight, because he deposed that his companion had revealed to him the crimes and impurities which were committed at the reception of templars. Squin de Florian, the robber and assassin, was received at a public audience by the king and pope, laden with presents, and glorified for his religious zeal. After such an encouragement to informers, thousands of them arose on all sides, and the duty of the inquisitors became easier. They were also sufficiently encouraged by Philip and Clement, who presided over an auto de fe. In Italy, Germany, Spain, and especially France, a prodigious number of scaffolds were erected, which consumed the unfortunate victims of the cupidity of a pope and a king.

These bloody executions having terminated, the two execrable tyrants divided between themselves the riches of the templars. Philip kept the land, and Clement took all the ornaments of gold and silver, and the coined money, which enabled him to reward the infamous panderers of his nephew and the Countess de Foix.

The king of France, though well satisfied with the holy father, had not forgotten the oath which the cardinal Got had taken to him at St. Jean de Angely, to grant him a decree of infamy against the deceased pope, Boniface the Eighth, and demanded the execution of his promise. This resolution of the prince, which threatened the whole pontifical edifice, filled the court of Avignon with alarm; but the cardinal de Prato, whom we have seen so fertile in expedients, promised the pope, if he would give him a thousand ounces of gold, to free him from his embarrassment; the offer was accepted, and he gave the following counsel. "Write to the king, most holy father, that the majority of the sacred college is opposed to the condemnation of Boniface, and that to obtain it you will be obliged to convene a general council. As the

prince wishes to give great publicity to this act, he will consent, and you shall fix the place of meeting at Vienne in Dauphiny, a neutral country, and one suitable for the prelates of France, Germany, England, Italy, and Languedoc. The king will agree, and you will thus be out of his kingdom, when it will be easy for you to make such a decision, as shall be most favourable to the interests of the Holy See."

Clement followed his advice, and convened a council at Vienna, under pretext of passing the most readily on the demand of Philip. The latter, a dupe of the trick, and believing the pope in his interests, loaded himself with presents, and came in person to visit him at the city of Avignon, his residence, bringing with him his brother, Charles of Valois, the principal lords of his court, and his most skilful counsellors to consult with Clement on the clause, which he had reserved to inform him of at a suitable time; this clause was no other than the elevation of his brother to the throne of Germany, become vacant by the death of Albert the First. The pontiff, surprised at this demand, at once sent a courier with speed to the German electors, to apprise them of the plans of the court of France, urging them to proclaim, immediately, Henry of Luxemburg as emperor of Germany, which was done to the great disappointment of the king. This precipitate election gave Philip some suspicions, but the pope swore on the host that he knew nothing of it until it had happened, and the prince was imposed on by his hypocrisy.

Since the emperors had been constrained to abandon Italy to the Holy See, the provinces of that magnificent country had been plunged into the most frightful disorders; the greater part of the cities, crushed by petty tyrants, were the theatres of bloody divisions, in which the two parties, Guelphs and Ghibelines, disputed by turns for the supreme power; thus, every where were seen the banished and discontented, awaiting the hour of vengeance; a powerful hand was alone capable of affording a remedy for so many evils. This mission should have belonged to the pope, and Clement the Fifth was strong enough, and rich enough, to levy armies and re-establish order in the provinces of Italy; but he preferred to the good of the people the effeminate life which he led among his concubines and minions, in his splendid palace at Avignon. Being thus unwilling to interrupt the course of his festivals and orgies, he contented himself with lancing some powerless bulls against the tyrants and the factions.

Philip, who had not abandoned his plan of reducing beneath his sway the countries beyond the Alps, evinced great irritation with the pontifical court, for the indifference it affected for the fate of Italy, and for the deceptions put upon him, in regard to the crown of Germany. As he did not, however, suspect the pope of having participated in this last treason, his wrath was turned against those cardinals who had been the intimate friends

of Boniface the Eighth. He sent a formal order to the holy father, to render at once a sentence which should declare Boniface and all his partisans infamous. Clement, urged strongly by the ambassadors of the king, pledged himself to obey, and even commenced the process, by causing to be burned publicly in Avignon the false acts which had been fabricated by some of the friends of the dead pope in his defence. But these preliminaries of condemnation were soon stopped by the cardinals, who introduced soldiers into the city, and threatened Clement to carry him off by force and conduct him to Rome, if he persisted in pursuing the memory of his predecessor. This manifestation of hostility by the clergy, which was a new trick of the holy father's, was represented to the French ambassadors as a very grave event, which might determine the translation of the Holy See to Italy, if the king persisted in his resolution of causing the memory of Boniface to be condemned.

This affair was so skilfully conducted, that Philip desisted from his pursuit, remitting to Clement the charge of finishing the judgment of his predecessor as he found suitable. The holy father then published a bull, in which he revoked the suspensions of the privileges, the censures, excommunications, interdicts, depositions, and, generally, all that had been done, or ordered, by Boniface the Eighth against France, King Philip, the princes, his sons and brothers, against the barons, prelates, and other lords of the kingdom, on account of their denunciations, appeals, demands for a general council, outrages, blasphemies, invasions, robberies, or pillage of the treasures of the church, and, finally, for all that concerned the quarrels of Boniface with the king and his adherents. He abolished all taint of calumny, all note of infamy against the name or reputation of those who had sustained the party of the king in this affair, and he caused the originals of the sentences pronounced by the court of Rome against Philip to be torn from the register of the church and publicly burned.

The bishops, however, were still preparing to come to the general council of Vienna, which the pope feigned to desire most ardently, in order to make some reforms among the clergy, of which the church stood in great need; for bishop William Durandi, in speaking of the court of Avignon, called it the retreat of dragons, the place of resort of satyrs, and the kingdom of demons.

It was soon discovered, that Clement was incapable of forming so good a plan, and that the true and sole end of his holiness in assembling the synod was to extort money from the bishops and other ecclesiastics. When they had assembled, his first employment was to impose an annual rent of a quarter of their revenues; he then proposed to them to examine the conduct of Boniface the Eighth; but when he saw that the fathers of the council, with the exception of the cardinals, were disposed to condemn the memory of that

pope, he immediately suspended their deliberations, and presented a decree which declared Boniface to have been a good Catholic and lawful pastor. This strange decision surprised the prelates; no one, however, dared to express an opinion contrary to that of the pontiff and Benedict Gaëtan. The assassin of the virtuous Celestin came forth victorious from this test, and his memory was glorified by this assembly of cowardly and pusillanimous priests. The decision of the council, though covering the perfidy of Clement, did not, however, entirely assure him against the wrath of the king of France, and he hastened to send to him four doctors to justify his conduct, and to represent to him that the Roman church could not condemn one of its chiefs without dishonouring itself.

This demonstrated to the prince with so much skill how impolitic it was to force one pope to proclaim the infamy of another, and to publish to the nations, that the priests who governed them were impure, greedy, despotic, and cruel men, who played on the credulity or weakness of the people to live at their expense in luxury, sloth, and debauchery, that Philip suffered himself to be persuaded, and approved of the conduct of the pontiff; he only demanded, that in order to stop the applications of the states-general, some expedient should be hit on, to justify the innocence of Boniface. This was easy: on the next day the holy father sent to the court of the king two Catalan knights, who demanded a combat with any two of the most valiant of the French nobility who declared themselves the enemies of the deceased pope. At this period of barbarity, such a proceeding was sufficient to convince the people of the innocence of the accused; no one appeared to take up the gauntlet of the champions, and the thing was at an end.

Clement was then occupied with the Begards and Beguins, admirers and followers of Pierre Jean de Olive, as well as with the Dulcinists and Fratricelli, who refused to recognise the authority of the Holy See; he confiscated their property to his own profit, and handed over the unfortunate to the terrible justice of the inquisition. Such were the results of the council of Vienna.

The reforms among the clergy which the pope announced he intended to bring about, one contained in this insignificant decree:—"The clergy are prohibited from pursuing the occupations of butchers or tavern keepers; from appearing in public with striped garments or partly coloured ones; from wearing short cloaks, and hose, slashed with red or green."

In the final session it was solemnly announced, that Henry the Seventh, the king of the Romans, Philip the Handsome and his oldest son, and also Edward of England, had promised to go to the Holy Land; he consequently asked, and obtained permission from the fathers, to decree a new crusade, "and without loss of time," says Pasquier, "pope Clement caused it to be preached in France, by a cardinal, who was profoundly versed in

the art of deceiving men; and under the appearance of charity, knew how to extort their uttermost farthing from the faithful poor.—For a penny, he granted indulgences for a year; for a double or triple sum the indulgences were increased in a like proportion, and those who gave money enough to equip a man at arms, plenary indulgences, and the power of delivering any souls they chose from purgatory!! Other emissaries traversed different kingdoms of Europe, and levied enormous sums upon the people, which were employed in paying for the compliances of the minions and mistresses of the pope."

Shortly after the termination of the council, Henry the Seventh promised the pope to invade Italy, to reduce it beneath the yoke of the Holy See. When his preparations were completed, he renewed on the Bible, and the consecrated host, his oath to defend the Catholic faith, exterminate heretics, and combat for the rights of the Roman church. He confirmed the old privileges and donations which it had received from Constantine, Charlemagne, Henry, Otho, Frederick, and other emperors of Germany. The pope, on his side, promised solemnly to crown him when he should be the master of the holy city.

Although the prince was thus assisted by the protection of the pope, he was none the less compelled to combat the Genoese, Florentines, Milanese, and other people of Italy, and to fight several battles to make a road to Rome. This invasion of the German troops in the name of the holy father, instead of appeasing the troubles, exasperated their minds; and Clement the Fifth fearing the effect of the hatred he had excited, was afraid to enter Italy; he commissioned five cardinals to proceed in his place to the coronation of the emperor, and sent a bull in which all the pontifical audacity was exhibited to the light of day. "Know, prince, he wrote, that Jesus Christ, the King of kings, having given to his church all the kingdoms upon earth; emperors and kings should serve, on their knees, us, who are the representatives and vicars of God!"

Henry the Seventh, master of Rome, had daily engagements with the troops, which Robert, king of Naples had sent to the aid of the city; and notwithstanding his desire to be crowned in the church of St. Peter, he was compelled to abandon the hope of driving the Neopolitans, who had fortified it, out of it.—The consecration took place in St. John's of the Lateran; the cardinals in accordance with their instructions, demanded an oath of obedience and fidelity from the prince, which was refused. Henry then discovering that he, if he wished to strengthen his authority, he must abandon the party of the pope, which was unpopular in Italy, left Rome and went to Tuscany, to fight the Guelphs.

This impudent manifestation was fatal to the emperor. The implacable Clement, disappointed in his hope of reconquering the Peninsula by his aid, resolved to be avenged; and two months afterwards he died at the monastery of Bonconvento, near Florence, poisoned

by a Dominican monk, named Bernard de Montpulcien, one of the familiars of the inquisition, who had mixed poison with the blood of the Lord, when presenting the communion to him. A general cry of indignation arose against the monks of the order of Saint Dominic, and the people every where demanded the expulsion of these hideous bravos of the court of Avignon. The pope, to arrest this explosion of hatred, apologised publicly for the Dominicans, affirmed on the consecrated host that the prince had died a natural death, and handed over to the inquisition the physicians who maintained that they found traces of poison in his bowels. No one dared now to speak, and it was well and duly proved that Henry the Seventh died by the order of God, who punished him for having refused to take an oath of fidelity to the Holy See.

In the beginning of the following year, Clement anathematised the inhabitants of

Modena, Bologna, and Mantua, for having attacked Raymond, marquis of Ancona, and his nephew, and pillaged the treasures of the church, which these two lords were carrying into France. This loss of money annoyed the holy father very much, who, to divert his chagrin, retired to Montil, with the Countess de Foix and all his minions. These passed scenes of debauchery so horribly depraved, that it is impossible to recite them; we will only say, that Clement, already old and worn out, was attacked by a singular malady, which his physicians declared it would be impossible to cure, unless he breathed his native air.—But God had at last marked the term of this criminal existence. Whilst the pontiff was being transported to Bordeaux, the malady increased; they were obliged to stop his litter at Roquemare, on the Rhone, in the diocese of Nismes, where Clement died on the 20th of April, 1314.

VACANCY IN THE HOLY SEE.

[A. D. 1314.]

Division of the treasures of the church between the mistresses and minions of Clement the Fifth—The cardinals assemble in conclave—The city of Carpentras pillaged and burned by the priests of the court of Clement—The cardinals separate without naming a pope—Interregnum of two years—Origin of the sect of the Lollards—Singular expedient employed by Philip, count of Poitiers, to oblige the cardinals to form a new conclave—After a forced abstinence of forty days they proclaim the bishop of Porto sovereign pontiff.

As soon as Clement the Fifth had closed his eyes, his treasures were pillaged. The cardinals seized on enormous sums of coined money. Bernard, count de Lomagne, nephew and minion of the dead pope, carried off chalices and ornaments worth more than a hundred thousand florins. The Countess de Foix stole, as her share, all the jewels of the holy father. And there were no minions nor mistresses of the cardinals who were not enriched by the spoils of the sovereign pontiff. Jean Villani says, that in the midst of this disorder, in which every one was so desirous of pillage, they only left an old travelling mantle to cover the dead body of Clement, and that was in part consumed by a candle falling on the bed where it lay.

When there was nothing more left in the treasury of the church, the cardinals, twenty-three in number, went to Carpentras, and shut themselves up in the episcopal palace, to proceed to the election of a new pope. Scarcely had they done so, when a dreadful tumult broke out in the city; the priests of the court of Clement, and the domestics of the cardinals who had not formed a part of the cortège of the pope, and who consequently had not had part of the plunder, arrived at Carpentras, furious at having been deprived of such rich booty. As they knew the impossibility of their masters opposing their designs, they traversed the streets with lighted

torches, and set fire to the houses that they might more easily rob the inhabitants in the general alarm. Fortunately, these soon gained the ascendancy, and laid strong hands on the stranger priests. In consequence of this outbreak, a panic seized the cardinals; they left Carpentras furtively, to escape the popular vengeance, and retired to their magnificent palaces at Avignon, or to their country houses, without caring otherwise for Christianity than to spend with their mistresses the money which the faithful had given to Clement the Fifth, and which they had divided among themselves.

Two whole years passed in this way, and the Christian world was surrendered to the most deplorable anarchy. The priests robbed the people with impunity, and the inquisitors decimated the population or embittered themselves against the poor heretics, called Lollards, whose principal seat was the small city of Crems in Bohemia. The Lollards chiefly professed the opinions of the Fratricelli; they maintained that Lucifer and the rebellious angels had been driven from heaven because they had demanded liberty and equality in the celestial kingdom, but that the time would come in which the archangel Saint Michael and his cohort, who had combated against them, in support of tyranny, would be eternally condemned, as well as those men who imitated their cowardice in obeying kings.

They turned the ceremonies of the church into derision. If baptism is a sacrament, said they, every time one bathes he receives a new baptism, and the bathers are transformed into priests. The ordination of ecclesiastics appeared to them to be useless, the dedication of temples ridiculous, and the blessing of cemetaries a sacrilegious mummery. Finally, from paradox to paradox, they came to the conclusion that the consecrated host was a morsel of dry bread, and the sacrifice of the mass a divine farce. They, further, observed neither fasting nor abstinence; ate of the same food on holy Thursday as on other days, and laboured on Easter day. At this time, all these great crimes would scarcely draw a slight punishment on the seminarist who was guilty of them; but they excited in the highest degree the holy wrath of the inquisitors of that period, and more than eight thousand of these unfortunates were pitilessly tortured and burned in the name of a God of mercy.

Whilst the scaffolds were consuming these unfortunate victims of the avarice or fanaticism of the priests, the sacred college still remained divided. Philip the Handsome, as well as his son, Louis the Headstrong, had died during the vacancy of the Holy See; this last king had, however, instructed his brother

Philip to reassemble the conclave, and put an end to the interregnum. For this purpose, that prince went to the city of Lyons, from whence he wrote to the cardinals to come to him secretly, promising the tiara to each of them. On the appointed day they all arrived, mysteriously, in the city, and went to the monastery of Preaching Brothers, where Philip was. As soon as they appeared at the convent, they were arrested and confined in a large hall. Philip then informed them that he should keep them prisoners until they had named a pontiff, declaring that he would execute the constitution of Gregory with the greatest vigour. The cardinals submitted courageously to the frugal diet of bread and water, hoping that the death of the king would effect a favourable change in their position; Philip being obliged to go to Paris as curator of the queen, who was then enceinte. But they were deceived in their hopes; as the severity towards them was increased, by diminishing daily their rations of bread and water. At last, after a forced fast of forty days, they determined to commission the cardinal, James d'Ossa, to choose the worthiest among them as sovereign pontiff. The proud prelate placed the tiara on his own head and proclaimed himself pope, by the name of John the Twenty-second.

JOHN THE TWENTY-SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1316.]

Singular history of James d'Ossa, the son of a hosier of Cahors—His different offices before reaching the pontificate—Bad faith of the holy father—His entrée into Avignon—He begs money from the Christian princes—His persecutions against those monks who refuse to divide the spoils of the people with him—His disputes with the Fratricelli—Affairs of Germany—The holy father persecutes the learned, and hands them over to the tribunals of the inquisition—Wars in Italy; the Guelphs and Ghibelines—New persecution against the Fratricellists—Louis, of Bavaria, lances an edict against the pope—Divisions at Rome—The citizens summon the holy father to leave Avignon and return to Italy—Louis, of Bavaria, causes the pope to be excommunicated by an assemblage of bishops—John fulminates a bull of anathema against the emperor—Efforts of the Guelphs on Rome—They are driven from the holy city—Louis of Bavaria enters Rome—He accuses the pope, and declares him dispossessed of the pontifical crown.

JAMES of Ossa was seventy years old when he mounted the Holy See, or rather when he soiled the chair of St. Peter. His father, who is said to have been a poor travelling hosier of Cahors, had disembarassed himself of him, by placing him as a scullion in the household of the metropolitan of Arles, the chancellor of Charles the Lame, king of Naples and count of Provence. His sallies of wit advanced the little James from the kitchen to the anti-chamber, and the archbishop having had the curiosity one day to interrogate him, was astonished at the intelligence of his young valet, and determined to give him skilful masters, under whom he made rapid progress in all the

sciences, and especially in the canon law. His protector made him take orders at the close of his studies, and obtained for him the bishopric of Frejus. After the death of the archbishop of Arles, King Robert conferred on him the appointment of chancellor, and admitted him to his counsels. James discharged his functions about the prince with propriety, who, in return for his zeal, caused him to be elevated to the cardinalate by Clement the Fifth.

His character changed at once on his reaching the pontificate, as if contact with the tiara was enough to transform a holy cardinal into a tiger with a human face. He became prouder, more deceitful, and greedier than his

predecessors; he was not content with the ordinary revenues of the church, and with the enormous sums the inquisitors paid him as his share of the confiscations, but he increased them by speculating in human corruption, and publicly sold absolution for parricide, murder, robbery, incest, adultery, sodomy, and bestiality; he himself reduced to writing this tax of the apostolic chancery, that Pactolus which flowed over all the vices of humanity—changed into livres tournois or handsome golden pen-nies—and which rolled into the pontifical treasury, the true ocean in which the wealth of nations was engulfed. It was he also who first added a third crown to the tiara, as a symbol of the triple power of the popes over heaven, earth, and hell, and which they have made the emblem of their pride, their avarice, and their lubricity.

As soon as the nomination of John the Twenty-second was known at the court of France, the regent sent several lords to him to request him to defer the ceremony of his consecration until his arrival; but the pope, impatient of exercising the sovereign authority, refused to yield to this desire, and was crowned at Lyons on the 21st of September, 1316, without waiting until the sacred college had promulgated the decree of his election. In order to accelerate the preparations for his enthronement, he had even promised the cardinal Napoleon des Ursini to establish the residence of the pontifical court at Rome, and had sworn, upon the sacred host, to mount neither horse nor mule until he had fulfilled his promise.

As the holy father had no intention of leaving France, and particularly Avignon, that city of pleasure in which the popes proudly exhibited the splendours of their sovereign court, and as he was unwilling to break openly the oath which he had taken with so much solemnity, he made the journey from Lyons to Avignon, on a boat covered with magnificent tapestry, and on disembarking used an ass, on which to make his entrance into the palace of the pontiffs. It is true he had not perjured himself, since he had mounted neither horse nor mule, but the subterfuge was not approved of by all the cardinals and the Italians; and among others, Napoleon des Ursini immediately left the pontifical court, and refused to commune with the holy father. John revenged himself for their contempt, by making a promotion of eight French cardinals, and by creating new bishoprics, of which not one was given to ultramontane prelates. The full complement of his court being thus made out, he was engaged in devising the means of maintaining its pomp, and he wrote to the sovereigns of Europe, claiming from them Peter's pence. His first letters were humble and submissive; they produced little effect; he wrote others proud and menacing, which caused the wealth of the people to flow into his coffers.

Whilst John was thus occupied in repairing the losses which the Holy See had sustained by the pillage of the treasures of Clement the

Fifth, the queen of France gave birth to a son, who was called John, and who died eight days after his birth. Was a child ever an obstacle to the ambition of a regent? His death, which happened so fortunately for the uncle of the young king, placed the crown on the head of Philip, count of Poitiers.

The new sovereign having neglected to send presents to the court of Avignon, the pope wrote to him to ask for them; he addressed, at the same time, other reproaches on different matters to him. "We are informed, prince," he said, "that during divine service, you entertain yourself with the lords around you, and that you frequently discourse on affairs of state or pleasures, which divert the attention of the faithful, who ought to listen to the prayers which the priests address to God for your safety and that of your people; we hope that you will correct this impious habit. You should avoid impassioned and rude gestures, which render your long person so ungraceful, and renounce wearing the royal mantle of your ancestors, which is much too short for you. We desire you also to put an end to divers abuses which are practised in your capital, for instance, of cutting the beard and hair on Sunday—a capital sin which the church prohibits, and for which we give absolution only on the payment of a large fine. We also prohibit your university of Paris from occupying itself with philosophical questions, and especially must it avoid dissertations on the errors of the monk Roger Bacon, of Albert the Great, of Raymond Lulle, and of all the alchemists or physicians. We are unwilling, also, that they should discuss the doctrines of John Scot, of Dante Alighieri, of Arnold of Villeneuve, and other teachers who have endeavoured to destroy the sacred edifice of the Roman theocracy."

John was then employed in confiscating, under pretext of heresies, the wealth of citizens, and even of monasteries or prelates, whose riches excited his avidity; unfortunately, these lucrative operations were interrupted by a schism which broke out among the Minor Brothers. One party had taken the denomination of Spiritual, and had chosen a superior for themselves; the other called themselves brothers of Common Observance, and obeyed Michael de Cesene, the seventeenth general of the order. The latter informed the pontiff of the conduct of the Spiritual, and besought him to admonish them to return to their obedience. John, who understood well that it was important for the Holy See to maintain unity among these monks, from which the inquisitors were recruited, ordered the Spirituals to return under the authority of their superiors, and on their refusal to do so, he caused them to be arrested and sent to the scaffold as heretics.

He pursued, with an equal fury, the sect of the Fratricellists, or Poor Brothers, who had spread themselves through Italy, Sicily, Provence, Narbonne, Toulouse, and several other provinces. These monks wore a particular dress, held conventicles, chose themselves as

ministers or custodians, built temples, founded communities, and begged, along with the Minor and Preaching Brothers, but without paying, like these last, rents to the Holy See. They had thus amassed great wealth, which destroyed them. The greedy pontiff, coveting their wealth, lanced a bull of anathema against them. In vain did the Franciscans protest their orthodoxy, and offer to prove that they followed the rule of Saint Francis, in accordance with a charter granted them by Pope Celestin, who freed them from all obedience towards the general of the provincials of that order. All their protests were useless; the holy father even went further, and under the pretext that Boniface the Eighth had annulled the acts of Celestin the Fifth, he condemned the Fratricellists as heretics, confiscated their property, and handed their persons over to the inquisitors.

Public clamour, however, was raised at this new crime, and the pope was openly accused of sacrificing to his detestable avarice those unfortunate men, who refused to despoil themselves of their wealth for him. John, to justify his criminal conduct, joined calumny to cruelty. He published a new bull against the Fratricellists, accusing them of teaching that there were in the church two parties, the one carnal, plunged in luxury, and soiled with every crime, over which the pope and his prelates presided; the other chaste, frugal, charitable, to which belonged true Christians, the enemies of the Holy See. "Thus," added the pontiff, "is it not just that these abominable sectarians, who combat the holiness of our power, should be surrendered to the tribunals of the inquisition to be burned alive without pity?"

Ever since the assassination of the emperor Henry the Seventh, Germany and Italy continued to be the theatre of frightful disorders. Two competitors, Louis of Bavaria and his cousin Frederick of Austria, disputed the throne of Germany, and inundated the provinces with the blood of the people, who were senseless enough to sustain the quarrels of kings. After two years of cruel wars and terrible battles, Louis took his competitor prisoner, and compelled him to renounce all pretensions to the imperial crown, as the price of his liberty. In the midst of these divisions, the pope, faithful to the crooked policy of the Holy See, had been unwilling to declare for either of the two rivals, in order to profit by their discords, to re-establish his authority in Italy. But when Louis of Bavaria, by his victory, had put an end to the bloody strife which was desolating this unfortunate country, John, forced to abandon his sacrilegious hopes, lanced a bull of excommunication against the prince, set aside the officers and vicars whom he had appointed, declared the throne vacant, and adjudged to himself the government of the empire.

In order to show that he had a right to dispose of the imperial crown, he gave the post of vicar of the kingdom to king Robert, and cited the two competitors, Louis of Bavaria,

and the duke of Austria, to appear before him. He then looked around for a candidate who would agree to give him a suitable price for the crown. Louis did not remain inactive; He put into play with the electors, all the resources of policy to induce them to ratify his usurpation. His commissioners traversed Italy, and strengthened his party by detaching the most important cities from the cause of the pope. To counterbalance the success of his enemy, John attempted to render him odious, by accusing him of having attempted his life; and he was careful to render this calumnious imputation public, by addressing a bull to the bishop of Frejus, whom he commissioned to hunt out this pretended attempt.

The following is this singular piece:—"We have been informed, my lord bishop," wrote the holy father, "that Jean Damant, a physician, Jean de Limoges, Jacques, surnamed the Brabancin, and some others, apply themselves with condemnable perseverance to magical arts; that they frequently make use of mirrors made under certain constellations and enchanted figures; that they place themselves in cabalistic circles, and force the spirit of darkness to appear in their presence; that they can put men to death by the violence of their enchantments; that they confine demons in long-necked glass bottles, and torment them with fire, to cause them to reveal the past, the present, and the future; that they affirm that, by mere words, they can abridge or prolong the duration of existence; and, finally, that they have conspired against us at the instigation of Louis of Bavaria, to wrest from us our tiara and our life, by all sorts of conjurations and mal-practices. We consequently order you to proceed against them as you would do in a case of heresy, that is, to hand them over to the inquisitors, that the violence of torture may draw from them an avowal of their crime."

It is thus that priests and kings have always acted; they call the discoveries of the learned, whether in physics, chemistry, or astronomy, infernal inventions, and burn for heretics those who would enlighten the people and bring them out of the shades of superstition; they still denominate as discoveries, subversive of all social order, the political theories of the philosophers of our own times, and plunge reformers into dungeons to stifle the seeds of the liberty and emancipation of the people.

Whilst John the Twenty-second was burning, indiscriminately, monks, heretics, and alchemists, for the greater glory of God, he was pursuing with anathemas, princes and lords who refused to do homage to him for their states or their domains. Mathew de Visconti, who had already been censured, was placed beneath the ban of the empire, excommunicated, declared an obstinate heretic, and as such pointed out to the inquisitors to be tortured by the cord, water, and fire. But these anathemas, though still dreaded by the faithful, produced no effect on enlightened minds, so much had their abuse discredited them; thus the holy father, who well knew

their want of power and ridiculous character, added a clause, that the possessions of the Visconti should be given to the princes who should conquer them, hoping thereby to excite the cupidity of Henry, the brother of the archduke of Austria.

Mathew Visconti, who was a skilful politician, immediately sent an embassy to the archduke to represent to him, that by oppressing the Ghibelines, the avowed partizans of the emperors, he was acting against his own interests, and preparing a triumph for Louis of Bavaria; the justice of these representations struck the archduke, who prevented his brother from taking the part of the pope.

John, foiled in his hope of finding an avenger, tried his last resource, and preached a crusade against his enemies. Bands of adventurers organised at his call, to whom he gave, as pay, indulgences and the power to commit rape, pillage, and murders, on their route. These wretches having united with the troops of Robert, king of Naples, an ambitious and fanatical prince, marched against the Ghibelines, and gained at first some advantages over them. Mathew then took his revenge, repulsed the army of the church from his domains, and forced them to raise the siege of Milan.

Furious at this new check, the pontiff wrote to the ecclesiastics of Italy and Germany, to the governors of the cities, to the communes as well as the inhabitants of the provinces, that, in his capacity of protector of the empire, he ordered them to pursue Louis of Bavaria to extremities, under penalty of excommunication, interdict, and confiscation: threatening, in case of refusal, to hand them over as heretics to the tribunal of the inquisition. He, moreover, cited the emperor a second time to Avignon to be judged by the sacred conclave. Louis paid no attention to the citation: and on the appointed day no one appeared in his name; the pope then lanced a terrible sentence against him, and threatened a second time to hand him over to the inquisitors, which produced no result.

John suspended for a moment his pursuit of the prince, and appeared to avenge himself on the Fratricellists for the insults offered him by his powerful enemies. He renewed his persecutions of these unfortunates, with more bitterness than before. Not only did he denounce them as disturbers of the public peace, but he had even the impudence to call them infamous liars for affirming that Jesus Christ and the apostles had not possessed great temporal wealth. Michael de Cesene, the general of the Minor Brothers, and William Occam, a celebrated English monk, were so scandalised by this proposition, that they at once replied by an energetic protest, calling the words of the holy father impious and false, and tendering him to the tribunals of the inquisition, to be burned alive as a heretic. John, enraged at the boldness of the monks, ordered their bishops to arrest them; but he encountered a formidable opposition, precisely where he had expected to find pas-

sive obedience; the prelates refused to act as instruments of the hatred of the pontiff. Still further, the doctors Marfilus of Padua, and John of Ghent, of the sect of the Fratricellists, the most redoubtable opponents of the papacy, went to the emperor, and thus addressed him:—

“Prince, for very many years the throne of the church has been occupied by wretches, who arrogate to themselves, in the name of Christ, the right of committing every crime with impunity, of despoiling kings and people of their wealth, and of putting to death ir. dreadful tortures those bold men who reject their audacious pretensions to infallibility. We come to you, prince, in the name of our brethren, to entreat you to employ all your efforts to destroy this horrible theocratic despotism, and to overthrow from the pontifical chair this disgrace to humanity. Recall to your recollection that the priests are the most contemptible of men, and that the pope is the most infamous, the most abominable of priests. No longer suffer these thieves, these sodomites, these assassins, to enchain the nations and devour the substance of the laborious people in sloth and debauchery. Act, prince, that we may see the termination of this scandal.”

Louis listened favourably to the two doctors, and entrusted them to draw up the virulent manifestos which he lanced against John. In one of these writings the holy father was accused of a great number of crimes, and particularly of that of heresy. As it was very difficult for him to disprove the imputations of avarice and simony, he endeavoured, at least, to prove his orthodoxy, not being willing to imitate in this the conduct of Boniface the Eighth, who openly gloried in being an atheist. From propositions which he put forth on certain points of the controversy, we must conclude that the pontiff was in formal opposition to the deceased Nicholas the Third, who was thus ranged among heretics. This circumstance, however, is not extraordinary; for it is an admitted principle in the church, that popes have full authority to abolish the decrees of their predecessors, to condemn their memories, and even to inflict punishments on their dead bodies, the privilege of infallibility being only for life.

Marfilus of Padua then composed his celebrated treatise known by the title of the Defender of the Peace; and John of Ghent published an equally remarkable work upon the ecclesiastical power. John the Twenty-second dared not to hand over these two works to the tribunals of the inquisition, but contented himself with condemning the five following propositions: “Jesus paid tribute to the emperor, because temporal goods belong to Cæsar.—Christ, when dying, left no visible chief to govern his followers; and the language which is attributed to him, ‘Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church,’ is but a sacerdotal trick; for it is proved that St. Peter, during his life, had less authority than St. Paul, and several other disciples of Jesus; thus he could not have been the vicar

of Christ.—The popes having been created by princes, the latter have the right to appoint, depose and punish them.—All priests have equal authority, and equal jurisdiction.—Ministers of religion, even when assembled in council, cannot inflict any punishment on their colleagues. . . .” Thus the pontiff pursued with his anathemas the doctors of Germany, who sought to overthrow his rule, and at the same time he laboured to excite revolts against the authority of the emperor.

His star was already paling; at Rome Sciarra Colonna had driven away the aristocracy, and established a council of fifty citizens, who governed the city. In order, however, to maintain his new constitution, since he could not yet rely on the aid of the priests, he sent ambassadors to Avignon, to beseech the pope to return to Rome with his court, as the decretals and canons ordered him; informing him, if he persisted in prolonging his sojourn in France, that the citizens would be compelled to choose another pope to govern the church. Before such an overture, which was nothing less than an order from Sciarra Colonna, the pope dissembled his anger. He replied, that he had the greatest desire to go to Italy, but that he could not undertake the journey at once, the roads not being safe; but that he would start as soon as Rome should be freed from the Ghibelines; and that, in the meantime, he appointed king Robert senator, and James Sabelli and Stephen Colonna consuls. He also gave to the deputies a proclamation, addressed to the citizens exhorting them to live in peace, and to assemble their forces to attack the heretic Louis of Bavaria.

This reply was far from satisfying the Romans, who desired the return of the pope less for his own account than for the profit they derived from the residence of the sovereign court, which spread among them the gold wrested from other people. They then addressed the emperor, and besought him to choose Rome as his capital, vaunting the position of that city, from whence he could, they said, pacify the peninsula and put an end to the troubles excited by the clergy. They were supported in their request by the Ghibelines of Tuscany and Lombardy; these measures determined Louis to make a journey to Rome, not to instal himself there, but to be consecrated, and make another pope to replace the unworthy John the Twenty-second.

He first went to Trent, where he assembled the principal chiefs of the Ghibelines, to confer with them on the steps to be taken for the pacification of Italy; he then convened the prelates, doctors, and nobles of his party in an assembly: in their presence he declared the pope attainted, and convicted of heresy on sixteen articles, and caused him to be excommunicated. Immediately after the termination of this diet, he passed the mountains and went to Milan, where he received the iron crown from the hands of the bishop of Arezzo. His interference, however, instead of appeasing the troubles, appeared to aug-

ment them, from the effervescence which the two parties manifested. Both Guelphs and Ghibelines claimed the sovereignty of the cities, and maintained their pretensions by arms. The Romans also, who only desired to have their city declared the capital of the empire, seeing themselves deceived in their hope, gradually detached themselves from the cause of Louis, and sent secretly a new embassy to the pope, to beseech him to come among them. John promised the deputies to yield to their wishes; and, to gain time, launched a new bull of excommunication and deposition against the emperor; he sent at the same time, by them, to the cardinal John des Ursini, his legate in Tuscany, instructions to go with them to render himself absolute master of the holy city; he also enjoined on him the sentence of anathema, interdict, and deposition against Louis of Bavaria, and to excite the ultramontane lords against that prince, whilst he himself would influence the German electors to choose another king.

John des Ursini obeyed, punctually, the orders of the holy father; he published the censures against the emperor, and presented himself before Rome with the prince of Morea, the brother of Robert of Naples, and a troop of Calabrian bandits, who entered the Leonine city by night and seized on the quarter and church of St. Peter. The legate had already taken possession of it, in the name of the pope, when the Ghibelines arrived; they attacked the church with vigour, and, after a combat of three hours, drove away John des Ursini and the prince of Morea in disgrace. Tranquillity being restored, Louis of Bavaria entered Rome, and was received with great testimonials of joy, by a large majority of the citizens. As the Guelphs had abandoned the city, from fear of becoming the victims of the popular fury, the prince found no opposition, and was crowned in the church of St. Peter, by James Albertino, the nephew of the Cardinal de Prato. After the ceremony he caused three edicts to be read from the pulpit of the church, by which he pledged himself to support the Catholic faith, honour the clergy, and protect the widow and orphan. On the very day on which the emperor made so solemn a declaration of his peaceful intentions, the pope launched a terrible bull against him, calling the people to arms, and promising plenary indulgences to all who should take the cross against the heretic, Louis of Bavaria.

The prince, at last, determined to punish the audacity of this implacable old man. He convened a grand assembly of the clergy, nobility, and people in the public square of the church of St. Peter; and, on the appointed day, an Augustine monk, named Nicholas, having mounted a platform, addressed the bystanders, exclaiming three times: “who among you wishes to defend the priest Jacques de Cahors, who calls himself John the Twenty-second?” No reply being made, he displayed a long roll, which contained a list of the crimes charged against the pontiff, and which terminated thus: “Being unable longer to

suffer the rule of this priest of Cahors, who has proclaimed himself sovereign pontiff, supreme chief of kings and emperors, spiritual and temporal ruler of the world, we accuse him of having destroyed thousands of innocent persons to seize their spoils, and of having made a tariff, to insure impunity to all kinds of crime and debauchery. Finally, for the causes set forth in our present declaration, we order his goods to be seized, and his person delivered up to our officers, and we prohibit all Christians from communing with him, under penalty of being deprived of the fiefs which they hold of the empire."

None of the partizans of the pope dared to undertake his defence; but on the next day, a young noble, James Colonna, came to the place Saint Marcel, and, in the presence of some curious persons, made a protest in favour of John, and affixed it to the door of the

church. But this bravado produced no result when he saw the number of the people increase, he leaped on his horse, and prudently fled to his father at Palestrina. James was recompensed for it, however, by the pontiff, who gave him a bishopric, though he had not attained the age to receive ecclesiastical honours.

Louis of Bavaria then published a law, providing, "that the pope should make Rome his place of residence, and should not remove from it, without being authorised to do so by the people and clergy; that even in his absence, the court and consistory should continue to sit in the holy city, and that in case the pontiff transgressed these rules, he should be deprived of the sovereign dignity, and be regarded as dead." After this, they proceeded to the election of a pope, to replace John the Twenty-second.

NICHOLAS THE FIFTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1328.]

Conspiracy against the emperor—John the Twenty-second is condemned to death—Election of Peter de Corbière—His history before his pontificate—John essays to render him ridiculous, by urging a woman, from whom he had been separated for forty years, to claim her rights as his lawful wife—The two popes excommunicate each other—The party of John rises again in Italy—The general of the Minor Brothers declares for the emperor—Singular agreement between the two popes—Abdication of Peter de Corbière.

WHILST Louis of Bavaria was proceeding to the deposition of John, the latter was pursuing his negotiations with the princes of Germany, to induce them to choose a new emperor, and even organised a conspiracy in Italy to assassinate Louis. These efforts having been discovered, Louis made a decree, which condemned the pontiff to death, and ordered the Romans to assemble at once in the square of St. Peter to proceed to the election of another chief of the church. Louis, clad in his imperial ornaments, and placed under a dais, presided over the assembly, having by his side the venerable Peter Rainallucci, of the order of the Minor Brothers. James Albertini, bishop of Venice, having three times demanded from the people if they would accept brother Peter as pope, and unanimous acclamations having replied to his appeal, he read the decree which conferred the papacy on this venerable monk. Louis of Bavaria then gave him the name of Nicholas the Fifth, and himself clothed him with the cape, gave him the pastoral ring, and seated him on his right hand. The new pope then distributed largesses among the crowd and gave them his blessing.

According to Ciaconius, Peter Rainallucci was born at Corbière, and belonged to the illustrious family of the Colonna. Wading speaks with admiration of the severity of his morals, the charms of his eloquence, and the purity of his evangelical soul. He had been married in his youth to a woman whose irregularities

were such that he had been obliged to have his marriage annulled by an ecclesiastical sentence. He had then entered the order of Minor Brothers, where, as Maimbourg says, "he lived in great reputation for holiness, by the beautiful examples which he gave of all monastic virtues."

John the Twenty-second, furious at having so redoubtable a competitor as this holy man, endeavoured to disconcert him by exciting a ridiculous process against him. At his instigation, the old wife of Peter, who was still living, presented herself before the bishop of Rieti, to claim her rights as his lawful spouse. This prelate, who was one of the partizans of John, and who had received a large sum to play this farce, declared that the marriage had not been lawfully dissolved, and ordered the new pope to take back his wife.

As soon as the sentence was rendered, the pope of Avignon addressed a copy of it to all the princes of Christendom, representing his competitor as a debauched, avaricious, and proud monk. These different imputations were so many calumnies; for the venerable Nicholas had really accepted the papacy, only to re-establish the morality and humility of evangelical times in the church. A partizan of the doctrine of the general of his order, he maintained that Jesus possessed nothing of his own, and that priests, after the example of their divine master, should live on alms.

These beautiful sentiments were not, how-

ever, agreeable to a corrupt clergy; thus, from the very commencement of his reign, the virtuous Nicholas, discovering the impossibility of carrying out his doctrines of reform, wished to abandon that chair, dishonoured by so many abominable pontiffs; but overcome by the entreaties of the emperor, he consented to keep the tiara until peace was re-established; and at the urgency of the prince, who showed him the necessity of forming a court at Rome to cause himself to be loved by the priests, he consented to appoint cardinals, and permitted them to have horses, hunting dogs, domestics clothed in brilliant liveries, and gentlemen and pages in their service.

Louis of Bavaria had at first furnished money from his own purse, for all the expenses of the apostolic court. When these resources were exhausted, the cardinals forced the venerable pontiff to sell the benefices, privileges, and ecclesiastical dignities. Every vacant bishopric was set up at auction at Rome, as it was at Avignon, and adjudged to two competitors, who then combatted for the possession of it. The two pontifical courts issued bulls of anathema, and pursued to extremity the partizans of each, according to the chances of war. Thus, whilst John the Twenty-second was torturing two monks, guilty of having pronounced the name of Nicholas in their prayers, the prefect of Rome was burning a Tuscan and a Lombard for maintaining that John was the only lawful pope.

In the midst of these scenes of violence, the venerable Peter de Corbière could only mourn over the misfortunes of the church, and beseech the emperor to free him from the burthen which bore him down. He at last played his part of pope so badly, that his coffers were entirely emptied; and as the prince could no longer supply the exactions of the cardinals, they began to detach themselves from his cause. The agents of the pope of Avignon profited by this disposition of men's minds, to scatter gold about abundantly, and to subsidise the discontented. Bands of armed men soon traversed the environs of Rome, and entered the city, uttering menaces of death against the anti-pope and the emperor. Louis and Nicholas, alarmed at this state of things, prudently left their palaces. But on their departure from Rome they were pursued by a multitude of fanatics exclaiming, "Death to the heretics and the excommunicated! Long life to the sovereign pontiff, John the Twenty-second!"

That same night the cardinals opened the gates of the city to the bands of the cardinal legate, John des Ursini, who entered it amidst the acclamations of the clergy. They burned the next day, on the public place, the decrees of Louis of Bavaria, and of Nicholas the Fifth; they then proceeded to the massacre of the Ghibelines, and disinterred the bodies of Germans, who were dragged through the streets. John wrote from Avignon, approving of all that had been done, and returned solemn thanks to God for having answered his prayers by exterminating his enemies.

The joy of his triumph was, however, soon troubled by a check given him by Michael de Cesene, general of the Minor Brothers, who had been cited before the sacred college, to justify his opinions on the poverty of Jesus Christ—opinions for which several of the brethren of his order had already been delivered up to the inquisitors, and burned alive. The courageous Michael, unalarmed by the fear of punishment, presented himself before the pope, and defended his cause with that noble boldness which carries conviction with it. He retorted victoriously on the diffuse dissertations of the holy father—even convicted him of heresy—showed conclusively that Jesus Christ, having never possessed any thing of his own, prelates should have neither lands nor domains, nor wealth—and finished his harangue by declaring that he appealed from all the decrees, and all the decisions of John, to a general council, which alone had the right to judge the members of the clergy canonically.

The old audacity of John was roused by so energetic an opposition; but not daring to rid himself of his adversary openly, he prohibited him from leaving Avignon before the decision of the sacred college was given; and he wrote at once to the general chapter at Bologna, to depose Michael de Cesene from the generalship. He was again foiled; the Minor Brothers confirmed their chief in his functions, and declared themselves out of the jurisdiction of an heretical pope. The reply of the monks threw the pope into a frightful fit of anger. He blasphemed the name of God, hurled imprecations on his enemies, and ordered his familiars to assassinate Michael de Cesene. The latter was fortunately warned in time; he escaped from Avignon, and reached the city of Pisa, where he found the anti-pope and the emperor. The holy father, unable to avenge himself by murder, anathematized Michael—declared him a heretic, and ordered the Preaching Brothers to attack the Minor Brothers.

John was so perfectly obeyed, and the quarrels between these two orders became so violent, that all Europe was occupied with their disputes. The Minor Brothers maintained that Christ had glorified poverty, since he had died upon the cross in utter nudity; and that his head, instead of being crowned with a diadem, was crowned with thorns. They proved that, during his sojourn on earth, he had lived on alms, without possessing a stone on which to lay his head. The Preaching Brothers, or rather the pope, affirmed, on the other hand, that Jesus had died on the cross, wearing a magnificent vesture of purple; that he had a crown of gold, glittering with carbuncles and brilliants; and that rich sandals were attached to his feet. They even distributed images through the cities, in which Jesus was represented as crucified in a purple robe, ornamented with rich embroidery in gold.

The holy father at last dared to publish, in the name of his penitentiary, Alvarus Pelagus, a treatise, in which he thus set forth his

pretensions: "As Jesus Christ is recognised as the Pontiff, King and Lord of the universe, so his vicar upon earth can have no equal; and since the whole world belongs to God, it should equally appertain to the pope. Emperors, kings, and princes cannot then be recognised as lawful, unless they have received their states as fiefs from the chief of the church, who possesses this immense power, not by the right of the sword, but by divine right; for Jesus gave to St. Peter the keys, not the key of the kingdom of heaven only, that is one for spiritual and another for temporal things. The faithful should only obey God and the pope, and when kings refuse obedience to the Holy See they place themselves without the bosom of the church; they condemn themselves with their own mouths as heretics, and should consequently be handed over to the inquisitors, to be burned for the edification of the faithful."

At the very time that the holy father was spreading abroad these alarming theories, the venerable Nicholas the Fifth was carrying into execution his plan of abdication, which he had formed long since; and he wrote to John the Twenty-second, "I heard brought against you and your court accusations of heresy, exactions, simony, debaucheries, and murders, which rendered you, in my eyes, the most execrable of pontiffs; I then thought it my duty not to refuse the tiara, in order to deliver the church from a pope who was drawing the faithful into the abyss. I have since learned, from my own experience, how difficult it is to live a holy life in the chair of the apostle, and I avow that no one is more worthy of the papacy than yourself. I thus

renounce this dignity, and I will abdicate solemnly in your presence, in such place as you shall please to designate." Notwithstanding this complete denial of the good old man, his partizans exacted from the pontiff that he should preserve his life in safety with a pension sufficient for his wants. John promised all that was asked of him, swore on the host to execute his engagements faithfully, and even sent a letter of congratulation beseeching him to come and receive the recompense of his humility.

Peter de Corbière embarked at Pisa in a Provençal galley belonging to the holy father; but scarcely was he in the power of the agents of the pontiff than he was submitted to the most unworthy treatment; he was compelled to confess in public imaginary crimes, for the purpose of degrading him in the eyes of fanatics. He was then constrained to enter Avignon in a secular dress, and a few days afterwards was mounted on a scaffold to make his abjuration; the pope then put a cord around his neck, led him around the square, and forcing him to prostrate himself with his forehead in the dust, placed his foot upon his head, and thundered forth a *Te Deum* as a mark of his victory. This humiliating ceremony being finished, Peter de Corbière was cast into a dungeon, where he lived for three years and a half.

One morning the jailer who carried to him his daily ration of bread and water, was much surprised at finding the door of his prison open, and a dead body upon the threshold. It was that of the unfortunate Peter, who had been strangled during the night. Thus perished another victim of John the Twenty-second.

JOHN THE TWENTY-SECOND, SOLE POPE.

[A. D. 1331.]

The pope rejects the conditions of peace offered by the emperor—Ruse of the pontiff to gain possession of the city of Bologna—Doctrines of the pope concerning beatific visions—He is declared a heretic—The king of France threatens to burn him alive for heresy—His death—His character—Tariff of the Roman chancellors for the absolution of all crimes.

As soon as John was disembarrassed of his competitor, he pursued with activity the nomination of a new emperor in Germany. The electors had already assembled, some gained by rich presents, others seduced by promises, and it was feared lest they should decide to choose an emperor favourable to the Holy See, when Louis of Bavaria, advised of the measures of the pope, hastened to return to Germany to overthrow his plans.

During his absence from Pisa, Otho, duke of Austria, John of Luxemburg, the king of Bohemia, and the archbishop of Treves, desiring to put an end to the division between the church and the throne, had sent ambassadors to the court of Avignon to make proposals of peace to the holy father, even engaging,

in the name of Louis of Bavaria, to recognise him as the lawful pope and to subscribe to the deposition of Peter de Corbière.

John received the ambassadors badly, and dismissed them without giving them any reply; some days afterwards, however, he addressed the following letter to the king of Bohemia. "It is neither useful nor honourable to the church to have a heretical emperor who gives an asylum to Marsilus of Padua, John of Ghent, Michael de Cesene, William Occam, and the brother Bonne-Grace de Bergame, all heretics, schismatics, and excommunicated like himself. He offers to depose the anti-pope; but is he ignorant that Peter de Corbière has deposed himself, and is expiating his crime in our dungeons?"

And you who solicit our clemency for him, do you not fear to draw upon yourselves our wrath for this cowardly complaisance? Cease then to supplicate us in the name of the heretic Louis of Bavaria, or dread lest the thunders of the church strike you on your throne."

John of Luxemburg treated the threats of the pontiff with contempt, and seeing that force alone could abate his audacity, went, as the vicar of the emperor, into Italy, at the head of an army, seized, in his name, several important cities, and established himself in Lombardy. This invasion exasperated the pope; he lanced one of his most terrible anathemas against the king of Bohemia, and published that he himself was preparing to invade Italy. He preached, in fact, a crusade, which brought in large sums to him, and declared that he would make choice of the city of Bologna as his residence, that he might the better direct the operations of the campaign.

But it was soon discovered that his only intention was to fill his treasury with the money of the simple, and to render himself master of a city, which, from its central position, was the most important in Italy. In fact, the cardinal, Bertrand Poiet, presented himself at Bologna, to confer with the magistrates for the concession of the necessary land for the construction of a fortified palace for the pope, and several castellated chateaux for the cardinals and their followers; and, after having obtained their authority, he built around the city, fortresses which entirely commanded it. The stupid magistrates of Bologna, who had not perceived the snare set for their vanity, sent an embassy to the pope to entreat him to hasten his arrival. John received the deputies with great marks of affection, loaded them with presents, and promised to go to Bologna as soon as his palace was ready. Fortunately, in the interval, the Bolognese, more clear-sighted than their magistrates, understood the perfidious intentions of the holy father, who was only building the fortifications to render himself the absolute master of the city. A revolt broke out; the legate, Bertrand de Poiet, was assailed in his palace, as well as other Gascon prelates who were attached to the pope. Several Guelphs were massacred, and the legate only escaped by being disguised.

This expedition having failed, John, unable to struggle with arms, threw himself into the religious contests, and set the Christian world in commotion by his heterodox doctrines on the beatific vision; that is, the manner in which the blessed contemplate the face of God in the kingdom of Heaven. He maintained that the saints, before the coming of the Messiah, had been received into Abraham's bosom; that since the passion of Christ they had been placed under the altar of God, that is, under the protection of the humanity of Jesus Christ; and that after the judgment, they mounted upon the altar, that is, above the humanity of Jesus Christ; that they would,

consequently, be gods; or, in other words, that they would contain the divinity, and see God face to face, according to the expression of Saint Paul, and with a perfect equality.

All the doctors in theology exclaimed against a proposition so bold, and accused the pope of heresy. Philip of Valois, himself, alarmed at the scandal, and the consequences which might result from it, immediately convened an assembly of doctors, bishops, and abbots, at his castle of Vincennes, and proposed these two questions to them:—"Do the souls of the saints now behold the face of God?" "Will this vision cease on the day of judgment to be replaced by another?" All replied to the first of these propositions in the affirmative, and added, that with regard to the beatific vision, it would not cease with the final judgment, but would exist through all eternity.

On this decision of the prelates, the king wrote to John the Twenty-second, that he must immediately retract his errors if he did not wish, notwithstanding his infallibility, to incur the penalty of heretics and be burned before his palace in Avignon. This threat compelled him to make the following declaration:—"We confess and believe that souls separated from the body, and purified, inhabit Paradise with the angels, and clearly contemplate God in his divine essence face to face. If we have preached or written any contrary proposition, we expressly revoke it."

The terror which the threats of Philip produced, brought on a grievous attack. From that moment he appeared no more in public, and when he perceived his end approaching, he called around him his cardinals to recommend his nephews to them. He died on the 4th of December, 1334, at the age of ninety.

He had, during his reign, covered Germany and Italy with wars and disasters. He had caused more than ten thousand heretics to be burned by his inquisitors, and extorted at least fifty millions of florins of gold from the people of Europe. "After his death," says John Villani, "they found in his treasury eighteen millions of florins in coined money, besides his vessels, crosses, mitres, and precious stones, which were valued at seven millions of florins. I can render certain testimony to this," adds the historian, "because my brother, a man worthy of belief, who was one of the purveyors of the pontifical court, was at Avignon when the treasurers made their report to the cardinals. This immense wealth, and the still greater which the holy father had expended, were the proceeds of his industry, that is, of the sale of indulgences, benefices, dispensations, reserves, expectatives, and annates. But what contributed the most to increase his treasures, was the tax from the apostolical chancellors, for the absolution of all crimes."

We translate some of the articles of this infamous code, which alone should be sufficient to cause popes and their satellites to be held in detestation, if the list of their crimes

had not already taught us that they were the most implacable enemies of humanity.

"If an ecclesiastic commits the sin of the flesh, whether with nuns, his cousins, nieces, goddaughters, or any other woman, he shall be absolved for the sum of sixty-seven francs, twelve sous.

"If, in addition to the sin of fornication, he asks for absolution from the sin against nature, or bestiality, he shall pay two hundred and nineteen francs, twelve sous. If, however, he has not committed this sin but with young men or beasts, and not with women, the fine shall be reduced to one hundred and thirty-one francs, fifteen sous.

"A priest who shall deflower a virgin shall pay two francs, eight sous.

"A nun who shall have abandoned herself to several men, simultaneously or in succession, in her monastery, and without it, and who shall wish to obtain the dignity of abbess, shall pay one hundred and thirty-one francs, fifteen sous.

"Priests who shall wish to obtain authority to live in concubinage with their relatives, shall pay seventy-six francs, one sou.

"For every sin of luxury committed by a layman, the absolution shall cost twenty-seven livres, one sou. For incest, four livres shall be added.

"An adulterous woman who desires absolution to place her beyond the reach of all pursuit, and to have a free dispensation to continue her guilty relations, shall pay to the pope eighty-seven francs, three sous. In a like case, a husband shall be submitted to the same tax. If they have committed incest with their children, they shall add six francs.

"Absolution and assurance against all pursuit, for the crimes of rapine, robbery, and incendiarism, shall cost the guilty one hundred and thirty-one francs, seven sous.

"Absolution for the simple murder of a layman is taxed at fifteen francs, four sous, eight deniers. If the assassin has slain several persons on the same day, he shall pay no more.

"A husband who shall have rudely struck his wife, shall pay into the chancellery three francs, four sous; if he kills her, he shall pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous; if he has committed this crime to marry another woman, he shall pay besides, thirty-two francs, nine sous. They who shall have assisted the husband in the murder, shall be absolved on the payment of two francs a head.

"He who shall have murdered his child, shall pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous. If the father and mother shall have slain their child by mutual consent, they shall pay twenty-seven francs, one sou, for absolution.

"The woman who shall destroy her child in her womb, and the father who shall aid in the crime, shall each pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous. He who shall procure the abortion of a child, of which he is not the father, shall pay a franc less.

"For the murder of a brother, a sister, a

mother, or a father, they shall pay seventeen francs, fifteen sous!!!

"He who shall slay a bishop or superior prelate, shall pay one hundred and thirty-one francs, fourteen sous.

"If a murderer has slain several priests, in different encounters, he shall pay one hundred and thirty-seven francs, six sous for the first assassination, and half of that for the rest.

"A bishop or an abbot who shall have committed murder by an ambuscade, or through accident, or from necessity, shall pay one hundred and seventy-nine francs, fourteen sous, for absolution.

"He who would buy absolution in advance for every accidental murder which he may in future commit, shall pay one hundred and sixty-eight francs, fifteen sous.

"A converted heretic shall pay two hundred and sixty-nine francs for his absolution. The son of a burned heretic, or one put to death by any other torture, shall not be reinstated until he has paid into the chancellery two hundred and eighteen francs, seventeen sous.

"An ecclesiastic who cannot pay his debts, and who wishes to avoid the pursuits of his creditors, shall give to the pope seventeen francs, nine sous, and his debts shall be remitted.

"Permission to open a store to sell different kinds of commodities beneath the portico of a church, will be granted on the payment of forty-five francs, nineteen sous.

"For smuggling, and defrauding a prince of his dues, they shall pay eighty-seven francs.

"If a city demands permission for its inhabitants, priests, monks, and nuns, to eat food made of milk and meat, at forbidden seasons, it shall pay seven hundred and thirty-one francs, ten sous.

"If a monastery asks permission to change its rules, and to live in greater abstinence than before, it shall pay one hundred and forty-six francs, five sous.

"A virtuous monk, who desires to pass his life in a hermitage, shall pay into the treasury of the Holy See forty-five francs, nineteen sous.

"An apostate vagabond, who wishes to re-enter the pale of the church, shall pay a like sum to be absolved.

"Monks and priests who desire to travel in secular garments shall be subjected to a like tax.

"The bastard of a curate who desires to do parochial duty in the cure of his father, shall pay twenty-seven francs, one sou.

"A bastard who desires to receive sacred orders, and to possess benefices, shall pay fifteen francs, nineteen sous.

"A foundling who shall desire to enter into sacred orders, shall pay into the treasury of the pope twenty-seven francs, one sou.

"Lame or deformed laymen, who shall wish to receive sacred orders, or to hold benefices, shall pay to the apostolic chancellery fifty-eight francs two sous.

"One blind in the right eye shall pay a like sum; if he has lost his left, he shall give the pope one hundred and six francs, seven sous;

those who squint shall pay forty-five francs, three sous.

"Eunuchs shall give the pope, for permission to enter into sacred orders, three hundred francs, fifteen sous.

"If a man wishes to acquire one or more benefices by simony, he shall apply to the treasurers of the pope, who will sell him this right for a moderate price.

"He who shall desire to break his oath, and be guaranteed from all pursuit, and all infamy, shall pay to the pope one hundred and thirty-one francs, fifteen sous. He shall pay three francs a head besides, for those who shall have become his guarantees."

We will make no comments on this tax of the apostolic chancery, a masterpiece of infamy, sprung from the brain of a pope, and containing in a few pages all the secrets of an institution which weighed down people and kings for more than fourteen centuries. The pious Conrad, abbot of Usperg, thus speaks of the book of the taxes of the Roman chancery:—

"O Vatican, rejoice now, all treasuries are open to thee,—thou canst draw in with full hands! Rejoice in the crimes of the children of men, since thy wealth depends on their abandonment and iniquity. Urge on to debauchery, excite to rape, incest, even parricide; for the greater the crime, the more gold will it bring thee. Rejoice thou! Shout forth songs of gladness! Now the human race is subjected to thy laws! Now thou reignest through depravity of morals and the inundation of ignoble thoughts. The children of men can now commit with impunity every crime, since they know that thou wilt absolve them for a little gold. Provided he brings thee gold, let him be soiled with blood and lust; thou wilt open the kingdom of heaven to debauchees, sodomites, assassins, parricides. What do I say? Thou wilt sell God himself for gold."

In fact, the tax exacted by John the Twenty-second, became for the popes, his successors, one of the most vast and fruitful financial operations that the avarice and infernal genius of the pontiffs ever invented.

BENEDICT THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1335.]

Election of the cardinal Jacques Fournier—His history before his pontificate—Portrait of him—He revokes the commendams and reversions—Secret as to the beatific vision—He refuses to go to Italy—His debaucheries at Avignon—His negotiations with the emperor—Proceedings against Frederick of Sicily—The Greek ambassadors at the court of the holy father—Bologna passes under the sway of the popes—Death of Benedict.

SOME days after the death of the infamous John the Twenty-second, the count de Noailles and the seneschal of Robert, king of Naples and count of Provence, arrested the twenty-four cardinals whom they found in the city, and shut them up in conclave in the pontifical palace of Avignon, after having informed them that they need not count upon being set at liberty until they had chosen a pontiff. The sacred college had been for a long time divided into two parties; the most powerful and numerous was unquestionably that of the French cardinals. They then agreed to choose a pope of their nation, and offered the tiara to Cominges, bishop of Porto, provided he would continue to dwell at Avignon, and would not transfer the pontifical court to Rome. He having refused to make this pledge, they united on the humblest of the members of the sacred college, the cardinal Jacques Fournier, of the order of the Citeaux, surnamed the White, from the colour of his frock. As soon as he knew of his promotion, the poor monk, rendering himself full justice, said to the cardinals: "You have chosen an ass to govern you, my brethren."

He took the name of Benedict the Twelfth.

Jacques Fournier, or Dufour, was, according to some authors, the son of a pastry cook named William, of the city of Saverdun, in the countship of Foix; according to others—and their version is supported by more authentic witnesses than those of the first—he owed his birth to an incest of John the Twenty-second with his sister, and the pastry cook William was his adoptive father. The history of his early years seems to corroborate this opinion. The abbot of Boulbona took him, when very young, from the pastry cook William, without any apparent motive, to rear him in his abbey; he was then sent to Paris with a considerable allowance to study theology and law. Having finished his studies, the rich abbey of Fontfroide was given to him; and some time afterwards John the Twenty-second made him bishop of Pamiers and a cardinal. He was endowed with an excellent judgment; but his studies in theology and the canon law had so absorbed his faculties, that he was unfit for temporal affairs.

Though the son of John the Twenty-second, the new pontiff had no exterior resemblance to his father. John was small, with a pale face, and a feeble voice. Benedict, on the contrary, was large, and high coloured, with a loud toned voice. John was avaricious—Benedict very liberal. He was submitted to the usual tests, and solemnly crowned in the church of the Preaching Brothers at Avignon, on the 8th of January, 1335.

In a consistory which was held soon after, the holy father ordered the stranger prelates and curates, to leave at once the pontifical court and return to their dioceses, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures. He also wrote to the bishops of the kingdom of Castile, to urge them to reform the conduct of their priests. "We have been advised," he said, to them in his bull, "that the ecclesiastics of your provinces live publicly with concubines, commit adulteries, incests, robberies, and murders, pillage the farmers and burn their houses, in hopes of being acquitted by the payment of a few pence to our treasurer. As these disorders bring our religion into contempt in the eyes of the Mohammedans of the neighbouring cities, and prevent them from being baptized, we exhort you to put an end to them, informing you that we are not disposed to pardon crimes for money, as it pleased our predecessor to do."

Benedict published a second bull, condemnatory of the doctrine of John on the beatific vision, and framed his opinion of the state of the soul in heaven, in these terms:—"The souls of saints who left the world before the passion of Christ; those of the apostles, martyrs, and other faithful who died without having been baptized; those of baptized infants who have died before the age of reason, have all been received into paradise as soon as they were separated from their bodies.—From that moment they have lived with the angels, and have seen the Divinity with an intuitive vision, and face to face, without the aid of any creature interposed between them and God. By this vision they enjoy the divine essence which gives to them repose and eternal life, that is, which renders them entirely and uninterruptedly happy throughout eternity. On the other hand, souls which die in a state of mortal sin descend to hell, to be there tormented eternally by bad angels, without the hope of seeing an end of their pains, even at the last judgment. We shall, then, regard as heretics, and treat as such, those who in future shall have the temerity knowingly to advance any propositions contrary to this bull." Thus the doctrine imposed on the faithful by one infallible pope, was condemned by another equally infallible.

Benedict did not stop at this first step in his reforms; he revoked the commendams, or friar's benefices, which his predecessors had sold to the ecclesiastics, as well as the briefs of reversions and annates. This last impost, invented by John the Twenty-second, consisted in levying on the bishoprics or abbeys which were given to new titularies, one year's

revenue for the benefit of the Holy See. Finally, he employed every method in his power to drive simony from the pontifical court; and if he did not entirely succeed, he should be at least praised for his good intentions.

Some historians, however, maintain that this great disinterestedness had its source in interested policy, and that Benedict had only in view the restoration of some regard for his trade of pope, which had been so much weakened by his predecessors. It is true, that the wealth amassed by John the Twenty-second afforded him the means of abandoning traffic in indulgences and absolutions; and if he had been really virtuous, we would not have to relate a fact which attests the corruption of his morals.

Hieronimo Squarciafico affirms, that Benedict did all in his power to seduce the sister of the poet Petrarch, named Selvaggia, and was remarkably beautiful, and that this young girl informed her brother of it. He adds, that Petrarch having gone to the pontifical palace to complain energetically to the holy father, the dissolute old man proposed to pay him a considerable sum for the virginity of Selvaggia, and to give him, besides, a cardinal's hat. The indignant poet rejected the infamous proposal with a virtuous energy. Benedict then, in revenge for his refusal, denounced him to the inquisitors as a heretic. Petrarch escaped from Avignon, but was compelled to leave his young sister in the care of his brother Gerard. This wretch could not resist his thirst for gold, and in the night, this poor young girl, who was scarcely sixteen years old, was carried off from his house, borne to the pontifical palace, and abandoned to the monstrous caresses of a corrupt old man.

Some time afterwards, Benedict received, in a solemn audience, some Roman deputies who came to entreat him, in the name of their fellow citizens, to re-establish the residence of the popes in the holy city, explaining to him in full consistory, that the pontiffs and cardinals were better located among a people accustomed to their morals, and who were not scandalised at seeing virgins and youths serving their pleasure. These reasons convinced the mind by their justness, and the cardinals, after consultation with the pope, replied to the ambassadors, that his holiness consented to return to Rome, and would at last fix the period of his departure from France.

Several important motives compelled the holy father to defer his entrance into Italy. At first he feared lest he should fall into the power of Petrarch, who had thrown himself into the party of the Ghibelines. Then he wished to be assured of the possession of Bologna, to make it a point of support against his enemies. But the nuncios whom he sent to the Bolognese to treat of peace found them so exasperated against the court of Avignon, that they had to quit the city at once, to avoid being taken by the Ghibelines. Benedict judged that, under such unfavourable circumstances, it was imprudent to dream of re-establishing the Holy See at Rome, and he resolved to fix

definitively the sojourn of the pontiffs at Avignon. He consequently laid the foundations of a magnificent palace, surrounded by castellated walls and towers, which were to place the pope out of the reach of every danger.

He soon, however, discovered that these walls, high as they were, could not, in case of war, protect him against the kings of France, and he bent all his cares to preserve the good graces of Philip. This prince, on his side, knowing the weakness of Benedict's character, did not hesitate to demand new privileges which the pope dared not refuse to grant. He claimed for his eldest son, the post of vicar of the empire in Italy, and for himself the right of levying tithes in his kingdom for ten years, and of dividing with the pope the treasures of the church, under the pretext of paying the expenses of an expedition which he was preparing against the infidels. These exaggerated demands alarmed the pontifical court; and as they dared not resist the prince openly, they excited secret enemies against him, and sent emissaries into England, to induce Edward the Third to invade the kingdom of Philip, with the promise that the pope would ratify his usurpation. Edward embraced the plan with ardour; he took the title of king of England and France, roused Flanders, and went to lay siege to Tournay, in person. It was in this war that the French first employed fire arms, as is authentically proved in a memoir of Bartholomew de Prach, war minister, dated 1338.

The holy father, not content with having drawn a terrible war on France, wished, in case of a reverse, to assure himself of protection against the French monarch, and endeavoured to reconcile himself with Louis of Bavaria. He dared not, however, ostensibly, take the initiative in this step; and he sent some prelates of his party to induce the prince to send to him a solemn embassy to open negotiations between the Holy See and the empire.

Louis of Bavaria received these overtures for peace very favourably, and sent several deputies to Avignon, to place in the hand of the pope a deed by which the prince declared that he revoked the decrees which had been made against John the Twenty-second, and annihilated the edicts published at Rome against the privileges of the church. He promised, moreover, to make all equitable concessions that could be asked of him, in order to arrive at a durable peace. As the French cardinals were present at the audience of reception, Benedict dared not give a definite answer to the envoys of the emperor. He only told them that he and his cardinals would see with great joy, Germany, that noble branch, reunited to the church to augment its strength. He eulogised Louis of Bavaria, and added, that the disorders in Italy, and the loss of Armenia and the Holy Land, were to be attributed to the vacancy in the empire, and not to that prince whom he regarded as the noblest knight in Christendom. He finished

his harangue by promising to grant in a few days the absolution of the anathemas as pronounced by the dead pope. As soon as Philip and Robert of Naples were informed of the determination of the pontiff, they hastened to send deputies to Avignon, who bribed the most influential members of the Sacred College; they then demanded a public audience of the pope, and, in the presence of the cardinals, reproached him for the preference he had given a heretic over their masters, and threatened to denounce him to the inquisition as a favourer of heresy.

Benedict, surprised at so direct an attack, turned towards his cardinals: "Eh, what," he said to them, "do the kings of France and Naples pretend to put an end to the empire of the West?"—"No, most holy father," they replied, "they only blame the choice you have made of Louis of Bavaria, who is the prince—who, of all others, has done the most injury to the church." "You lie," replied Benedict; "it is you who have fulminated unjust anathemas against that king; and his submission is so great, that he would have come here as Henry the Fourth did, in his shirt, and with scales in his hands, to implore the mercy of our predecessor, if he had been permitted."

This energetic reply imposed on the cardinals sold to Philip and Robert; they no longer dared to oppose the opinion of the pope, and feigned to enter into his views, contenting themselves with pointing out to him, that the kings of Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, France, and Naples, and the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, had formed a league against Louis, and were pledged to establish another king of the Romans. Benedict, who had not in reality any strength of will, yielded, little by little, to their reasoning, asked for a delay to deliberate on what he should do, and dismissed the deputies of Louis, without absolving their master. The latter seeing the ill success of his embassy, learned that he must no longer count upon an accommodation with the court of Avignon, and resolved to cast off for ever the insupportable yoke of the church. In order, however, not to submit himself to the lightest reproach, he convened in the city of Spire an assembly of prelates, who decided to send, in the name of the German clergy, a deputation to the holy father to demand the absolution of their sovereign; and to inform him, that if their prayer was not regarded, they would assemble anew, and arrange measures definitely to render the empire independent of the popes.

Benedict received the delegates with great honours, and said to them in private, "I would take off the censures pronounced against your prince, but I cannot do it without the consent of the king of France, Philip of Valois, who, if I were to disobey him, would treat me with more indignity than Philip the Handsome treated Boniface." This last effort of the emperor at the pontifical, did not lead to the result it was hoped it would: it only contributed to strengthen his authority; for the German bishops and princes, indignant at the weakness

of the pope, immediately convened a primary electoral diet at Rens. All the electors, except the king of Bohemia, were present; they declared that they alone had the right to confer the imperial dignity, and that the chief whom they chose had no need of the approval of the pope, in order to be clothed with the imperial dignity. Louis of Bavaria, seeing the disposition of their minds, was not content with this first success. He convened a new diet at Frankfort, and caused them to decree the famous pragmatic sanction, which declared the emperor responsible to God alone, and condemned the censures of the church against him as crimes of *lèse-majesty*. The doctor Albert, of Strasburg, was commissioned by the electors to inform the court of Avignon of the decision of the princes of the empire.

As soon as Benedict was informed of these proceedings, he protested against their tenor, lanced terrible bulls against Louis of Bavaria, and sent a circular to the different kings of Europe, to engage them to take up arms against his enemy. Following the example of his predecessor, he declared the throne vacant, and named himself protector of the empire; Luquin Visconti was appointed his vicar in Italy; Guelphs were appointed by him governors of the cities of Verona, Parma, and Vicenza; the lords of Gonzaga received the two cities of Mantua and Reggio, as an appanage; and the marquis of Ferrara, the territory of Modena, paying therefor an annual rent of five thousand florins of gold, and engaging to maintain, at his expense, two hundred knights, and three hundred well-armed foot soldiers, ready to combat for the church on the first requisition by the pope. Still further to assure himself of a powerful auxiliary in lower Italy, he resolved to take away the kingdom of Sicily from Peter the Second to bestow it on Robert, king of Naples; and, for this purpose, he sent orders to Goa, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, and to Natier, bishop of Vaison, his two nuncios at Naples, to go to Palermo and excommunicate Peter of Arragon, his children, and other heirs; to declare them deprived of the possession of Sicily, and to pronounce the junction of that island to the estates of King Robert, by virtue of the sovereign authority of the Holy See. In spite, however, of the anathemas of the pope, Peter maintained himself on his throne, and struggled courageously with King Robert, who could only seize the small islands of Zerbi and Lipari.

The cardinals at the same period induced Benedict to make some efforts to assure to the Holy See the possession of Rome. The greater part of the senate was bribed, and two lords who were sold to the clergy, Stephen Colonna and the count of Languillara, were

appointed consuls for five years. The holy father was then occupied with the affairs of the Bolognese, who had been excommunicated, deprived of their academy, and all the privileges which had been granted them by emperors and pontiffs. The powerless wrath of Benedict, at first, produced no other result than to excite the raillery of the excommunicated against him; but when they found the pontifical court was gaining some preponderance in Italy, they followed the example of the other cities, and asked to be received into favour, which was granted them, on the payment of an annual tribute of eight thousand florins in gold.

Benedict had not time to profit by the reaction in favour of the popes, which was taking place. In consequence of excesses at the table, and nocturnal debaucheries, he suffered from violent fits of the gout; his limbs were covered with hideous sores, and he died on the 23d of April, 1342, after a reign of seven years, four months, and six days. He was buried in the cathedral at Avignon; the holy father, who exhibited so much disinterestedness in the early part of his reign, became afterwards as greedy and avaricious as his predecessors, and they found after his death, in the treasury of the church, immense sums, which were of great assistance to the cardinals in the subjugation of Italy. After his death, Benedict was declared a saint, by a miracle, and his name was placed in the Gallican Martyrology.

There flourished a singular sect during his pontificate, who were called the Quietists of Mount Athos. These fanatics pretended to have pushed the perfection of prayer so far, as to see God with their corporal eyes, when they had attained the supreme quietude. They prayed as follows: the newly initiated monk shut himself up in his cell, seated himself in a corner, then having rolled up his frock under his armpits, he rested his chin on his breast, turned his eyes with all his thoughts towards the middle of his belly, held his breath, even through the nose, and sought in his entrails, the power of his soul. At first, says the Abbot Simon de Xerocerque, the inventor of this singular mode of prayer, in his instructions to his disciples, you will see but thick darkness; but then by renewing your prayer twenty-one times, you will experience a surprising joy; the spirit will have found the place of the heart, it will perceive the atmosphere of the soul, and will contemplate itself shining with light, and filled with discernment.—According to these sectaries, the navel was the seat of the soul, which caused them to be called *Omphalopsques*.—Quietism is one of the most curious and singular aberrations to which the idleness of the cloister has given birth.

CLEMENT THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1342.]

 LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY
CALIFORNIA

History of the cardinal of Nerea—His exaltation to the Holy See—Embassy of the Romans to Clement the Sixth—The pope wishes to subjugate Christian kingdoms to his sway—Joan of Naples strangles her husband—Bull of the pope against the assassins of the prince—The holy college assembles to choose an emperor—Clement names Charles the Fourth as king of the Romans—Cruelties of Peter d'Aquila, the grand inquisitor of Florence—Republican revolution at Rome—Nicholas Laurent, the leader of the people, is excommunicated by the pope—Second marriage of Joanna, of Naples, with her cousin—She sells Avignon to the pope, who declares her innocent of the death of her husband—The plague commits its ravages in the west—Germany refuses to obey the prince appointed by the pope, and proclaims Gunther Schwartzenburg sole emperor—Reappearance of the Flagellants—The pope orders a new jubilee, to raise some money—He re-establishes the inquisition in Anjou and Maine—Vision of Saint Bridget—Embassy from John Cantacuzene—Sickness of the holy father—Singular letter of Beelzebub to the pope—Death of Clement—Picture of the abominable morals of the pontifical court.

THE Holy See remained vacant only eleven days after the death of Benedict. The cardinals, to the number of twenty-two, having assembled in conclave, agreed unanimously to divide the treasures of the church among themselves, and to choose as sovereign pontiff the most corrupt of all, the famous cardinal of Nerea, who took the name of Clement the Sixth. He was the son of Peter Roger, lord of Rosière, who, intending him for the church, caused him to enter the abbey of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, at ten years of age, where his beauty procured for him the honour of being distinguished by the abbot of the Benedictines, who made him his minion. The young monk, on arriving at manhood, quitted his convent, went to Paris to finish his theological studies, and obtained the grade of doctor, and the abbey of Fecamp; he was then made bishop of Arras, and Benedict at last created him cardinal archbishop of Rouen. When he was proclaimed pope, he led so dissolute a life, that he had been obliged to abandon his benefices to his numerous creditors, so that he showed no difficulty in complying with the requisitions of the cardinals.

"You ask me to divide the treasures of the chancery," said the new pope to the members of the conclave; "I joyfully consent, and you will see the necessity of refilling, for a pope who knows how to exercise his trade." In fact, in less than a year, the sale of apostolical offices, annates, reversions, commendams, with the taxes and confiscations of the property of heretics, by the tribunals of the inquisition, had repaired all his losses, and supplied the enormous expenses of his mistresses and minions. Clement pushed the scandal of immorality so far as to glory in his depravity. Courtezans, great dames, and beautiful pages, entered his sleeping chamber in the presence of all, and were waited upon by the chamberlains, even on the very bed of the holy father. Thus the clergy of Avignon became so dissolute from the example of the pontiff, that the smallest clerk considered himself dishonoured, if he had not attached to

his person some minion or several girls of a dissolute life. Though universally recognised as the most corrupt of the cardinals, Clement was none the less submitted to the proof of the pierced chair. On the day succeeding his consecration, he promoted ten cardinals, among whom were his brother Hugh Roger, and his nephew, William de la Jugie, the faithful companions of his orgies.

The kings of Europe hastened to send their ambassadors to the new pope, to congratulate him; a great number of Italian cities imitated this example, and Rome, that degenerate city, which aspired constantly to the disgrace of being called the pontifical city, sent a solemn deputation of eighteen citizens to him, at the head of whom were the republicans, Nicholas Rienzi and Petrarch. They were commissioned to offer the pope, in the name of their fellow citizens, the posts of first senator and captain of the city, provided he would return to Rome, and reduce the interval of the two jubilees, from one hundred to fifty years, in order to multiply the causes of the prosperity of Italy, and increase the imposts of the holy city.

Clement accepted the dignities and magistracies which were offered to him, and assured the ambassadors, that he had the re-establishing of the Holy See in Italy much at heart, and that he would engage to do it as soon as it was possible. As a proof of the sincerity of his words, he fixed the period of the new jubilee for the year 1350. The following was the bull published on the occasion:—"The Son of God, by expiring on the cross, my brethren, has acquired for us a treasure of indulgences, which is increased by the infinite merits of the Holy Virgin, the martyrs, and the saints; for you know that the dispensation of these riches belongs to the successors of St. Peter. Boniface the Eighth has already ordered the faithful to make a pilgrimage to the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and his bull grants entire absolution of sin to those who make this journey at the commencement of each century. We, however

consider that in the Mosaic law, which Jesus Christ came to accomplish spiritually, the fiftieth year is that of Jubilee or the remission of debts; for this reason, then, on account of the short duration of human life, and that the greatest number of Christians may participate in this indulgence, we grant full and entire absolution to those who shall visit the churches of the two apostles, and that of St. John of the Lateran, in the year 1315, during thirty days, if Romans, and during five months, if strangers." This done, the pontiff dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with marks of honour, especially Petrarch, whose reputation was the glory of Italy, and whom he wished to attach to his cause.

Robert of Naples had died, leaving to his grand-daughter Joanna immense treasures, and a throne which her youth prevented her as yet from occupying. Not to leave her without a protector, he had, however, already married her to Andrew of Hungary, the son of Charibert: and by his will had appointed Philip Cabassole, and the queen Donna Sancha, of Arragon, to administer the kingdom of Naples. They wished to exercise the rights of regents immediately on the death of Robert, but Clement opposed them, under the pretext that that kingdom, emanating from the Holy See, should revert to the pope until the majority of Joanna, which was fixed at twenty-five years. He published a bull which broke the will of the king, as trampling upon the privileges of the church; and annulled the proceedings of Philip Cabassole and Donna Sancha, as irregular and usurped. He sent the cardinal Aimeric de Chastelus, in the capacity of apostolic vicar, to seize the reins of government, to receive the liege homage of Joanna, and to crown her. He then confided the tutelage of the young queen to depraved females, who were certain to make a monster of lubricity of her. What mattered it to Clement that sovereigns should render themselves contemptible in the eyes of the people? His policy was to elevate the chair of St. Peter above the thrones of kings, and all means by which he could reach that end were to him good.

Assured of Sicily, he turned against Germany, and lighted the fire of civil war in the empire. His emissaries distributed gold freely, and induced the cities of Italy, which had remained faithful to Louis of Bavaria, to revolt. He caused the bulls which John the Twenty-second had proclaimed against the emperor, to be fulminated in Germany, France, England, and the whole Roman peninsula, and added this imprecation to them:—"May the divine wrath—may the anger of St. Peter and St. Paul light on Louis of Bavaria, in this world and the next—may the earth engulf him alive! May the elements be adverse to him, and his children perish before his eyes, massacred by the hands of his enemies." He was, however, obliged to suspend the effects of his vengeance, having been warned by the French ambassadors that Philip had need of the emperor, and that he forbade him

from continuing his furious denunciations of that prince. Clement, not daring to disobey the injunctions of his powerful ally, retracted his bulls, and contented himself with citing Louis of Bavaria before the court of Avignon, to be judged by the sacred college. Instead of going before the holy father, or sending deputies to him, Louis went simply to the king of France:—"If Clement undertakes any proceeding against us, we will hold you responsible for it:—we salute you." Philip, who feared the arms of the Germans, immediately informed the holy father that he was to proceed no farther.

Forced to abandon his plans against the empire, the pope cast himself on England. He distributed the benefices of that kingdom among the new cardinals, whose revenues were insufficient to maintain the luxury of their establishments; he granted to them the richest abbeyes, the best churches, and the wealthiest dioceses, granting them, besides, authority to send agents into ~~Spain~~ Britain to take possession of them in their name, that they might spend the revenues at his court. But King Edward did not exhibit the docility he had hoped for: his officers drove off the French priests who went to take possession of the benefices for the cardinals.

Clement endeavoured to implant in Edward sentiments less hostile to his interests, and wrote to him:—"We have learned, my son, that you have published edicts which tend to destroy ecclesiastical liberty, the primacy of the Roman church, and the authority of the Holy See. You cannot be ignorant that Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors, authority to govern the world. You know that, by virtue of this power, the popes have founded patriarchal churches, or metropolitan churches, cathedrals, and secondary churches, and have established the hierarchy of the clergy. For many ages there has been no change. The full and entire disposal of ecclesiastical honours, dignities, and wealth, has always pertained to the popes. You have then rendered yourself guilty of a great sin, by authorising the persecutions against the agents of our cardinals, and by hindering the execution of our favours. We now send you our internuncios Nicholas, the metropolitan of Ravenna, and Peter, bishop of Astorga, with powers to assemble a council which shall abolish every edict, or declaration contrary to our authority, and who will pronounce an anathema against you, if your officers or people refuse us obedience."

This letter was not more successful than the bull. Edward replied to the pope, that he was scandalised by seeing the wealth of his kingdom at the mercy of the court of Avignon; that "Shepherds should cherish their lambs, and not shear nor slay them; that this work appertained to kings, and that for the future he would dispose of the ecclesiastical benefices as William the Conqueror had done."

Clement, repulsed in England, had at least the consolation of seeing, that France did not

contest his right of sovereignty over the kingdoms of the earth. He received a solemn embassy from Philip de Valois, at the head of which was Louis de la Cerda, usually called Louis of Spain, because he was descended from Ferdinand, the eldest son of Alphonso the Wise, king of Castile, and of Blanche, the daughter of St. Louis. This prince came to ask from his holiness the proprietorship of the Fortunate Isles, now called the Canaries, which he said were inhabited by infidels, and which he engaged to conquer, to bring the inhabitants to a knowledge of the Christian religion. The pontiff acceded to his desires, and proclaimed him king of these countries, with absolute power over their temporal affairs, subject to an annual rent of four hundred florins in gold to the church; and he placed on his brow a crown of gold, as a sign of investiture. This ceremony did not, however, prevent Louis de la Cerda from dying before he made the conquest of the Canaries.

In the beginning of the year 1344, the emperor again endeavoured to reconcile himself to the holy father; and sent an embassy to Philip of Valois, to request him to inform him of the causes which prevented the maintenance of peace between the empire and the church. As it was difficult to reply to a demand thus distinctly expressed, the king sent the deputies to the pope, accompanied by officers of his court.

Clement, having heard the messages of the two sovereigns, called to him one of his cardinals, and dictated to him a form of a request for pardon, with conditions so humiliating for Louis of Bavaria, that a conquered prince, beneath the sword of an enemy, should not have accepted them. This letter of the holy father was expedited at once to the emperor, who, contrary to the expectation of the court of Avignon, declared he would accept the conditions offered him; and swore, in the presence of the protonotary of the pope, that he was ready to execute them. This resolution of the prince surprised Clement greatly; and he could not avoid saying, on reading his letter, "This man is much embarrassed; but he is more embarrassing."

In fact, four German ambassadors presented themselves before the sacred college, and swore, in the name of their master, in accordance with the orders of the pope, to avow the heresies attributed to him, to renounce the empire, and place himself, his children, wealth, and estates, at the disposal of the pontiff. They then besought Clement to remit by them, in writing, the articles of penance which he wished to impose on Louis of Bavaria; and informed him, that they had orders not to quit Avignon until they had obtained them, so anxious was the emperor to reconcile himself with the church. The holy father then gave them only requirements relative to the constitution of the empire, and not to the person of the prince. It was an immense blunder on the part of the pope, of which Louis took advantage. He immediately sent orders to the electors and to the estates to assemble

in a general diet, in the city of Frankfort. He joined to his letter of convocation a copy of the penance which the holy father had imposed on him; and in which, among others, was this article:—"The emperor shall make an edict, to subject to the punishment of fire those of his subjects who shall refuse to recognise that the empire is a benefice of the pope."

These cruel orders and exaggerated pretensions discontented the members of the assembly, who immediately made this reply to Louis of Bavaria:—"Lord, the electors and other vassals of the empire, having examined the conditions which the pope imposes on you, as the terms of your reconciliation with the church, declare, that they all tend to the destruction of the empire; and, that neither you nor they can accept them. They have consequently decided, that a deputation should be sent to Avignon, to request the pope to desist from his intentions; and to inform him, that if he refuses to do justice to our claims, we have determined to resist with all the means in our power, his enterprises against our liberty."

The ambassadors of the princes of the empire, in fact, went to the holy father, and informed him of the objections of the diet of Frankfort to the singular articles of penance which he had imposed on Louis of Bavaria. Clement, at this opening, became very angry, and drove away the deputies, without being willing to give them any reply. He then commenced very secret negotiations with a prince of the House of Luxemburg; with John, king of Bohemia; with Charles, marquis of Moravia, his son; and with Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, to assure himself of vengeance. We shall soon see the deplorable results of this coalition.

If the policy of the holy father was powerless to procure for him a triumph in England and Germany, it had at least succeeded in Italy, and especially in Naples, where queen Joanna left all the power of the kingdom to the cardinal Aimeric, in order to occupy herself at her ease with pleasure and debauchery. The young queen, through the lessons of depravity which she had received, though she had scarcely attained her sixteenth year, deserved to be compared to Messalina. She had already received into the royal couch the lords of the court, simple guards, and even sailors of the port. Her husband Andrew, enervated by her lascivious caresses, and unable longer to respond to her desires, excited her hatred, and he was found one morning cast from the window of his bed-room, after having been strangled with a cord of silk. It was published the next day through Naples, that secret enemies had entered the palace and assassinated the king. No one dared to fathom this terrible mystery. The pope, even, though informed of the true circumstances of the murder, by the cardinal Aimeric, lanced a bull against the guilty, without naming them; he contented himself with declaring them infamous, deprived of all dignities, incapable

of making a will or any lawful act; he confiscated to himself their wealth and domains, freed their vassals and subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and pronounced an interdict on the land into which they should retire, with penalties against those who granted them aid or asylum; and, finally, he took all the measures which his policy suggested to him, to prepare for the moment on which he could, without striking a blow, seize on the throne of Naples.

But the crime of Joanna had excited so great an indignation among the kings of Europe, that it was feared lest an avenger should arise to call her to account. She perceived this, and hastened to write to Louis the Great the king of Hungary, her brother-in-law, to free herself from the suspicion of having murdered her husband. Her letters received only doubtful replies, and she learned that Louis had placed himself at the head of a powerful army, to invade her kingdom, and avenge his brother. In this extremity, she sought a protector in one of her lovers, her cousin Louis of Tarentum, whom she married. Notwithstanding the talents and courage of the young prince, the Hungarians seized on Naples, and compelled the sovereigns to take refuge in the city of Avignon, which belonged to the queen. Clement received Joanna favourably, and even experienced a violent passion for her, of which she feigned to partake, in order to attach him to her cause; the ruse, however, only half succeeded, for the pope would not consent to reinstate his new mistress on the throne of Naples, and absolve her from the murder of Andrew, unless she would surrender the sovereignty of Avignon to him. The bargain was soon concluded, and they stipulated as the price of the purchase, that he should give eighty thousand florins in gold for it, which was never paid. Such were the rights of property of the Holy See over this territory for six centuries,—rights which they have only recently abandoned.

The pontiff at once declared himself openly the protector of Joanna; he lanced terrible bulls against his enemies, praised the innocence, mildness, and purity of the queen in the presence of the ambassadors of all the Christian princes, assembled in consistory, and threatened Louis the Great with ecclesiastical thunders, if he persisted in keeping the kingdom of Naples. The young king was thus compelled to forego his vengeance, and return to his kingdom. Joanna returned in triumph to her capital, and plunged anew into such excesses, that her court was only equalled in depravity by that of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement the Sixth, master of the city and territory of Avignon, showed more audacity than before; he renewed his attacks on Louis of Bavaria, published a bull against that prince, declared him infamous, and a heretic, deposed him from the empire, and enjoined the electors to proceed at once to the election of a king of the Romans.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and

Charles his eldest son, went to Avignon to sign the secret treaty with the pope, which was to assure to them the empire; other pretenders took the same steps, and sought to obtain the protection of the holy father. Clement was extremely embarrassed how to decide among these conflicting interests, and he instructed the cardinals assembled in consistory, to choose the king of the Romans. But, as each of the cardinals had received large sums, to sustain the interests of different pretenders, there resulted a division which had almost proved fatal to the cardinals. At first they abused each other vehemently; then from words, they came to blows; the officers and domestics then took the part of their masters, and the mêlée became general. Several prelates received severe wounds, and the pope himself had a shoulder put out of joint by the blow of a club. At length, by the intervention of wise men, tranquillity was restored; the cardinals reassembled in the chamber of the holy father, and it was decided to give the empire to the son of the king of Bohemia, Charles of Luxemburg, who made more magnificent promises than any of his competitors.

They were as follows: "If I am king of the Romans," said the prince, in the secret treaty which the pope showed to the prelates of his court, "I pledge myself to maintain all the concessions which the emperor Henry the Seventh my grandfather, and his predecessors made to the Holy See. I will not seek to occupy, or acquire by any means, the cities of Rome or Ferrara, or other land and places which belong to the church, whether with or without Italy, as in the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the territory of Avignon. I will not enter Rome before the day of my coronation, and I will leave it with my people immediately after the ceremony, not to return but at the command of the holy father; and finally, I will ratify all my promises at the time of my consecration."

"It was not difficult," says Maimburg, "for Clement to have Charles chosen emperor, for the cardinals knew he was sustained by the king of Bohemia, his father, and by Baldwin of Luxemburg, archbishop of Treves, his great uncle. His only adversary was Henry of Virneburg, archbishop of Mayence, an avowed partizan of Louis of Bavaria; the pope freed himself of him, by deposing him, and appointing in his place the young Count de Gerlac, of Nassau, a canon of the same diocese, who had sold him his suffrage. Valderan of Juillers, the metropolitan of Cologne, was bought for eight thousand marks of silver; Rodolph, duke of Saxony, who was greedier, obtained fifteen thousand, and at length, all the electors having been gained, the diet assembled at Rents, near Coblenz, in the diocese of Treves, and proclaimed Charles marquis of Moravia, king of the Romans." This election was confirmed by a bull, in which Clement declared, that God had given to the popes supreme power over the celestial empire and the kingdoms of the earth. Some months

afterwards, Louis of Bavaria, so say the chroniclers, died of poison, but whether administered by the pope, or his competitor, no one could tell. Charles, recognised as king of the Romans and future emperor, a second title as illusory as the first, exercised, however, no influence over Germany; the high Germanic aristocracy possessed the real power, and the new Cæsar had to content himself with the insignia of royalty.

This same year a revolt broke out in Florence against the grand inquisitor, Peter of Aquila, a knavish, sordid, and cruel monk. It was on this occasion: the grand inquisitor had bought, at a low price, from the cardinal Peter Gomez de Banos, a debt of twelve thousand florins of gold, against the firm of the Acciapoli of Florence, who threatened to suspend payment. He desired to avail himself of the terror which his terrible office produced for him, to put himself in possession of the wealth of the firm through the regency of the republic, and obtained, in fact, sufficient security to assure himself of the entire payment of his debt. Not satisfied with these measures, he caused Sylvester Baroncelli, one of the principals of the firm, to be brought from his palace by three officers of the inquisition, and plunged in the dungeons of the holy office, until the debt was entirely paid. Fortunately, Sylvester could call for aid: the people assembled, and rescued him from the hands of the officers, who were themselves handed over to the captain of Florence, and condemned to have their hands cut off for having touched a free citizen. After the execution they were transported beyond the territories of the republic, and banished for ten years. The people then rushed to the house of the inquisitor, who had escaped out of the city to avoid the fate of his myrmidons, and pillaged his palace.

Peter d'Aquila, who had taken refuge at Sienna, immediately excommunicated the captain, and declared Florence under interdict if, within eight days, Sylvester Baroncelli was not sent to him, bound hand and foot. The Florentines appealed to the court of Avignon against this iniquitous measure, and deputed two commissioners to the true creditor of the house of Acciapoli, who paid, on account, five thousand florins; and pledged themselves, in the name of the republic, to pay the seven thousand, which were still due, in the following year. After having set things thus aright, they deposited, in the hands of the holy father, a complaint against Aquila, and proved, by authentic records, that this unworthy legate was in the habit of accusing the young girls of Florence of heresy, in order to confine them in his prisons, that he might glut his horrid passions on them. They also showed that rich citizens of the republic had been tortured by this monster until they paid him large sums. Clement, yielding to their entreaties, consented to punish the inquisitor, provided the republic would pay him ten thousand florins in gold. The Florentines sent the money which was required, and ob-

tained from the pope a decree, which provided that, in future, no inquisitor should inflict pecuniary penalties on heretics, and should only condemn them to the scaffold. They suppressed the prison especially designed for the prisoners of the inquisition; and it was decided that persons accused of heresy should be incarcerated in the public prisons: and, finally, the inquisitor was formally prohibited from having more than six familiars.

Peter d'Aquila, whom such a decree struck in his dearest interests, went at once to Avignon and offered to the holy father twenty thousand florins if he would repeal his first ordinance and confirm the excommunication lanced against Florence. Clement received the money from the inquisitor, and without further formality erased the decree, approved of the sentence of anathema uttered by Aquila, and cited the bishop of Florence, the podesta, the priors, and the captain, to appear before the sacred college, to be judged as guilty of rebellion against the church. They only shunned the condemnation by reinstating the inquisitor in his former privileges, and by paying a new fine to the court of Avignon.

Whilst Florence was thus submitting cowardly to the pontifical despotism, the Romans were assembling in arms at the call of Nicholas de Gabrino, surnamed Rienzi, and were breaking the chains of slavery.

Nicholas, the son of a mere tavern-keeper, sprung from the ranks of the people, had, from his youth, given a promise of what he would one day be. His aptness for study, and the rapid progress which he made at the first schools, determined his parents to husband all their resources to defray the expense which the culture of letters involved at that period. The young Nicholas responded to the hopes of his family; he addicted himself with ardour to the study of the Roman orators, and drank in, in meditating on their works, a deep veneration for republican institutions.

At the time that he was acquiring a profound knowledge of the manners and laws of antiquity, he was seeking, by his eloquence, to lead the masses to the worship of freedom. Rome, though freed from popes and emperors, was still governed by nobles, who were shut up in their palaces, or in the monuments transformed into citadels, from whence they exercised every kind of brigandage against the citizens, pillaging their property, violating their wives, and massacring them without pity. The poor, even, were not beyond the reach of their cruelty; they murdered them in the streets or public places, to seize on their rags. The generous Nicholas Rienzi was moved at so deplorable a sight, and swore implacable hatred to these tyrants. He at first induced the citizens to send a deputation to Avignon to entreat the pontiff to punish his representatives in the holy city, and to give repose to the ancient city of Brutus and Cassius. But the deputation having been unable to obtain any redress from

that greedy, debauched, and proud priest, who was solely occupied with the care of extending his sway, and increasing his wealth, Nicholas resolved to call the Romans to liberty, and by the power of his eloquence to re-establish the reign of the laws. There existed not a monument, a public place, a stone in Rome that did not present the theme of a discourse which he addressed to his fellow citizens, as a lesson which the past had bequeathed to the future. At length his burning eloquence rallied an immense crowd to his views; and on the 20th of May, 1347, the republic was proclaimed, before the church of St. John of Piscina, without tumult and without fighting. Nicholas de Rienzi was conducted to the capitol, and the title of Tribune and Liberator of Rome decreed to him.

The new tribune perceived that, in order to assure the triumph of the popular cause, he must exercise extreme prudence in his new authority. He at first united himself to the legate of the pope, to avoid having three enemies to contend against at once, the nobles, the Holy See, and the emperor. He then established order in the city, by organising a regular military, and driving the turbulent barons out of it: and, finally, by his wise administration, brought back peace and plenty to his country. He sent ambassadors to the cities of Italy, and the different courts of Europe, to inform them of the re-establishment of the Roman republic. His letters were written with such persuasive eloquence, and love for the public good was expressed with such evident sincerity, that Rienzi's epistles communicated his enthusiasm to all minds. Kings themselves received his deputies respectfully. Louis of Bavaria recognised the republic; Joanna of Naples sought the friendship of the tribune; Louis of Hungary chose him as the arbiter in his quarrel with the Queen in regard to the murder of his brother Andrew; and such is the magical power of that word, *Republic*, that Rienzi, the son of an Italian inn-keeper, the man of the people, became greater than kings and emperors. Clement the Sixth, fearing lest a power so formidable should elevate itself to a rivalry with his own, resolved to destroy it before it had time to take root in the soil. He lanced a terrible anathema against the tribune, declared him to be a heretic, excommunicated him, annulled the acts of his government, and interdicted him the use of fire and water.

The enemies of Rienzi were prodigal of their gold to the people, organised a conspiracy, placed the count of Minerbino at their head, and introduced into the city a troop of banditti, who proclaimed a counter-revolution. The tribune desired to sound the tocsin of alarm to call the citizens to arms; but he found the churches in the power of the insurgents; treason was every where, and he was compelled to flee from Rome in the disguise of a monk, alone and without resources, to escape from death; he took refuge in Bohemia with the emperor Charles, who basely surrendered him to the court of Avignon. Fortunately for the

fallen tribune, a terrible scourge which had fallen upon Europe suspended the preparations for his punishment, and saved his life; the plague broke out in Italy, England, Germany, Spain, and France. The city of Avignon was decimated, and the pope thought no more of Rienzi, being occupied in collecting the spoils of a large number of rich ecclesiastics who had perished of the malady.

Whilst the cities of the empire were under the impression of the terror and affright which this public calamity inspired, Charles of Luxemburg was seeking to improve his situation, and caused his partizans to take the following oath: "I recognise the emperors to be subject to the popes; that they have no power to depose or choose them; and I regard as heretics those who affirm the contrary. I swear a blind and absolute submission to the Roman church, pledging myself upon the consecrated host to recognise no prince as lawful, without the approval of the sovereign pontiff; finally, I promise obedience and fidelity to Charles the Fourth, appointed emperor by the Holy See." This formula was rejected by the magistrates of Basle, who, in the presence of the emperor and his court, protested that they would obey him who had been proclaimed by the electors, and him only, even though his election should be against the will of the pope. In consequence of this declaration, several cities of Germany appointed deputies, who offered the imperial crown to Gunther of Schwartzburg, a skilful captain, who had rendered great services to his country during the reign of Louis of Bavaria. He at first refused this high dignity; but when the princes, nobility, and principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom united with the deputies of the city, and declared the empire vacant, by an authentic deed, he consented to mount the throne. The first use which he made of his authority was to publish the following edict:

"Our predecessor, Louis of Bavaria, of glorious memory, who died a victim to the perfidy of the pontifical court, made a law which declared him master of the empire who shall have obtained the majority of the votes of the electors. By the advice of our ecclesiastical and secular princes we confirm this law, filled with wisdom; we also declare every act contrary to it, and all decrees made since by the pontiffs, null and void, as departing from the apostolic doctrine, which orders priests to be submissive to Cæsar." Such a protest against the pretensions of the Holy See, must necessarily draw down divine punishment on its author; accordingly, some days afterwards, the unfortunate Gunther died of poison.

Then came the period of the new jubilee, so ardently desired; and as the holy father was anxious to attract a great concourse of the faithful to Rome, he sent his bull through all Europe to excite the simple to come to obtain the plenary indulgences granted to the pilgrims. This time, the number of fanatics who visited the tomb of the apostles, and the church of the Lateran, was still greater than at the first jubilee; and during the year 1350,

or ally of the pope should be promoted to the post of marshal of the pontifical court, nor that of governor of the provinces or domains of the church; and finally, that the pontiff should be prohibited from making treaties with princes, or selling to them the right to levy tithes, or reserve them from the apostolic chamber without the approval of the sacred college, whose suffrages should remain free from every influence.³⁾

Believing themselves well guaranteed against the encroachments of pontifical authority, the cardinals fixed their choice on Stephen Aubert, cardinal bishop of Ostia, who was enthroned by the name of Innocent the Sixth. This prelate was born near the small city of Pompadour, in the parish of Bessae; he had been appointed Professor and Doctor of civil law at Toulouse, and had afterwards been one of the principal magistrates of that city. In 1337, he was raised to the bishopric of Noyon, from whence Clement the Sixth had drawn him to make him cardinal bishop of Ostia, and grand penitentiary. Wernerus says, "that the new pope was humble, of regular morals, and an excellent canonist." As soon as he had been proclaimed supreme chief of the church, he was subjected to the usual proof, and then the ceremony of his consecration was proceeded with.

On the day succeeding his exaltation he repeated the rules published by the cardinals, though he himself had sworn to observe them, maintaining that the pope could break the oath of the cardinal without committing a sin. Innocent in reality perjured himself in this matter, though we should not blame him too severely, as he did it to annul several scandalous privileges which had been granted to the cardinals by his predecessor. He then reduced the number of his domestics, compelled the cardinals to follow his example, and issued the following decree against the commendams, or concessions of vacant benefices to clerks and inferior prelates:—"Experience has shown that, owing to commendams, divine service is neglected in the churches; that hospitality is refused to the unfortunate; that churches are falling into ruins; and that both the spiritual and temporal rights of benefices are lost. We consequently revoke the commendams and sacrilegious concessions of prelacies, dignities, and secular or regular benefices."

The holy father exerted himself to put an end to a great number of abuses, which had for a long time become customs at the court of Rome; especially the rights which the officers of the apostolic chancellery granted, in the name of the church, to tolerate prostitutes; and the payments of the taxes which John the Twenty-second had established for incest, murder, parricide, and generally for all crimes. As he knew that the officers of the Holy See prolonged indefinitely, or terminated promptly, the affairs submitted to their judgment according to the amount of the sum they received, he desired to remedy these scandalous disorders, and decreed severe punish-

ments for them. The pontiff not only showed himself to be as austere in his morals as his predecessor had been corrupt, but he had also the merit of preferring the good of the people to his own interest. His treasures were employed in the organisation of armies, which he sent into Italy to free the provinces from a crowd of lords who had erected themselves into despots, and tyrannised over the people. The first expedition was confided to Giles Alvarez d'Alberno, his legate, who penetrated into the territories, where he found but two cities which recognised the authority of the Holy See, Monte Falco and Monte Fiascone; the other cities were all under the rule of the nobles, who murdered with indifference the partizans of the emperor or the pope.

Rome, especially, was abandoned to the most deplorable anarchy. Bands of robbers, in the pay of the Savelli and the Colonna, traversed the streets and the country, and destroyed the faithful who came as pilgrims to the church of the apostles. The people had tried several forms of government in hopes of putting an end to these disorders; after having had prefects and tribunes, they had tried rectors; they then had chosen two senators, Count Berthold des Ursini and Stephen Colonna. Under this last form the discontent had reached its height, in consequence of a considerable rise in the price of grain; agitators accused the senators of wishing to enrich themselves, by favouring the export of wheat; they attacked the capitol, and count Berthold was stoned.

Innocent, who wished to re-establish his authority over that city and Italy, adopted the policy which the kings of France had followed since the time of Philip Augustus, relying on the people to overthrow the aristocracy. He liberated the republican, Nicholas Rienzi, and promised to reinstate him as tribune in Rome, if he would second the Holy See in its plans of pacification. Rienzi eagerly accepted the proposals of the holy father, and joined the legate Giles d'Albornos, who was already marching on Rome. At the approach of the papal army, the Colonna, the Savelli, and their partizans mounted artillery upon the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance; but as soon as Nicholas Rienzi had displayed his standard, the people rushed on the nobles, drove them from the city, and opened the gates to the tribune, who went at once to the capitol amidst the acclamations of the people.

Nicholas occupied himself in re-establishing justice, and in again putting in force the wise regulations he had made before his captivity; but as he was compelled to divide his authority with the legate of the pope, the people took umbrage at it; his enemies accused him of wishing to subject Rome to a theocratic government, and showed letters which had been intercepted, and in which Innocent the Sixth gave him the title of knight and senator. Rienzi hastened to arrest the sedition, and wished to speak in order to defend himself; but he had scarcely commenced his justifica-

tion, when a monk, rushing from the crowd, cast himself, dagger in hand, upon him, and disappeared after having struck him in the throat. The tribune fell dead near the Porphyry Lion, on the great square of Rome. This tragical end left the legate sole master of the city.

Whilst we render full justice to the popes by glorifying the actions which have illustrated several pontificates, we should also show severity towards them, when they depart from the precepts of the gospel; and we cannot too much call down the reprobation of men upon the sanguinary acts of which they have been guilty. Thus Innocent the Sixth, after having edified Christendom by great virtues during the first years of his reign, turned suddenly into a fanatic, and persecuted heretics with extreme severity. He was very bitter against the Fratricelli, who courageously confessed their doctrines in the midst of frightful punishments. John of Chatillon, one of these unfortunate men, whose punishment afforded a spectacle to the pontifical court, defied the rage of his executioners at the funeral pyre, and from the midst of the flames cried out to the people, "Christians, my brethren, I declare in the presence of God who judges us, that you are the dupes of the knavery of the pope; in the name of my salvation, I affirm, that John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, Clement the Sixth, and Innocent the Sixth, are all enemies of God, simoniacs, forgers, robbers, murderers, and heretics."

Some ecclesiastical historians remark on the impassability of the pope in this matter, as a proof of the goodness of his heart; and are astonished that he did not cause the fire of the stake to be extinguished, to recommence torturing the palpitating members of the heretic. Mathew Vilani, on the other hand, exhibits indignation against this pope, who was cruel enough to listen, without emotion, to the just reproaches of an unfortunate man, given over to the punishment of fire as an expiation of his virtues. "If one wishes," he adds, "to be convinced of the cold cruelty of this priest, let him read this bull which he had before published:—

"We are informed that men, called Fratricelli, seduce the people by their humility, and teach them to fail in respect to the Holy See; we commission you to hand them over to the inquisitors, without any further form of process."

Charles the Fourth having learned that the pope had re-established his authority in Rome after the death of Rienzi, sent to demand permission from him to come and receive the crown of gold in the church of St. Peter, which was granted to him under certain very humiliating conditions. The emperor first entered Milan with naked feet, and received the iron crown from the metropolitan of that city; he then went to Rome, with the princess Anne, his wife, in the dress of pilgrims. On the day of his arrival, he was solemnly crowned emperor by Peter Bertrandi, cardinal bishop of Ostia; and immediately after the cere-

mony he left the holy city, in accordance with the promise he had made to Clement the Sixth.

No prince had shown so much subserviency to the popes as he: thus Petrarch, indignant at this act of cowardice, wrote to him, "Where will you conceal your ignominy, prince? What! you have promised, and promised under oath, to remain but a single day in Rome! What glory for a bishop thus to humiliate a sovereign, who ought to be the protector of liberty! How proud should he be at seeing you cringe beneath his feet! What more ignominious for an emperor than to be trampled under foot by an audacious priest, and to be content with the title of Cæsar, without daring to inhabit his residence? Go to,—you are fit to live in Avignon, that city which is the sink and the receptacle of all the vices!

"I can speak of it, for I know its abominations. In that third Babylon, which has no equal but Rome, there exists no pity, no charity, no faith, no fear of God; there is nothing there holy, sacred, honest, humane; in a word, shame, charity, and candour, are banished from it; as for truth, it never entered it. How could it exist in a place where every thing is false? The air, the earth, the houses, the palaces, the streets, the markets, the temples, the chambers, the beds, the angles of the walls, the hotels, the seats of the judges, the pontifical throne, and the altars consecrated to God, all are peopled by knaves and liars. In this infernal labyrinth of frightful dungeons, or sombre prisons, commands an imperious Minor, who agitates, in a fatal urn, the lot of mortals. At the least signal from his master, a minotaur, under the form of a priest, casts himself upon the victims, and drags them into the temples of the shameless Venus. No! truth could not show itself in that infamous place without being violated. Unhappy, thrice unhappy would be the candid man who should hazard himself in that abyss of vices; he would find neither fidelity, nor sincere friends, nor a second Ariadne who could give him a thread by which he might extricate himself from this inextricable labyrinth. In this city, the Elysian fields, Styx, and Acheron, are regarded as ridiculous fables; a future life, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the end of the world, and the final judgment, are regarded as tales and idle stories; in a word, the salvation of the human family lies in gold: it is gold alone which can appease the monster, enchain him, make him smile. With gold you may deflower your sisters, murder your father; with gold you can open heaven, buy the saints, the angels, the Virgin, the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ, and the Eternal Father himself; the pope will sell you every thing for gold except his tiara."

This energetic letter made a strong impression on the emperor; he perceived the mistake he had made, and hastened to return to Germany to prevent the effects of the discontent which his submission to the pope had

excited. He was not long in perceiving the justice of the reproaches of Petrarch. At Pisa the people rose on his arrival, and wished to set fire to the palace in which he had taken refuge. Several persons of his court were hung; and he had great difficulty in escaping, by night, with his wife and the remains of his escort. At Cremona, he was obliged to wait before the walls for six hours, before the magistrates decided to permit him to enter, alone and without his sword, to rest for a day; and, finally, most of the cities refused positively to open their gates to him. Such were the sad consequences of his submission to the Holy See. Charles, however, was only a weak man, and not an incapable prince; for, on his return to his kingdom, he governed with wisdom, re-established peace and prosperity through the provinces, and published the famous bull of gold, which is the true fundamental constitution of the empire.

During this year, John Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, finding himself attacked at once by the Turks and the brother of John Cantacuzene, king of Adrianople, sent to ask for aid from the people of the west; and in accordance with the policy of his predecessors, who knew the ambition of the pontiff, he offered to the court of Avignon to submit the Greek church to it, in exchange for its protection. Innocent sought earnestly for defenders for him, and sent letters on the subject to the different Christian princes; but his missives were unanswered; and, as he could not furnish either the number of vessels or troops which were required, the schism between the east and the west continued.

The only monarch who showed any favour for the plans of the Holy See, was still Charles. Unfortunately for the pontiff, the chancellor Conrad, of Alezia, prevented the levy of subsidies by the counsel which he gave the prince. "Recollect," he said to Charles, in full council, "that the popes have always regarded Germany as an inexhaustible mine of gold; and that they have their hands constantly extended towards us to despoil us. Do we not send enough money to Avignon for the instruction of our children and the purchase of benefices? Do we not furnish every year sufficiently large sums for the confirmation of bishops, the impetration of benefices, the pursuit of processes and appeals; for dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, privileges; and, finally, for all the simoniacal inventions of the Holy See? Lo, the pope demands still a new subsidy. What does he offer us in exchange for our gold? Inefficacious blessings, anathemas, wars, and a disgraceful servitude. Arrest, prince, the course of this evil, and do not per-

mit pontifical despotism to make a second Italy out of Germany." Charles cancelled his decree, and wrote to the court of Avignon, that the subsidies which were demanded would not be paid.

Furious at this check, Innocent immediately sent his nuncio into Germany to take possession of the vacant benefices, with power to excommunicate and denounce to the tribunals of the inquisition, clergy and laity who should oppose the execution of his orders. So much cupidity excited a general discontent. On every side arose preachers who publicly condemned the conduct of the holy father, and called down the judgment of heaven on the pontifical court. Among these brother John of Rochtaillade, of the order of the Minor Brothers, was remarked for his vivid eloquence, and the efficiency of his allegories.

We translate the last sermon which he preached in Avignon: "In times past, my brethren," said the preacher, addressing the crowd, "an extraordinary bird was born into the world; it was large, strong, and had no feathers. The other birds having heard of this phenomenon, went in crowds to the place where it was born, to admire it; but, as soon as they saw this poor being trembling with cold, dying of hunger, and incapable of seeking its food—since it could not fly, they took pity on it, and agreed that each should pluck out some feathers to cover the unfortunate: this was readily done. As soon as this bird found himself covered with a plumage shining with purple and gold, he became proud and arrogant, and treated with contempt the birds who had so generously despoiled themselves for him; he soon even pretended to have sprung from the eagle of Jupiter, and wished to subdue his benefactors; he attacked them, one after another, and pursued them into all countries, to devour them. At last the birds, worn out with his tyranny, assembled in council, and decided to fall all at once on their tyrant, and tear his plumage from him. The peacock, vulture, and owl commenced the attack—the others followed: and the phenomenon bird, despoiled in a moment of the feathers which had been given to him, died of hunger on the very spot in which the birds had first found him. Thus will it happen to you, pope and cardinals," continued the orator, turning towards the tribunal of the pontifical court, "when the people shall have taken back the wealth they gave you." On quitting the stand, brother John was arrested by superior orders, and handed over to the inquisitors, who burned him as a heretic.

Innocent died shortly after, at a very advanced age; he was interred in the cathedral of Avignon, on the 12th of September, 1362.

URBAN THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1362.]

Election of William Grimoald—He gives the bishopric of Avignon to his brother—Efforts of the pope against the Visconti—Interview between the pope and the king of France in the city of Avignon—Urban makes a journey to Rome—He gives the golden rose to the infamous Joanna of Naples—He crowns Charles the Fourth in the church of St. Peter—He prepares to return to France—Prediction of St. Bridget—Death of Urban.

TEN days after the funeral of Innocent the Sixth, the cardinals assembled in conclave, to the number of twenty, in the pontifical palace, to elect a new chief. They disputed for a whole month, without being able to agree;—at last the wisest, despairing of ever putting an end to the divisions of their colleagues, proposed to choose a pope from without the sacred college, and to cast their suffrages upon William Grimoald, or Grimand, abbot of the monastery of St. Victor, at Marseilles. This motion was favourably received by the cardinals; they wished, however, beforehand, to make conditions with him, and wrote to him to come to them secretly, to give them his advice in relation to the election of a new pontiff. The abbot hastened to obey; and when he arrived, they proposed to elect him supreme chief of the church, if he would swear to permit the cardinals to accumulate benefices, and to keep their equipages, palaces, concubines, and minions. He consented to every thing, and was proclaimed pope on the 28th of October, 1362, by the title of Urban the Fifth.

He was a son of the lord of Griscas, a domain situated in Gevaudan, in the diocese of Meude. He had been set aside for a monastic life from his youth, and placed in the priory of Chiriac, whose superior was renowned for his depraved morals. This abbot, who had conceived a scandalous affection for the young Grimoald, wished to offer violence to him; but the child resisted, and informed his father of the danger he had incurred. He took him at once from the monastery, and sent him to Montpellier, to finish his studies. His progress in science acquired for him, some years after, the rank of doctor; he was a professor of the civil and canon law, first at Montpellier, and afterwards at Avignon: in this last place, he was preferred to the abbey of Saint Victor, by Innocent the Sixth.

On the day succeeding his installation in the Holy See, Urban gave the bishopric of Avignon to his brother, the canon Anglie Grimoald, and put an end to the scandal the popes had so long given, by leaving that church without a pastor to seize on the revenues of the diocese. It is true, that no particular merit was due to Urban for filling this vacancy, as, in so doing, he had no other intention than to prepare for the return of the pontifical court to Rome, where the legate, Giles d'Albornos, still ruled as absolute master.

Unfortunately, at the very moment in which he was counting to put his plans in execution,

a revolution broke out in Italy; the Ghibelines took up arms, attacked the Guelphs, and massacred a prodigious number of the partizans of the popes. Giles d'Albornos, on his side, assembled an army, fell on the revolted cities, sacked and burned them, and was seen, himself, with his sword in his hand, and his casque on his head, setting an example of pillage, rape, and murder. The brothers Visconti, however, and especially Barnabo, repulsed the troops of the legate, and obliged them to shut themselves up in Rome. The pope, unable to annihilate his enemies, declared them to be excommunicated heretics, and deprived of all their dignities; he prohibited the faithful from communing with them, and after having fulminated a terrible sentence of anathema in the cathedral of Avignon, he mounted the altar, extended his arms toward heaven, and pronounced horrible imprecations, calling Jesus Christ, the apostles, the saints, and all the heavenly hosts to his aid, to exterminate the Visconti.

Barnabo continued none the less to combat the legate, with alternate reverses and successes; finally, after a year's contest he was, in his turn, repulsed by the troops of the pope, and forced to fall back on Bologna. He then agreed to lay aside his arms, engaging to restore the castles and fortresses on which he had seized in the districts of Modena, Bologna and Romagna, on condition that he should be paid the sum of five hundred thousand florins in gold in eight years' time, counting from the day of the restitution of the places taken from the church. In consequence of this treaty, the lord Barnabo became a son of the church; he was declared innocent of all the crimes for which the pope had excommunicated him, and relieved from the censures pronounced by the court of Rome.

During the following year, the king of France went to the holy father to consult him on the proposal which the ambassadors from Naples made him to espouse Queen Joanna, whose second husband had died after a wasting and enfeebling illness; thus uniting upon his head the crowns of France, Naples, Sicily, and Provence. Urban, to whom this alliance was very distasteful, hastened to dissuade John the First from concluding this marriage with Queen Joanna, whose turpitudes he unveiled, and whom he represented as the most depraved of the prostitutes of her kingdom. He informed him of the numerous murders she had committed among her lovers, and showed him even the correspondence between Clement the Sixth and that princess, in which

the causes of the assassination of Andrew were related in obscene terms, and in which Joanna proposed to the holy father to purchase absolution from him by gold and nights of pleasure. John, who was now old, feared the consequences of an union with this Messalina, and promised the pontiff to put off his plan.

This was not enough for Urban, who feared, more than any thing in the world, the realization of a marriage which would have made the popes dependents on the French sovereigns; to cause him to break it finally, he resolved to create serious occupations for John, and to name him as chief of a new crusade in Palestine. Religious enthusiasm was, at this time, generally very cold; the wary pontiff, however, availing himself of the arrival of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had come to Avignon to solicit aid against the Saracens, celebrated a solemn mass in the presence of the two sovereigns, and preached a new crusade with so much unction, that the stupid John exclaimed, with tears in his eyes, that he would avenge Christ. Immediately, and without giving him time for reflection, he was conducted before the altar, and sworn on the consecrated host to conduct one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers into Asia.

On his return to his capital, John experienced a lively opposition on the part of his council to the execution of his extravagant projects. His ministers represented to him that his kingdom was plunged into the most profound misery, that pestilence and famine were desolating his people, that it was impossible to find money to defray the expenses of a crusade, and that his age and infirmities prevented him from directing so dangerous a war; they recalled the example of his predecessors who had ruined and depopulated France, without being able to conquer a rood of the Holy Land. All remonstrances were useless; the obstinate old man would listen to nothing; he ordered a recoinage of money to procure him silver, and convoked all who held tenure under the crown, to organise his army. But none of the other princes of Europe being willing to join the king of France, this holy enterprise did not take place.

Moreover, as in the interval Queen Joanna had espoused the king of Majorca, one of her lovers, and had taken a new oath of obedience to the Holy See, the pope ceased to concern himself about the crusade. All his cares were applied to one end, that of obtaining means to return to Italy. He openly announced that it was his desire to establish the pontifical court at Rome; and, by his orders, the bishop of Orvietto went to the holy city to superintend the repairs of the pontifical palace. At length on the 30th of April, 1367, Urban embarked at Marseilles, with a numerous train, on a fleet of twenty-three richly decorated galleys, which his allies the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, had sent to him. He arrived at Genoa, after a passage of forty days, and from that city he went to Viterba, where he intended to sojourn for some months. On his entrance into that city, the holy father

was assailed by a crowd of citizens who demanded justice on his legate Giles d'Albornos, who was by his side. This manifestation so alarmed him, that in order to appease them he ordered him to leave the procession, and to be ready to render an account of his conduct at first call. The cardinal obeyed; but on the next day, at day-break, a great noise of horses and rattling of iron was heard beneath the windows of the pope's apartment, and when Urban stepped on the balcony to inquire the cause, he saw his legate in a chariot with an enormous quantity of keys which he was jingling. "Holy father," he exclaimed, "behold the keys of the cities which I have subjugated for your holiness. I know that one should never expect gratitude from kings and popes. I have served you too well, and to the detriment of the people; I repent it. Adieu!" and leaping upon a horse which his people held, he struck him with the spurs, left Viterba, and abandoned the carriage bearing the keys.

When the people heard of this flight, they accused Urban of having favoured it, to free this great culprit from their vengeance; a revolt broke out, and armed bands traversed the streets, exclaiming, "long live the people! death to the priests." The cardinals, who were lodged in isolated palaces, hurried at once to the pontifical residence which was fortified; and it is related that the panic was so great among them, that the cardinal de Vabres fled in his shirt from a brothel where he had passed the night; and that the cardinal de Carcassonne escaped from a Benedictine convent, in the disguise of a nun.

Urban, fearful of the consequences of this insurrection, sent an express to his legate with a letter in which he besought him to return. As ambition easily deceives itself, Giles thought he had been restored to favour; he assembled some troops and attacked Viterba, which he immediately seized. The populace was disarmed, and the chains, which shut up the streets, were taken away; the pope then caused scaffolds to be erected on the public places, and two hundred of the principal inhabitants were hung. Tranquillity was thus re-established in Viterba. Some days afterwards, Giles d'Albornos was assassinated by the son of a citizen, in revenge for the death of his father. Urban feared a return of the troubles, and precipitately quitted that city, with his suite and an escort of two thousand armed men, to go to Rome. He was received with great demonstrations of joy by the clergy, who conducted him in triumph to the palace of the Vatican. Joanna of Naples also came to pay her homage to the holy father, and was admitted to his intimacy to the great scandal of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who was astonished that a pope would consent to pass whole days shut up with a female so decided: but the motive of these mysterious conferences was soon known. The day of the blessing of the golden rose having arrived, the pontiff, instead of offering it to Lusignan, as every one expected, presented it to the beautiful

queen of Naples, who had become his mistress.

Such a mark of condescension to a crowned courtesan discontented the cardinals, and they made some observations on it to his holiness. In order to force them to silence and to show them how much he respected them, Urban assembled them in consistory on the following Sunday, and in the presence of the court and the foreign ambassadors, he passed an eulogium on Joanna, exalted her charity, her mildness, her courage, and gave to her a sword of gold. After the session, he retired with her to his delicious villa of Monte Fiascone, leaving to the cardinals the care of conducting the affairs of the church. James the Third, the husband of Joanna, informed of what was going on at the court of the pope, sent an express to his wife to return to Naples, threatening to expose her infamy to all the kings of Europe.

Urban, furious that any one should dispute his mistress with him, annulled, without loss of time, the third marriage of Joanna, under the pretext of relationship, and declared her at liberty to take another husband. Notwithstanding this decision, the Italian lords, indignant at the audacity of the pope, revolted against the Holy See, and the war commenced more terribly than before. Joanna, unwilling to share the perils of her lover, returned to Naples, and left Urban to his enterprises against the insurgents. In this extremity, the latter called the emperor Charles the Fourth, to his aid, who hastened into Italy, at the head of twenty thousand Germans, and presented himself before Verona. After having taken it, he marched on Milan, which he uselessly invested, the troops of Barnabo Visconti raising the blockade of the place. He then went to Viterba, where the pope awaited him to conduct him to Rome; the empress rejoined them in this last city, to receive the crown from the hands of the holy father.

Without disquieting themselves at the presence of the German army, the Visconti continued to carry on war with the adherents of the popes; his holiness then wished the emperor to give more severe orders to his troops to achieve the extermination of that family.

On the refusal of Charles to command bloody executions, which were nothing less than general massacres, in the finest provinces of Italy, Urban detached himself from his cause and resolved to depose him. But before acting openly, he thought it prudent to return to France, where the protection of King John the First would place him beyond the reach of all violence. During his preparations for the journey, John Paleologus came to Rome in person, to ask succours from the pope against the Musselmén, who were menacing his capital. The Greek prince was received by the Roman clergy with great honours; he made a profession of the orthodox faith in the church of the Holy Spirit, and swore to reduce his subjects to submission to the Roman church, if the western princes would consent to furnish him with troops to repulse the armies of the infidels. Unfortunately, his presents and promises could not induce the sovereigns of Europe to aid him, and he was compelled to return to Constantinople without money, without an army, and with the sole consolation of being an orthodox Christian.

Urban, released by the departure of the Greek emperor, was occupied with assuring the execution of his plans against the emperor of Germany; and, in a sermon, he informed the Romans that affairs of the highest importance compelled him to make a journey to Avignon. This resolution excited great discontent among the clergy; the monks even came in procession to address remonstrances to the pope; Saint Bridget, who was on a pilgrimage to the holy city, also came to the Vatican, at the instigation of a cardinal, and informed Urban that she had had a vision, in which the archangel Michael had revealed to her, that he would die on the very day on which he touched the land of France. The pontiff, who understood the value of prophecies, paid no regard to the warnings of the saint: he embarked at Corneto, and nineteen days afterwards entered Avignon. But evil befel him; for, on the day of his arrival, he was taken very sick, and died on the night of the 19th December, 1370. His remains were transported to the abbey of Saint Victor, at Marseilles, where he had erected a tomb.

GREGORY THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1371.]

Election of Gregory the Eleventh—He pursues the Visconti—Foundation of the kingdom of Tinacria—Origin and doctrine of the Turlupins—Revolt of the Florentines—Marvellous history of Saint Catherine of Sienna—Return of the holy father to Rome—Wickliff the heretic—New revolt of the Florentines—Death of Gregory.

THE cardinals assembled in conclave on the 29th of December, 1370, and proclaimed Peter Roger de Maumont, cardinal of Beaufort, so-

vereign pontiff, who was enthroned by the name of Gregory the Eleventh, after the usual ceremonies. The new pope was the nephew

of Clement the Sixth, who had elevated him to the cardinalate at seventeen years of age. Following the example of his predecessor, he declared himself the enemy of the Visconti; and as soon as he was upon the throne, he addressed a terrible bull to the bishops of the empire, in which, after having brought accusations of all kinds against Barnabo, he added: "Finally, this obstinate heretic has dared to arrest the bishop of Milan, because that virtuous prelate refused to elevate to the episcopate a monk, our declared enemy, who called the Holy See the throne of Satan; and when the holy prelate had been brought into his presence, he made him fall on his knees, and addressing him rudely, said to him, 'Wherefore, lewd fellow, hast thou refused to obey me? Dost thou not know that I am emperor and pope in my own domains, and that even God has no authority in them, but what I am willing to grant him? To inform thee of it, the executioner is about to apply fifty blows of the baton.' After this execution he has pushed his audacity so far as to proclaim his monk sovereign pontiff, by the name of Girardolus the First, and has prohibited his subjects from coming to our court to purchase indulgences, benefices, and absolutions; maintaining that his pope had as good a stock of these articles as we, and that he would furnish them at a discount."

Gregory finished his letter by declaring those excommunicated who should give aid, counsel, provisions, or money to the Visconti. He did not confine himself to spiritual arms, which were becoming daily less redoubtable. He levied an army, and entrusted the command of it to Amedeus, count of Savoy. The Visconti, alarmed by these preparations, then wished to enter into an arrangement with the Holy See, and made overtures of peace; but the pope refused even to see the ambassadors. "No, no," he said to the cardinal who asked permission to present them to him, "it is useless for me to see them; I will spare them from perjury, and I will save their souls in despite of themselves, by causing them to be interred alive if they fall into my hands." Hostilities then continued between the two parties, until money failing the pope, with which to pay his troops, he was obliged to conclude a truce with Galeas and Barnabo.

In the midst of these wars the holy father was not forgetful of the pecuniary interests of his see, and he imposed himself as an arbitrator between Joanna of Naples and Frederick the Second, king of Sicily, called the Simple, whose kingdom that princess claimed, by virtue of a treaty concluded in 1302 between Charles the Second and Frederick of Arragon. The intervention of Gregory prevented, it is true, a rupture between the two kingdoms; but they paid very dear for it, for Joanna was stripped of her pretensions, and the king of Sicily was mulcted in an annual tribute to the Holy See of fifteen thousand ducats. On the payment of this sum, Frederick, and his successors, were declared the lawful sovereigns

of Sicily, which took the name of the kingdom of Tinacria.

The resources of the pontiff were already commencing singularly to fail; enthusiasm for crusades and indulgences had gone out of fashion; even the tax on crimes scarcely brought in any thing; whilst, on the other hand, the luxury of the cardinals increased as the revenues decreased. Thus, this rental of fifteen thousand ducats was promptly dissipated, and the holy father had to think seriously how he was to raise money. The simplest mode of procedure, he thought, was to light again the funeral pyres, and confiscate the property of heretics. Gregory then became a persecutor. The first sect whom he pursued was that of the Turlupins.

Haillan thus speaks of these schismatics:—"They were the continuators of the doctrine of the poor of Lyons, the Vaudois of Toulouse, and of the unfortunate Albigenses, who, for almost two centuries, had struggled against the execrable tyranny of the popes. They were called Turlupins, because, like wolves, they assembled by night in the woods; their enemies had also surnamed them Bulgarians, confounding them with the pretended Manicheans, who had spread from Bulgaria into Italy and France. For a long time sacerdotal policy had understood how advantageous it was to calumniate those whose spoils they coveted. Thus the Turlupins were not spared; they accused them, as they had done the Templars, of practising all kind of abominations and sacrileges. They pretended that they taught that man, on reaching a certain degree of perfection, was freed from the divine law, and was no longer subjected to the yoke of Christ, nor of his vicar; they affirmed that they never prayed to God, under the pretext, that prayers having been written by men, had not a divine character. False witnesses even deposed, that they assisted at their ceremonies in absolute nudity, and that they openly committed fornication."

Notwithstanding these atrocious accusations, Gregory could not diminish the veneration which was paid to them in Dauphiny, and informed Charles the Fifth, that his officers refused to persecute the heretics, and wrote to him:—"Prince, we have been informed that there is in Dauphiny, and the neighbouring provinces, a multitude of heretics, called Vaudois, Turlupins, or Bulgarians, who are possessed of great riches. Our holy solicitude is turned towards that poor kingdom, which God has confided to you, to extirpate the schism; but your officers, corrupted by the gold of these reprobates, instead of assisting our dear sons, the inquisitors, in their holy ministry, have themselves fallen into the snare, or rather have found death. And all this is done before the eyes of the most powerful lords of Dauphiny. We order you, then, by virtue of the oath you have taken to the Holy See, to exterminate these heretics; and we enjoin you to march, if necessary, at the head of your armies, to excite the zeal of

your soldiers, and reanimate the courage of the inquisitors."

Charles the Fifth, called the Wise, seconded well the pope in his sanguinary plans. Soon a general massacre of the unfortunate Turlupins took place throughout all France; the dungeons of the inquisition were encumbered with victims, and they had even to build new prisons at Embrun, Vienne, Avignon, and a great number of other cities, to hold the accused. At Paris, they burned, by the hands of the executioner, without the gate Saint Honoré, in the hog market, the works and garments of pretended heretics; the grand inquisitor condemned to be burned the celebrated Joanna of Aubenton, whose intelligence, eloquence, and virtues rendered her one of the most celebrated females of the age; and on her scaffold they bore the dead body of a preacher, who had succumbed before the tortures of water and fire, which had been inflicted upon him simultaneously. At Toulouse and Avignon, the flames devoured several thousands of these unfortunates, who were gangrened and poisoned by heresy, as the holy father expressed it.

These terrible executions brought in magnificent recompenses to the persecutors, as a letter of Charles the Fifth, addressed "to Pierre Jacques de More, grand inquisitor of the Bulgarians, in the province of France," attests. The sect of the Turlupins was finally entirely annihilated, and the coffers of the apostolic chancellery were gorged with riches.

Gregory, thus finding himself in a situation to retake the field and to levy a powerful army against the Visconti, addressed letters to the emperor of Germany, the duke of Austria, the king of Hungary, the king of Sicily, and even the king of France, to inform them of his resolution to return to Italy and re-establish the residence of the Holy See in the ancient city of the Cæsars. His pretext was the temporal and spiritual interest of the church, which commanded him, he said, to retake the direction of the diocese of Rome, so as not to furnish an excuse to prelates, who, after the example of the popes, made no scruple in abandoning their churches, to occupy themselves exclusively with accumulating benefices and collecting enormous revenues. The better to conceal his plan, he even published a constitution which enjoined on bishops, regular abbots, and the heads of orders, to go to their churches in less than two months.

The spring, however, arrived, and the pope had not yet left Avignon, detained either by the pleasures and debauchery of that city, or by the preparations for war against the Visconti, which were not yet finished. On their part, the foreign prelates remained also, captivated by the charms of that third Babylon, without paying any regard to the orders of Gregory; and as he wished one day to compel a bishop to return to his diocese, the latter thus addressed him in the presence of the cardinals and ambassadors:—"Thou who wouldst force the shepherds to remain amid their

flocks, why dost thou dwell away from Rome? Is it because the corrupt population of the city in which thou residest applauds the crowd of thy buffoons, minions and courtezans? Is it, finally, because thou canst commit with impunity adultery, incest, rape, and assassination? Well, we would follow this example; we wish to sacrifice to the gods of sodomy, robbery, and murder, in the temple thou hast erected to them." Desmarests, who reports this, says, that Gregory contented himself with replying to him: "Our dear bishop has passed the night in some tavern, in company with women of pleasure, and has left all his reason in the bottom of the wine cup."

Avignon, the abode of luxury and pleasure, was, in fact, a new Capua for the popes; and it was the more difficult for them to abandon it, since they had discovered the impossibility of transplanting its delights to the banks of the Tiber, among that crowd of mendicant monks, which covered Italy like an immense leprosy, and paralysed its agriculture, industry, and commerce.

From the midst, however, of the excess of misery and abjection, into which the Italian provinces were plunged, sparks of liberty and independence were emitted. At Milan, Rome, and Genoa they rose against their tyrants; at Florence, the people, worn out by the exactions of the legate, revolted and formed a powerful league, into which almost all the places and cities of the ecclesiastical states entered; every where the standard of the pope was cast down, and replaced by a standard formed of a long strip of purple, on which was written the Latin word "Libertas." Perouse, Bologna, Modena, Forlì, and Nocera joined the revolt, and drove away the cardinals Noellet and Geraud, as well as the other nuncios of the Holy See; finally, the fortresses and fortified castles, those retreats of tyrants, were demolished throughout Tuscany.

On the news of this revolution, Gregory published a bull, prohibiting the people of Christendom, under penalty of anathema and excommunication, from lending, giving, or selling, to the Florentines, arms, money, corn, wine, wool, cloth, or any merchandise; he declared them deprived of all privileges; he suppressed their university, confiscated all their property, and gave to those who should seize their persons, power to sell them as slaves; finally, he levied a formidable army, which he placed under the command of John, an Englishman, and John of Malestroit, a Breton lord, and sent it against Florence. The papal troops could not seize the city; still, however, they ruined the environs and intercepted all communications from without.—This movement compelled the Florentines to enter into a negotiation with the pontiff; not for the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace, but to gain time, and wait the reinforcements of their allies, as appears from the choice which they made, as ambassador, of a young nun, named Catherine, of Sienna, whose beauty was remarkable, and who passed for inspired. Marvellous histories are related concerning

this saint and her ecstasies, and of Raymond of Capua, her confessor, a knavish and debauched monk, who abused the poor fanatic.

The Florentines sent her as their ambassador to Avignon: the monk Raymond, her confessor, was unwilling to leave her, and accompanied her in her journey. She obtained the favour of a secret interview with the pontiff; and whether she was enabled to convince him of the reality of her marriage to Christ, by revealing to him mysteries which he believed impenetrable, or whether the intercourse between them was like that between Joanna of Naples and Clement the Sixth, it is none the less true that Gregory gave to her full power to treat of peace with the Florentines, and to determine them to pay him a large sum of money as a tribute. Saint Catherine left the city of Avignon, and was replaced by deputies less agreeable to the pope; it was an embassy which had Lucius Savelli as its head, which came in the name of the Romans, to represent to Gregory that it was absolutely necessary he should reside at Rome, since he called the Roman territory his patrimony; they signified to him that the people had determined to choose the abbot of Monte Cassino as sovereign pontiff, if he refused to embark immediately for Italy. Lucius Savelli swore on the crucifix that his fellow citizens recognised Gregory as absolute master of their property and lives, and that they would hand to the cardinal Peter, his legate, the keys of the bridges, gates, and towers situated beyond the Tiber, as soon as the apostolic court had touched the port of Ostia. A step so energetic, left to the holy father no other alternative than a schism or his departure from France. He determined on the latter, and on the 13th of September, 1376, he left the beautiful city of Avignon, escorted by his cardinals, mistresses, and minions, and went towards Marseilles, where he embarked. In his journey he visited Genoa, Pisa, Pevinbino, Port Hercules, and Corneto, and finally arrived at Ostia, passed up the Tiber, and entered Rome on the 17th of January, 1377.

On the next day he gave a sumptuous feast to the principal magistrates, in the palace of the Vatican, and distributed some alms to the poor. This became the cause of his disasters. Parsimonious as were his largesses, they exhausted the treasures of the church, and compelled Gregory to have recourse to loans, and as his creditors, who were already numerous, refused to make him new advances, he wished to tax the English, and published a bull, imposing on the ecclesiastics of that kingdom a tax of a tithe of their revenue; but he encountered a very active opposition.

For many years the clergy of Great Britain, sustained by the kings and the aristocracy, submitted impatiently to the yoke of the Roman church, and endeavoured to enfranchise themselves; several distinguished scholars, and among them the celebrated Wickliff,

combated the ultramontane doctrines, and sought to free their country from the pontifical sway. Already had King Edward the Third, at the instigation of the learned doctor, refused to do homage for the kingdoms of England and Ireland to Pope Urban the Fifth, and to pay the annual tribute which John Lackland had engaged to pay to the Holy See, and which was in arrears for thirty-two years. Gregory, to defeat so formidable an enemy as Wickliff, was so imprudent as to declare him to be a heretic, and he even wrote to William of Courtenay, bishop of London: "We order you, my brother, to cause the heretic John Wickliff to be arrested, and to put him to the torture, and send us under wax and seal the avowals which the tortures shall have drawn from him; you will then keep him well guarded until you have been advised of our decision, whether to put him to death or to set him at liberty."

The pope at the same time addressed other letters, and on the same subject, to King Edward, to his son the prince of Wales, to the university of Oxford, and to the clergy; but the illustrious professor, sustained by the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, the university, and the king himself, braved the ecclesiastical thunders with impunity, and continued in his eloquent discourse to sap the basis of the pontifical power, by developing to the people the cruelties of the inquisitors and the scandalous turpitude of the court of Rome.

Having thus failed in his end, which was to procure money, Gregory found himself lowered in the opinion of the Romans, and was even obliged to retire to Anagni, to avoid being insulted by the lords banneret. As he was meditating a flight to France, he received a visit from Saint Catherine of Sienna, who came to render him an account of the ill success of her negotiation with her compatriots, who not only refused to pay the sum which the pope demanded for taking off the censures pronounced against them, but who even had the audacity to drive away the holy woman, loading her with injuries. This last blow broke down the courage of the holy father; the chagrin which he experienced, caused him to fall into a profound melancholy, which aggravated a disease under which he had laboured for many years. As he perceived his strength to be failing daily, he was transported to Rome, where he published the following bull, which may be regarded as the cause of the schism which rent the west for half a century, and caused torrents of Christian blood to flow:—"If my death happens before the first day of the month of September, the cardinals who shall be about me, without sending or waiting for the absent, shall proceed at once to the election of our successor."

He died on the 27th of March, 1378; his body was first deposited in St. Peter's, and then interred in the church of St. Maria de Novo, which had been his title as cardinal.

URBAN THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTH POPE, AT ROME.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH, AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1378.]

General ideas upon the great western schism—Stormy election of Urban the Sixth—His conduct draws on him the hatred of the cardinals—Massacre of the French at Rome—Rupture between Urban and Joanna of Naples—Election of Clement the Seventh by the French cardinals—The kings of France and Castile recognise Clement as the sole legitimate pope—War between the two popes—Urban induces Charles de Duras, her adopted son, to assassinate Joanna of Naples—Crusades against France—Quarrel between Urban and Charles de Duras—The holy father excommunicates his enemy—Punishment of the cardinals suspected by Urban of favouring the party of Charles de Duras—Urban is driven from Rome—Clement seats himself at Avignon—Picture of the morals of his court—The hermit soothsayer—Return of Urban to Rome—He dies from poison.

AFTER the death of Gregory, broke out the great western schism, which for fifty years turned Europe upside down. In Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, they took up arms to defend the rights of the popes of Rome, or make the pontiffs of Avignon triumph. These infallibles excommunicated and denounced each other, revealing the turpitude of each, and reciprocally accused their rivals of incest and sodomy, giving and retaliating the epithets, thieves, assassins, heretics, and anti-popes.

History has not yet decided which of them were the true pontiffs; and as, in the course of their reigns, they were rivals in crimes and outrages, one cannot say which of them were the most execrable, and best deserved the title of pope. In this uncertainty, we will preserve the name for both those chosen at Rome, and those at Avignon, since they all proved themselves equally worthy to bear it. A Jesuit, Father Maimburg himself, says, "We must avow, that in the course of thirteen centuries, no schism was more alarming than that, as well from the atrocities which the two parties committed, as from the impossibility under which the church laboured for fifty years, of recognising which was the lawful pope. An universal council, which had the infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit, could not decide this grave question; and the fathers declared that it was better to act by authority, than from a knowledge of facts, in a cause so involved; and, in fact, they deposed the two popes, and proceeded to the election of a third pontiff. Thus was seen, at this deplorable time, a thing which had never before occurred;—they declared that there was a schism, without schismatics."

As soon as the funeral ceremonies of Gregory the Eleventh were over, and whilst the cardinals were yet assembled in the church of Saint Maria, a deputation from the principal magistrates of Rome addressed these sage remonstrances to them: "Illustrious prelates, you must know that the long sojourn of the popes in France has caused the ruin of Italy; and that even at Rome, the churches, the orders of the cardinals, and the palaces have

fallen into ruin. There is but one remedy for so many evils, which is, to fix irrevocably the residence of the popes in the city in which the people believe God established the Holy See, and in which all the pontiffs to Clement the Fifth resided. If, since that period, the chiefs of the church have abandoned Italy, it is because they were Frenchmen; and you know very well, that among men of that nation the love of country exceeds the zeal for religion. Thus their absence from Rome has excited rebellion in cities and places which were the ancient patrimony of the Roman church; and those cities have justly broken the yoke of officers who oppressed them in the name of strange popes. The result is, that the apostolic see draws no more revenue from its old domains, and has even been obliged to levy troops to bring back its subjects to their duty. All these wars have weakened the resources of the Holy See; and you have seen the want of money reduce the papacy to the lowest degree of contempt and abjectness. If, then, you would shun greater evils, we beseech you to assemble immediately in conclave, and choose a pontiff who is a Roman or Italian by birth; if you do not, fear lest the anger of the people light upon you."

The cardinals protested their good intentions, declaring, however, that they could not enter into any formal engagement. The magistrates, discontented with this ambiguous reply, seized the keys of the city, which were in the hands of the officers of the church, and caused the cardinals to be conducted, under a strong escort, to the Vatican, and confined in the chamber of conclave. Scarcely had they assembled, when the people made an irruption into the great square which surrounded the palace, exclaiming, "A Roman pope, or death to the cardinals."

At almost the same moment a storm broke over the city; a thunderbolt fell among the conclave, overturned the table of the secretary, broke the doors of the chambers, and lighted up, with its sinister light, a picture, which filled the cardinals with terror. In an immense gallery surrounding the conclave, the

chiefs of the quarters and the bannerets, at the head of their armed men, were ranged in order of battle; behind them were the soldiery, shaking the walls and floors with blows of pikes and halberds; they also perceived before the Vatican an immense scaffold with fagots of vine branches and dry reeds, to burn them alive. The members of the sacred college judged that their only choice was between martyrdom and the nomination of an Italian pontiff, and they chose the Neapolitan, Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bare, supreme chief of the church. The French, however, reserved to themselves the right of protesting afterwards against the violence done to them, and agreed among themselves that this election should be only provisional. According to the historian, Henry of Sponda, Bartholomew pledged himself to surrender the tiara to him whom the members of the sacred college reserved to themselves the right of choosing in a more regular election. Notwithstanding this formal engagement, he compelled the cardinals, some days afterwards, to assist at the ceremonies of the pierced chair, and to consecrate him by the name of Urban the Sixth.

Such were the events which placed Bartholomew Prignano on the pontifical chair; "a prelate who would have been regarded as most worthy of the papacy, if he had never been pope;" a singular eulogy which we find in a history of the church written by Berault Bercastel, an adorer of the Roman purple. Is not the avowal, that a worthy archbishop, by mounting the Holy See, immediately became an execrable priest, enough to condemn the institution? Is it not enough to induce men to overthrow the colossus with the head of clay and the feet of brass, to show them that the supreme power perverts those who are invested with it?

Be that as it may, the court of Rome, indignant at the faithlessness of the new pope to his promise, threatened to separate from its chief and produce a schism, if he did not fulfil the engagements entered into in the conclave. This threat exasperated Urban; he vowed an implacable hatred to the French, and the better to rule them he resolved to remove them from his court; then, under the veil of great zeal for ecclesiastical discipline, he sought to discredit them, by publicly calling them sodomites, robbers and heretics; but these gross injuries produced no other result than to alienate all the prelates from him. He next exasperated the officers of the treasury against himself, by causing a collector of the apostolic chamber to be flogged unmercifully, for not having brought back enough money from a tour through the provinces.

The cardinals, tired of the tyranny of Urban, availed themselves of the return of summer to obtain permission to leave Rome and go to Anagni. On the day succeeding their arrival, they were joined by the cardinal Camerlingo, who brought with him the tiara, the keys of Saint Peter, the apostolic ring, and the other pontifical ornaments. They then

published a decree, declaring the election of Urban null, as having been produced by violence; and they wrote to Bernard de la Sale, a French captain who was at Viterba, to come with his troops to guard the sacred college, whilst they proceeded to a new election. That captain started at once, after having overthrown a multitude of armed men, commanded by Urban in person, who had endeavoured to arrest his march. This victory was fatal to the French inhabitants of Rome, for the holy father turned all his anger against them; he ordered his satellites to make a general massacre of them, without sparing sex or age; women, children, and old men were murdered, and several bishops were assassinated in the chamber of Urban, where they had taken refuge to implore his pity. On hearing the news of this butchery, the cardinals addressed the following manifesto to all the powers of Europe:—

"We have already informed you of the fury of the Roman people and their leaders, as well as of the violence done to us by forcing us to choose an Italian pope whom the Holy Spirit had not chosen. A multitude, carried away by fanaticism, wrested from us the temporary appointment of an apostate, a murderer, a heretic soiled with every crime; he himself had recognised that his election was to be only provisional. In contempt of his oath, he, however, compelled us by threats of death to elevate him to the chair of the apostle, and to cover his proud forehead with the triple crown. Now that we are beyond the reach of his anger, we declare him to be an intruder, usurper and antichrist; we pronounce an anathema against him, and those who shall submit to his authority."

Urban, who dreaded the issue of a controversy with the French cardinals, did not reply to this manifesto, but sought to negotiate a peace with them, that he might afterwards destroy them. Otho of Brunswick, and Joanna of Naples, his wife, sent ambassadors to the insurgents to propose to them, in the name of the holy father, to enter into conferences in order to conclude some arrangement. The cardinals listened favourably to these overtures, and sent three of their number to Rome, who came with the envoys of Joanna to beseech the pope to submit to the chances of a new election. At this demand Urban became furious, spoke grossly of the queen, and wrote a violent letter to her in which he not only recalled the murder of Andrew and her debauchery with his predecessors Clement the Sixth and Urban the Fifth, but even threatened to divulge her crimes, and excommunicate her and her fourth husband. This rupture between the courts of Rome and Naples was useful to the French cardinals, and procured for them the protection of Queen Joanna, who even offered them the city of Fondi, in which they could proceed, without fear, to the election of a chief of the church. The latter accepted the residence which was offered them, and were engaged at once in forming a conclave; as, however, they had

no Italian prelates among them, and as they were fearful lest, in consequence of it, the cardinals of that nation would desire to annul the election, under pretext that they had not concurred in it, they determined to renew the expedient employed by Philip, count of Poitiers, after the death of Clement the Fifth; that is, by writing secretly to three of the partizans of Urban, to induce them to come to the conclave, by leading them each to hope that the choice of his colleagues would fall on him. This ruse succeeded perfectly; the three cardinals hastened to Fondi and took part in the ballot; they were not long in discovering they had been tricked, for on counting the votes, Robert of Geneva, a cardinal priest of the order of the twelve apostles, was proclaimed chief of the church, and enthroned by the name of Clement the Seventh.

A bull was addressed to all the courts of Europe to inform them of this great news; and three days after his exaltation, the new pope embarked for France and came to Avignon to be consecrated. Maimburg has left us a very curious notice of Clement: "Robert of Geneva was thirty-six years old when he reached the pontificate," says the learned doctor; "he was of moderate stature, and one leg was rather shorter than the other, an infirmity which he knew how to hide by affecting a measured walk; his inclinations and manners were those of an emperor; and he spared nothing to treat with royal luxury the dukes, lords, and ambassadors who were admitted to his table. He spoke with facility Latin, French, Italian, and German; but he was incapable of a serious application to business. He, however, possessed courage, and more than once confronted the greatest perils to attain the end he desired.

"Among his principal vices, luxuriousness held the first place; he chose, from preference, his mistresses and minions from his own family, and loaded them with riches, honours, and dignities. . . ."

Thus, from the portraits which have been left us of Urban the Sixth and Clement the Seventh, by ecclesiastical historians whose attachment to the Holy See cannot be doubted, we cannot say which of these two priests was the most worthy to occupy the apostolic chair. To follow a numerical order, we indicate the titularies of the Roman diocese in the succession of the pontiffs; and we bestow the title of pope on the titularies of Avignon, without giving them a place in the chronological series of the chiefs of the church.

The election of Clement the Seventh, and the defection of the three Italian cardinals, affected Urban the more, since he feared his courtiers would abandon him to follow to Avignon a young profligate pontiff who promised to renew the reign of Clement the Sixth. This, in fact, happened; bishops and cardinals one after another left Rome, and the Vatican was soon deserted. This solitude was a cause of profound affliction to the holy father; and Theodoric of Neim says, that he surprised him several times shedding tears. To

reorganise his court, he gave the vacant places to new prelates, and even made a promotion of twenty-nine cardinals. Thus, with the exception of money, with which he was badly supplied, Urban had no cause to envy his competitor. He was recognised as the lawful pope in Germany, Hungary, England, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Norway, Holland, Tuscany, Lombardy, and the dutchy of Milan. Spain and France still maintained a neutrality. The king of Arragon, though Urban was desirous of despoiling that prince of Sardinia and Sicily, prohibited the admission of the briefs of Clement into his kingdom, and even sequestered the revenues of the Holy See, until a general council had decided about the schism.

In Castile, the legates of the Roman pontiff and those of the pope at Avignon, simultaneously urged the king to declare in favour of their respective masters; but in the council which assembled at Toledo to examine the rights of the competitors, the ambassadors reciprocally accused each other of such enormities, that the prelates and lords declared that the two pretenders were both infamous priests, and that they would recognise neither of them as chief of the church.

In France, a synod composed of prelates, doctors, and the principal lords, declared, as the result of inquiries into allegations against both Urban and Clement, that both were unworthy of the tiara, and both had been irregularly chosen. Charles the Fifth, however, allowed himself to be influenced by the court of Avignon; and having convened a new synod at his castle of Vincennes, each of the members of the council received a formal injunction to decide in favour of the least scandalous election; all voted for Clement, who was solemnly recognised as the sovereign pontiff. The example of France drew after it Lorraine, Savoy, Scotland, Navarre, and at length Arragon and Castile.

A bitter war then commenced between the two popes. Anathemas, interdicts, depositions, and maledictions were the prelude to the bloody strife which was soon to overwhelm the western nations. Urban lanced a bull against his competitor, and cited him to appear before the court of Rome to be judged and condemned as anti-pope; Clement, on his side, fulminated a terrible decree against his enemy, and cited him before the consistory of Avignon to be judged for his usurpation of the apostolical chair. Finally, both having refused to appear, they anathematised each other by the ringing of bells and the light of torches, declaring each other apostates, schismatics and heretics; they preached crusades against each other, and called to their aid all the banditti and malefactors of Italy and France, and let them loose like wild beasts on the unfortunate inhabitants who recognised Clement or preferred Urban.

In the state of the church the Clementists made horrible havoc, ruined castles, burned villages, and even several cities; they penetrated as far as Rome, under the leading of

Budes, a Breton captain, seized on the fortress of St. Angelo, and committed atrocities in all parts of the city. In Naples and Romagna the Urbanists, commanded by an Englishman named Hawkwood, a former leader of free companions, took their revenge and committed reprisal. Every where pillage, rape, incendiarism, and murder were committed in the name of Clement, or in honour of Urban. The unhappy cultivators fled with their wives and children to escape the satellites of the Roman pontiff, and were massacred by the soldiery of the pope of Avignon.

Every where hamlets and villages exhibited only ruins blackened by the flames; the dead bodies of thousands of men and women lay unburied in the fields; the flocks wandered without resting places; the crops were trampled under feet for want of reapers to harvest them, and these magnificent provinces were threatened to be converted into immense deserts, had not Captain Hawkwood taken prisoner the leader of the Clementists and thus arrested the devastations for a time.

Urban returned in triumph to Rome and at once fulminated an anathema against the queen of Naples, who had refused to send him aid in money during the late war; he declared her a heretic, and guilty of the crime of lèse-majesty; he deposed her from her throne, deprived her of dignities, honours, kingdoms, lands and fiefs which she held from kings or emperors, vassals of the Holy See; he freed her subjects from the oath of obedience they had taken to her, and ordered the inquisitors to confiscate her property and burn her alive. In order to put this sentence into execution, he sent Martin of Tarento his chamberlain, to Louis of Hungary, the brother of Andrew the first husband of Joanna, and induced him to send a powerful army into Italy, under the orders of Charles de Duras his relative, an ambitious young man, whom Joanna had already declared to be her successor.

In his impatience to occupy more promptly the throne of Naples, Charles accepted the offers of the pope, and demanded money from him to conduct his enterprise successfully. Urban sold the furniture of his palace and the domains of the church; he even converted into money the sacred vases, the crosses, the shrines of the saints, the pyxes and the chalices of the churches of Rome, to the great scandal of the bishops and curates who wished to prevent the pillage of their churches. With the money thus obtained, Charles levied an army.

Joanna could count no longer on the seductions she had exercised over the predecessors of Urban to allay this storm; old age and debauchery had broken her charms; she called craft to her aid, annulled the adoption of Charles de Duras, and, in order to obtain powerful support, declared Louis, duke of Anjou, the brother of the king of France, sole and lawful heir to the crown of Naples. This skilful movement had already rallied partisans around her, when the death of Charles the Fifth happened. This event stopped the

armaments of the duke of Anjou, and compelled her new ally to remain in France as the tutor of the young king.

Charles de Duras availed himself of this forced inactivity of his rival, to go to Rome to receive the investiture of the states of Joanna; he then marched on Naples, which was in open revolt, seized it without striking a blow, and laid siege to the castle in which the queen and her husband had taken refuge. Otho defended himself valiantly for a whole month, but having been made prisoner in a sortie, Joanna was reduced to the necessity of surrendering to her enemy.

As soon as the news of the capture of Naples was received in France, the regent placed himself at the head of his troops, descended to Avignon to receive the investiture of the estates of Joanna from Clement, and prepared to pass into Italy. Charles de Duras, informed of these preparations of the duke of Anjou, determined to put an end to the war by crime, and caused the guilty Joanna to be stabbed on the steps of her altar whilst she was at prayers. Some historians give another version of the death of this princess; they maintain that he inflicted frightful cruelties on her, tore out her breasts and her womb, and strangled her with a silken cord, as she had done Andrew her husband.

This victory of Urban gave the preponderance to his party; he published that God had declared himself the avenger of his cause, and in his pride he wished to persecute Henriquez, king of Castile and Leon, and lanced a bull of excommunication against him. "In thy turn now," said the holy father, "in thy turn be accursed, John Henriquez; thou who daredst to declare thyself king of Castile, without our approval; we condemn thee to be burned as a heretic, and we prohibit thy subjects, under penalty of being handed over to our redoubtable inquisition, from affording thee aid and assistance. We order them to track thee as a wild beast, and we will grant infinite recompenses in this world and the next, to him who shall deliver thee up dead or alive; finally, we command all the people of Christendom to take the cross to exterminate thee with the execrable anti-pope Robert of Geneva." He also preached a crusade against France, and as the soldiers of that day fought only for money, he sent nuncios into England to levy tithes upon the churches.

Whilst Urban was making his preparations for war, Louis of Anjou was continuing his march across Provence, penetrating into Italy and advancing on Naples, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men. Charles de Duras, who was threatened to be besieged in his capital, called Urban to his aid, and besought him to come to Naples, to animate the people by his presence. The holy father complied with his request, left Rome, went to Tivoli, traversed Suessa, and met the prince in the city of Aversa, whither he had come to meet him. That evening, Urban and the king dined together, apparently good friends; but at the close of the repast, the pope having

claimed the principality of Capua for his nephew, Butillo Prignano, as had been agreed between them, Charles bent his brow, refused to ratify his promise, and declared he would never raise to the rank of a prince a wretch soiled with every crime. Urban, who was naturally wrathful, and whom the capital wines of the land had drawn forth from his wise reserve, broke out against his host; he accused him of ingratitude, threatened him with his anger, and heaped such outrageous epithets upon him, that the prince in his turn, no longer restraining his indignation, caused him to be arrested by his guards, and conducted under a strong escort to a fortress of Naples, called the *Castle Neuf*. Necessity soon forced him to relax from his rigour, and the two enemies were reconciled to combine their efforts to resist the French; the king gave the principality of Capua as an appanage to Butillo Prignano, and in return Urban was occupied with the means of delivering his ally from the duke of Anjou.

Secret agents had been already sent to the hostile camp, to corrupt the domestics of the duke of Anjou, and to engage them to assassinate their master, when a new rupture broke out between Urban and Charles de Duras; the cause of this misunderstanding was an act of infamy on the part of the nephew of the pope. Butillo, supposing that his new dignity freed him from all restraint, had dared to break into the monastery of St. Saviour, to carry off a young nun of St. Clare—whom he violated and confined in his palace. As she was a relative of Charles, that prince immediately cited the ravisher before the royal council, to give an account of his conduct, and on his refusal to appear, condemned him to be beheaded for contumacy. The pope erased the judgment, under the pretext that he alone was the sovereign of the kingdom of Naples, and that no one could, without his permission, condemn a lord to death, especially for so light a fault as scaling a convent wall and carrying off a nun. It was a peccadillo which they must pardon the extreme youth of his nephew, added Urban, his dear Butillo being scarcely forty years old. He offered himself as a guarantee for his future good conduct, and demanded for him in marriage the daughter of the chief justice of Naples, a relative of the king, with the city of Nocera as a dowry; this arrangement terminated the dispute. Urban retired with his nephew to his new residence, and Charles awaited at Naples the result of their base attempts against Louis of Anjou. Eight days afterwards, that prince expired in the castle of Biselia, near Bari, poisoned by some monks. His death freed Charles de Duras from the only adversary who could inspire him with serious alarm; thus having no longer cause to fear the pope, he took no pains to preserve his friendship, and sent for him to come to Naples, to talk over certain important matters.

Urban, who was unused to such cavalier treatment, replied, "that it was for a king to come to him, since princes were but vassals

of the pope, and not their lords and masters." He prohibited him, by way of punishment, from establishing imposts, levying armies, and exercising any sway as king, until he had given him authority, and threatened, in case he disobeyed these orders, to declare him a heretic, and inflict on him the fate of Joanna. Charles paid no regard to these threats, and proclaimed that the pope was mad, and that he wished to place him under the custody of the cardinals. This step, which flattered the ambition of the princes of the church, found, it is said, several partizans in the sacred college, but Urban did not give them time to put it in execution; at the first suspicion of it, several officers of his court and six cardinals were arrested and cast into foul dungeons, so contracted that they could neither stand upright nor lie down, but remained in a bent or squinting attitude. After an almost absolute fast of eight days, the bishop of Aquila, who was the senior of them, was brought out from one of these holes, and carried to the chamber of torture. He was tortured with so much cruelty, that he fainted seven times during the operation, and seven times the executioners recalled him to life by new tortures; his moral strength then left him, and he made the following declaration:—

"I avow that we were to go to the next consistory, with twelve domestics, having arms concealed beneath their garments; that at a given signal we were to fall upon the pope, carry him off from his palace, and conduct him to the church of St. Francis, where we should have questioned him on certain articles of the faith; no matter what his replies should have been, we should have pronounced them heterodox, and should have condemned him to be burned as a heretic, which would have been done at once."

As soon as the pontiff had this confession in his hands, he assembled his principal officers in privy council, and ordered them to seek out all those connected with the conspiracy. Theodorick de Neim, who was one of the great dignitaries of the court of Urban, wished to say something in favour of the accused: "I dared to speak," says he, in his history of the schism, "and to represent, though with trembling, that an avowal thus obtained should not be taken as an irrefragable proof against the other cardinals, as it had been frequently seen, since the institution of the inquisition, that innocent men, succumbing beneath the dread of torture, accused themselves of crimes they had not committed. Scarcely had I spoken, when the pope turned towards me with swelling figure, sparkling eyes, and his throat so distended, that he appeared to be about to suffocate—'No pardon for them,' said he, in a loud tone, 'and let their defenders dread my wrath!' He then rose and left the council, leaning on his nephew, to whom we heard him say, 'Come, Butillo, let us go see our enemies tortured.'"

Then commenced a series of frightful tortures; the victims, led into a place situated behind the castle, were handed over to the

executioners, despoiled of their garments, and beaten with rods. This punishment not appearing to the holy father to be severe enough, Buttillo, his nephew, undertook to carry on the executions himself. The unfortunate men were at once placed on the rack, and new tortures were applied to them. An archbishop, who had formerly remonstrated with Buttillo on his bad conduct, was, by order of that monster, fastened to the trunk of a tree, with his head down, and flayed alive; the archbishop of Venice was nailed to a cross, and an old Genoese pirate, a worthy minister to the cruelties of Urban, stanchd with salt and vinegar the blood which flowed from his wounds; a deacon was hung to a plane tree, with enormous weights attached to his feet and hands, to dislocate his members; the cardinal Sangro had his flesh torn from him with red-hot pincers; and as, notwithstanding his sufferings, he continued to protest his innocence, they exhausted upon him all the refinements of cruelty, until fatigue constrained them to stop. Another cardinal was fastened to the rack, and burned with a red-hot iron on his breast, arms, and legs; after which, his tormentors tore out his nose, tongue, and eyes, and broke his limbs with iron bars; and, to finish him, Buttillo caused three chafing dishes to be lighted under the sufferer, to burn him at a slow fire.

Whilst these frightful executions were proceeding, the pope was promenading in an adjoining alley, reciting his breviary in a loud voice, and stopping, from time to time, to encourage the executioners to do their duty. On the next day, he convened in one of the courts of his castle, the clergy, the lords of the city, and even of the neighbouring villages, to inform them of the danger he had incurred; and, to justify his severity, he maintained that the conspirators had wished to seize his person: he affirmed that he had been informed of their plot by a miraculous apparition, and that God had ordered him to have no pity on the ingrates whom he had drawn from the dust, as well as Charles, their accomplice. He then raised the cross above his head, waved the pontifical banner, and fulminated his anathemas against King Charles, Queen Margaret, the anti-pope Clement, the abbot of Monte Cassino, and the unfortunate victims of his cruelties. In consequence of the declaration of war by the pope, bands of robbers organised, and took their way across the domains of Charles de Duras, pillaging, robbing, and massacring in the name of God.

The king, to put an end to these depredations, published, by the sound of the trumpet, that whoever should deliver up Urban, dead or alive, should receive ten thousand florins of gold, and that those who aided his flight should be declared traitors to their country, and be beheaded. He published a decree through the cardinal of Rieto, ordering that the excommunications and interdicts of the pope should be regarded but as idle words, and that ecclesiastics should continue to celebrate divine service, under the penalty of con-

fiscation of their property, and deprivation of their liberty. After this, he placed himself at the head of his troops, and went to lay siege to Nocera, expecting to seize it at the first assault; but it did not turn out as he had hoped; and the resistance he encountered was the more ardent, as it had its source in fanaticism. Urban had raised the courage of his soldiers by strange ceremonies; four times a day he mounted the walls, to excommunicate the hostile army, holding a bell in one hand, and brandishing a lighted torch with the other; he also published a bull, granting indulgences for all crimes, past and to come, to those who should slay or wound one of his enemies.

Notwithstanding all the imprecations of the pope on the Neapolitan army, the siege was pursued with none the less vigour;—the city had been forced to capitulate, and the fortress in which he had taken refuge was almost reduced, when, fortunately for him, Raymond des Ursini, one of his partizans, appeared at the head of a troop of Germans and French, whom he had recruited in Rome, fell suddenly upon the besiegers, put them to flight, forced the gates of the city, and carried off from the fortress Urban, his treasures, his suite, and his prisoners.

This sudden blow succeeded perfectly; and when the Neapolitans, recovered from their first panic, wished to pursue the pope, they were too late, for he had already gained the defiles of the mountains which led to the city of Trani, where the Genoese galleys awaited him. They could only seize several mules laden with gold and precious articles, which the holy father had left behind.

Urban arrived at the end of his journey with his prisoners, without any accident, except to the bishop of Aquila, whom the pope caused to be put to death on the road, because the miserable hackney on which he was mounted delayed the march. The other cardinals, fastened upon vigorous horses, uttered lamentable cries, which their intolerable sufferings wrested from them, and showed to the guards their broken limbs, and their bodies frightfully lacerated. Such a sight was well calculated to excite pity; and the French deliberated whether they should not deliver these victims from the hatred of the pope, and make a prisoner of Urban himself. The cardinal Raymond, informed of the subject of their deliberations, hastened to dismiss them at Salerno, by paying them eleven thousand florins of gold, and promising thirty thousand more, which he never paid.

Urban, delivered from his dangerous liberators, continued his route towards Trani, and embarked immediately for the port of Genoa, where he arrived on the 23d of September, 1385. His victims were sent on shore during the night and plunged in the dungeons of the chief inquisitor. In vain did the magistrates of the republic, and even the clergy, sue for their pardon, the holy father was inflexible, and, to put an end to their entreaties, he instructed Buttillo to put them to death. This worthy minister of the pope acquitted himself

admirably of his cruel mission, and surpassed, in the performance of it, all the cruelties that we could imagine. He caused the cardinal Louis Donato to be interred in a bed of quicklime, leaving his head out of this infernal tomb, that he might feel his flesh all corrode and consume before his death. He shut up wolves in the dungeon of Bartholomew, to devour him alive, and Gentil de Sangro and Martin del Guidice were sewed up in bags of leather, with serpents, and then cast into the sea. An English cardinal, Adam Easton, was alone spared, thanks to the remonstrances of the ambassadors of his nation, who threatened the pope with the wrath of King Richard, if he dared to condemn to death one of the subjects of Great Britain. Urban contented himself with breaking both his legs. His cruelties, performed in cold blood, exasperated the minds of men; ecclesiastics who had hitherto shown devotion to his party abandoned him; the metropolitan of Ravenna and Garléot Tarnat de Pietra Mala burned, publicly, their cardinal's hats, and started for Avignon. Notwithstanding this general abandonment, Urban did not change his conduct, but pursued his career of crimes. Louis of Hungary had died in the meantime, leaving the throne to his daughter Mary, under the tutelage of her mother, Queen Elizabeth, a princess whose morals could only be compared with those of Joanna of Naples, and whose cruelty was only equalled by that of Urban. The Hungarians, unable to endure the tyranny of this abominable woman, revolted against her, and proclaimed Charles de Duras king, who determined to go immediately into Hungary to receive the heritage of his cousin. The prince, forgetful of his quarrels with the pope, had the imprudence to traverse Italy with a feeble escort. At the moment when he reached the frontiers of his new kingdom, assassins reminded him that a priest never pardons; during the night, banditti attacked the castle in which he lodged and massacred him. The historian, Pogge, affirms, that these wretches were emissaries of the pontiff, and that Blaise Forgach, the leader of the expedition, deposited at the feet of his holiness a sword yet wet with the blood of his enemy.

As soon as the death of Charles de Duras was known in France, the pope at Avignon proclaimed Louis the Second, duke of Anjou, king of Naples, and gave the title of viceroy to Count Severin, with authority to enter immediately on the conquest of his new kingdom. On her side, the beautiful Margaret, the widow of Charles de Duras, had caused the states of the kingdom to recognise her son Lancelot, who was ten years old, as king, and herself as regent. She then assembled imposing forces to resist the French, and the provinces only awaited an order from the holy father to embrace her party, which would have infallibly assured a triumph to her as well as to Urban. But all attempts at reconciliation with the court of Genoa failed, before the obstinacy of this implacable old man. He renewed against Margaret and all her family

the maledictions and anathemas he had so often pronounced, and declared that Naples had no other king than him, Urban the Sixth, supreme chief of the church. He then published a crusade against the two children, in whose names ambitious rivals disputed for the throne of the shameless Joanna.

The French pursued their march and seized on Naples, despite the anathemas of the Roman pope, in which city they caused the authority of Clement the Seventh to be recognised. Encouraged by this first success, the latter wished to unite, with the power of arms, the authority of miracles and prophecies; he chose for this purpose an unfortunate idiot, who was conducted to Genoa, and instructed in the part he was to play. On a day on which the consistory was assembled, he entered the palace of Urban, in the guise of a hermit, and in the presence of the magistrates of the republic, and many of the clergy, repeated the lesson which had been taught him, and said to the pontiff:—"For fifteen years I was praying in the rocks of my solitude, when suddenly Christ appeared to me, and announced that a false pope, named Urban the Sixth, was disputing the throne of St. Peter with the true pontiff. As a proof of my celestial mission, I declare that I am invulnerable, and I demand to undergo the torture of the cord, water, and fire." This harangue made a sensible impression on the bystanders; Urban alone remained impassable. As a pope is a man who does not believe in miracles, he caused the poor idiot to be arrested, and his head cut off in the audience chamber.

The holy father, however, fearful of the consequences of such a revelation on superstitious minds, resolved to combat his enemy with the same kind of arms, and wrote to Saint Catherine of Sienna, to come immediately to put an end to the doubts which some of the faithful had in regard to his election; at the same time he sent a brief to the mother abbess, to permit the holy girl to come to Genoa. The pope received Catherine in full consistory, the cardinals, the doge, and the other magistrates of the republic being assembled; the poor fanatic collected her scattered thoughts for a moment, then fell into an ecstasy, her eyes shining, her hair dishevelled, her mouth foaming, and like an ancient pythoness at Delphi, she said with an inspired voice, "Know all of you, that the pontiff Urban is really the vicar of Christ." A commentator of the Bollandists, who wrote a history of Catherine of Sienna, says, that they made this nun drink aphrodisiacal preparations, which brought on these extatic trances. What appears to confirm this opinion is, that she died some months afterwards in a paroxysm of hysterical madness.

The revelation of Saint Catherine was but of feeble assistance to Urban, and did not arrest his competitor, who daily increased his conquests both by arms and negotiations. It is difficult to explain the predilection of the people for Clement, for this pope was no less

greedy, cruel, and infamous than his rival, and if we are to judge him by the chronicle of the anonymous monk of St. Denis, we should say, that he deserved to be accursed of God and men. "Clement," according to the learned monk, "availing himself of the indolence of the king and grandees, in regard to the Gallican church, had borne down the ecclesiastics and communities with imposts, and even surpassed Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-second, in the art of extorting money and causing the wealth of nations to flow into the treasury of the apostolic chancellery. Following the example of his competitor, he had created thirty-six cardinals; true vampires, escorted by a legion of procurers, armed with reversionary bulls, and ready to pounce upon the vacant benefices in the cathedral and collegiate churches, in the conventional priories, and in the houses of the hospitaliers. Not only did the pontiff, in contempt of the decrees of his predecessors, authorise these abuses, but kept for himself the best and richest dioceses. On the death of a prelate, he sent into the country collectors or sub-collectors of the apostolic chamber, who seized on the moveables of the

deceased, hunted up old debts and the arrearages on farms; and, after having imprisoned the heirs, they took the direction of the diocese, sold the sacred ornaments of the churches, and even pledged the revenues for two or three years, so that the new bishop was forced to beg for a living, or to place himself at the head of his priests and monks, and devastate the country, ransacking the inhabitants like the free companies."

Urban was not, however, discouraged by the success of his enemy, and prepared to dispute the kingdom of Naples with Clement. He was on his march for Lower Italy, when a fall from his horse compelled him to suspend the execution of his plans. This delay, and still more the want of money, compelled him to place his troops in winter quarters in Rome. A few days after his installation in the Vatican, he yielded up his breath; one of the agents of Clement, having, it is charged, given him a poisoned drink.

Urban was odious, even to those who followed his fortunes, so that his death excited no regret. He was buried on the 16th of October, 1389, in the chapel of St. Andrew, in the church of St. Peter.

BONIFACE THE NINTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTH POPE, AT ROME.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH,—BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH PONTIFFS AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1389.]

Election of Boniface the Ninth—The two popes excommunicate each other—Jubilee at Rome—Exactions of Boniface—Cruelties of Clement—Efforts of the university of Paris, to put an end to the schism—Death of Clement the Seventh—The French cardinals proclaim the cardinal Peter de Luna sovereign pontiff—Knavery of that pope—Negotiations for the peace of the church—Assembly at Rheims—The French refuse obedience to Benedict the Thirteenth—Negotiations of Peter d'Ailly—Benedict is besieged in Avignon—Debaucheries of Boniface at Rome—Conspiracy against the pope—Sect of the Whites—The emperor Manuel Paleologus comes to France—Benedict is driven from Avignon—He is reconciled with his cardinals—Fresh example of his bad faith—Embassy from Boniface to Benedict—Death of Boniface.

SOME days after the death of Urban, sixteen cardinals, who were in Rome or the neighbouring provinces, assembled in conclave, and chose Peter de Thomacelli, cardinal of Naples, sovereign pontiff, who was, after the usual ceremonies, enthroned by the name of Boniface the Ninth. His mother, named Gratiola Filimarini, hastened immediately to adore him as the universal father of Christians, saying to the assistants, "that she loved better to kiss his feet as pope, than his face as her son."

Boniface was originally from Naples; he had a fine person, a majestic port, and expressed himself with elegance, but he did not know how to write or chant, and his ignorance

on religious subjects was very great; he, however, showed much address and prudence in his government. He commenced by destroying the sovereign authority of the bannerets and senators of Rome, in order to render himself absolute master in the holy city and the domains of the church. He then confirmed the institution of Urban, in regard to the period of the jubilee, which was approaching, under pretext, that Jesus Christ having passed thirty-three years on earth, it was proper to celebrate every period of thirty-three years; and, as the holy father was pressed for money, he immediately published a jubilee.

A concourse of pilgrims from all parts of

the world flowed into Rome, to gain indulgences, and give their money to the pope. To increase the enormous sums he obtained from this operation, the insatiable Boniface sent bands of begging monks into Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and England to sell indulgences, who brought him back more than five hundred thousand florins in gold.

Those of these agents who were suspected of unfaithfulness or of dallying in their business, were, on their return, put to the torture and burned alive. He punished with equal severity mendicants, monks, and secular clerks, who kept up an active rivalry with him in the sale of indulgences, by permitting libertinage to nuns, reconciling heretics to the church, legitimatising bastards, authorising incests, and granting absolutions for robbery and assassination on better terms than the holy father. He fulminated a terrible bull against them, and devoted to eternal punishments those who did not restore the money they had stolen. Some obeyed him; but the most guilty preferred exposing themselves to the wrath of the pope, rather than restore the money wrested from ignorance and superstition.

The avaricious pontiff then determined to shear the shepherds as he had done the flocks; and published through the different countries which were obedient to him, that he would grant graces and benefices to ecclesiastics who would come to his court and offer him presents. This fallacious promise induced a large number of priests to make a journey to the holy city, carrying with them all the gold they could procure, to obtain from the holy father the best benefices in their provinces. There resulted between the prelates of each country, and the mere priests of each diocese, a combat of vanity which was very profitable to Boniface, each of them outbidding his colleague in order to occupy a higher place on the roll of rewards which were to be distributed. The number of seekers became soon so great, that it was computed that if the world had been ten times larger than it is, the holy father would have been unable to grant as many benefices as were solicited; which did not, however, prevent the stupid pilgrims from bringing their offerings to the Vatican. He also sold the domains of the Roman church, in consideration of large sums paid in cash as a gift, or under the promise of annual rents to be furnished in kind, men-at-arms, or munitions of war.

On his side, Clement, in point of exactions, was not behind his competitor; he ruined the clergy of France and Spain by enormous impositions, and extorted incredible sums from the faithful. He also endeavoured to hurt the trade of Boniface by lanching excommunications against his partizans, which the latter freely returned; for, says a satirical author, it is the money of which the popes are most prodigal.

Maimburg, the Jesuit, thus expresses himself on this subject: "Boniface and Clement thought of sustaining themselves on the chair of the apostle, only by corruption and the aid

of the temporal powers; and, although they appeared to desire, ardently, peace and the union of the church, neither of them was sincere, and each only hoped for the annihilation of his rival. In fact, Boniface wished to prevent England from concluding a truce with France, unless Charles the Sixth would consent to abandon the pope at Avignon; and Clement opposed the acceptance of the peace by France, if Great Britain persisted in sustaining Boniface. They sought to destroy each other, now by their bulls, now by the enemies they excited; and, finally, they pushed the scandal of their enmity so far as to compel the ecclesiastics on whom they conferred any benefices, to swear never to recognise their competitor as pontiff, which proves their intention to render the schism eternal."

The members of the university, the magistracy, a small number of virtuous priests, and some heads of the different religious orders were profoundly afflicted by the misfortunes of the people, and were desirous of putting an end to the scandalous disputes of the church, by restoring union to Christendom. Two monks of the order of the Chartreux, charged with the delicate mission of sounding the intentions of the courts of Rome and Avignon, went first to Boniface, who listened to them attentively, and appeared to approve of their advice. On dismissing them, the holy father gave them a letter to the king of France, in which he offered to submit the subject to the decision of that monarch, if he should be permitted first to send some Roman canonists to him to enlighten his conscience. The two monks then went to Avignon to make the same exhortations to Clement which they had done to Boniface; but Clement did not receive them so kindly; he seized them without any formality as soon as they entered the city, and put them to the torture to punish them for having gone to Rome without his permission.

This arrest excited the whole order of the Chartreux; the superior at once addressed a request to the king of France to demand the liberation of his brethren, and to complain of this violation of the law of nations. Charles the Sixth took the part of the monks, and wrote to Clement to set his prisoners at liberty at once, if he did not wish to expose himself to a terrible punishment. The pontiff feigned ignorance of what had occurred, threw the blame on the cardinals, and replied to the envoys of the prince, "Assure your master, our dear son, that we have the preservation of his friendship so much at heart, that we would joyfully surrender both our cape and our tiara, if he asked this sacrifice from us."

All appeared to be in a fair way for an arrangement; and it was hoped that, either peaceably or forcibly, the two popes would be brought to renounce their claims, when an unlooked for event, the insanity of Charles the Sixth, broke off the negotiations, and revived the old religious quarrels. This time, however, wiser than before, the French and English refused to espouse the quarrels of the

pontifical courts; they excluded the two popes from their counsels, and signed a treaty of peace for twenty-six years. King Richard prohibited his subjects from crossing the sea to go to Italy to obtain benefices, under penalty of being punished as an enemy to the state. Boniface immediately annulled the ordinance of Richard, and solemnly excommunicated him. To revenge himself, the king caused a proclamation to be made in London, ordering English ecclesiastics who were in Italy to return to England within eight months, under penalty of forfeiture. The result was, that Great Britain entirely separated itself from obedience to the court of Rome.

If Boniface lost ground in the north, as a compensation for it he increased his authority in Italy, and soon found himself strong enough to exercise his rule, as in the best days of the papacy. Money was his idol, and he set to work all means of procuring it; he made an ordinance authorising usury, and lent money himself at heavy rates of interest. He established new charges, placed at auction the adjudication of benefices, declared the annates invented by John the Twenty-second, perpetual, and sold the reception of them in advance.

Whilst Italy was thus squeezed by an avaricious pontiff, France was groaning beneath the weight of imposts, which had accumulated in that country, to support the prodigalities of the pope at Avignon, his thirty-six cardinals, mistresses, and minions. At last the prelates of the kingdom, tired of paying to Clement, now a tenth, now a twentieth of their revenues, assembled at the university and appointed fifty-four doctors to decide upon the steps to be taken to re-establish union in the church, and in order, as they said, "to have but one pope to fatten." The result of their deliberations was, that the two rivals should be summoned to abdicate and submit to the decision of a general council.

For this purpose, the university composed an argumentative letter, to beseech the king, who had recovered, for a time, his reason, to lend the aid of his authority to a measure, which alone could put an end to the schism that had so long devastated Europe. "The church," said the doctors, "has fallen into contempt, servitude, and poverty; two popes elevate to prelacies only unworthy and corrupt ministers, who have no sentiment of equity or shame, and who think only of satiating their passions. They rob the property of the widow and the orphan, at the same time that they are despoiling churches and monasteries; sacred or profane, nothing comes amiss to them, provided they can extract money from it; religion is for them a mine of gold, which they work to the last vein; they sell every thing from baptism to burial; they traffic in pyxes, crosses, chalices, sacred vases, and the shrines of the saints. One can obtain no grace, no favour without paying for it; it is not the worthiest but the richest who obtain ecclesiastical dignities. He who gives money to the pope can sleep in safety, though

he may have murdered his own father, for he is assured of the protection of the church. Simony is publicly exercised, and they sell with effrontery to the highest and last bidder dioceses, prebends, or benefices.—Thus do the princes of the church.—What shall we say of the lower clergy, who no longer administer the sacraments but for gold? What shall we say of the monks, whose morals are more corrupt than those of the inhabitants of ancient Sodom? It is time, illustrious prince, that you should put an end to this deplorable schism, proclaim the freedom of the Gallican church, and limit the power of the pontiffs."

This energetic demand was carried to the court of Avignon by ambassadors who read it in full consistory. Clement preserved an extraordinary impassability, whilst listening to the recital of the calamities, of which he was accused of being the principal author; but when he was summoned to renounce the pontificate, he sprang from his seat, cast himself on the deputy who bore the request, wrested it from his hands, tore it with his teeth, and trampled it under foot, whilst pronouncing the most horrid blasphemies. After this burst of passion, he addressed the cardinals, demanding from them what horrible punishment should be inflicted on those who were bold enough to use such language. They, to his great astonishment, replied, that the counsel given by the university demanded a serious examination, that money was failing, that all the resources of superstition were exhausted, that several of them could no longer support the expenses of their establishments, and that, unless he wished to reduce his court to a shameful mendicity, he must, himself, think of putting an end to the schism. This reply redoubled his fury; he endeavoured to speak, but his voice failed him; he then cast his tiara into the midst of the consistory, and left the room with precipitation. He died a few hours afterwards from an attack of apoplexy, and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon, on the 17th of September, 1394.

Doctor Clemangis has pronounced the following judgment on his pope:—"There never existed a more miserable priest than Clement the Seventh. A cowardly and servile flatterer, he called himself the servant of servants of the kings of France, and the vilest slave would scarcely have borne with the indignities in which the courtiers steeped him. He gave bishoprics and abbays to the minions of princes, and sold to them the right of exercising all kinds of imaginable vexations on the clergy; and it finally happened, that the mere buffoons of the duke of Berry were as much pope as Clement."

As soon as the news of his death reached Paris, the university sent a deputation to the king, to ask him to prohibit the cardinals at Avignon from proceeding to a new election, until a general assembly of the prelates of the kingdom had given an opinion about the schism. Charles the Sixth wrote to this purpose to the members of the sacred college; the king of Arragon addressed a letter to them

for the same object; the university, the metropolitans of Treves, Mayence, and Cologne sent deputies to make the same request; Boniface the Ninth also addressed a bull to them, exhorting them to put an end to the schism. All these letters and steps were useless; the cardinals, having gone into conclave, refused obstinately to receive either ambassadors or letters until the election was over. In order to avoid, however, the accusation of having continued the schism, in opposition to the wishes of the sovereigns, they entered into this obligation:—"We all, cardinals of the holy Roman church, assembled in conclave for the election of a pope, being before the altar, swear upon the gospel and the sacred body of Christ, that without artifice, intrigue, and perfidy, we will labour faithfully and actively for the extinction of the unfortunate schism which destroys the church; to attain this end, he among us who shall be chosen pope, shall renounce the pontificate, if the sacred college regards it as necessary to produce the reunion."

They then proceeded to an election, and after some ballotings, Peter de Luna received a majority of the votes, and was declared pope by the name of Benedict the Thirteenth. The new pontiff was of the illustrious family of the lords of Luna, in the kingdom of Arragon, and had already been engaged in very important affairs, on account of his acknowledged skill in business. He was, unfortunately, devoured by a boundless ambition, which had induced Gregory the Ninth to say, when he elevated him to the cardinalate, "Be careful, my son, lest your moon does not suffer an eclipse some day, for vanity has destroyed many men." The predictions of Gregory were realised, says Maimburg, for, as soon as he became pope, he showed himself to be proud, implacable, tricky, insatiable of rule, and of an obstinacy that nothing could overcome. What induced the cardinals to choose him, was that he had acquired in his different legations immense wealth, which he promised to surrender to them. The members of the sacred college exacted, however, before they would consecrate him, that he should renew the oath taken in conclave, and reiterate the same promise in his letters addressed to the prelates and different kings of Europe. The new pope complied the more readily with the demand of the cardinals, since he had already discerned the advantage he could derive from allowing it to be thought he was extremely indifferent about the papacy.

The king of France and the university, deceived by this trick, recognised him without difficulty, being persuaded that a pope so submissive would abdicate the papacy at their first command. They, however, sent ambassadors to represent to him that it would have been easier to put an end to the schism, if he had not consented to his election. To this observation he lifted off his cape, and replied that he was ready to resign at once his title to the papacy, if the king and university desired it. Benedict played his part

so well, that he imposed on the partizans of Boniface, who detached themselves from the cause of that prelate, because he affected great hauteur, and loudly declared he would preserve his tiara, in despite of people and kings. At last, all minds appearing disposed for peace, a national council was convened at Paris; in this assembly the lords, prelates, and doctors in theology of the kingdom, decided that the only mode of putting an end to the schism was by the joint abdication of the pontiffs at Rome and Avignon. Charles the Sixth immediately sent ambassadors to notify Benedict of the result of the deliberations of the council of Paris, and instructed his uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and also the duke of Orleans, his brother, and the chiefs of the embassy, to hand the following letter to the pope:—

"Most holy father, the desire you have always expressed, both in conversation and by writing, to put an end to the schism which troubles Christendom, has induced us to send to you as ambassadors, our uncles, our brother, and several notables of our kingdom, who will inform you of the decision of the great assembly which we have held in our good city, and who will consult with you on the measures which shall be deemed necessary to insure its entire execution."

Benedict, finding himself caught in his own trap, protracted the negotiations, seeking daily new pretexts for not giving a definite reply. At last, when he had exhausted all the resources of his obsequious and tricky policy, when he saw himself pushed to the wall, and compelled to decide, he published in the presence of the cardinals, his officers, and the ambassadors of France, a bull, providing "That Boniface the Ninth and himself, should meet with their cardinals in a safe place, under the protection of the king of France, in order to confer together on the reunion of the church; but he could not explain himself as to the clauses of their agreement, lest the enemies of the church should throw obstacles in the way of this interview; he would, however, declare that he was not permitted to employ the mode of cession, as this step was not canonical, and had not been followed by the fathers; that he would rather break a promise given inconsiderately, than be guilty of heresy, by introducing this criminal novelty; if, however, the schism could be extinguished, neither by means of an interview, nor that of arbitration, he would, in order to put an end to the scandal, propose, or accept any other means, provided they should be reasonable, fair, juridical, and reconcilable with the traditions of the church and the sacred canons."

After the reading of this bull, which exposed the bad faith of the pope, the ambassadors indignantly left the hall without saying a word, and retired to the other side of the Rhone, to a part of the town called the new city of Avignon, where they lodged; during the night they deliberated on what was to be done, and held communications with the cardinals. Benedict, being informed that these

latter were communicating with the princes, feared a conspiracy, and caused the bridge to be burned, to intercept the communications. This step did not, however, prevent the ambassadors from crossing the river in the morning in boats, and assembling with the members of the sacred college in the convent of the Minor Brothers.

In this consistory, the bull of the holy father was unanimously condemned, and they decided that Benedict should at once lay down the tiara. Instead of obeying this injunction, the pontiff fulminated a second bull, confirmatory of the preceding one. The ambassadors and cardinals, then despairing of overcoming his obstinacy by menaces, determined to try a step of conciliation, and went to the pontifical palace, "and there," says the chronicle of the monk of St. Denis, "besought him on their knees to abdicate the papacy." But the knavish Benedict, finally raising the mask, said to them in a tone of arrogance:—"Know all of you, princes of the state and church, that you are my subjects, since God has submitted all men to my authority! Know that the cardinals have no other power than that of choosing as pope the most worthy of their number, and as soon as they have declared him supreme chief of the church, the Holy Spirit suddenly illuminates him; he becomes infallible, and his power equals that of God: he can be no longer subjected to any sway; he is placed above the powers of the earth, and he cannot be deposed from the apostolic throne, even by his own desire; the dignity of the pontiff is, finally, so redoubtable, that the world should listen to our decrees, bend in the dust, and tremble at our word!"

The ambassadors, discovering the uselessness of their efforts, left the assembly without taking leave of Benedict, and went immediately to Paris to render an account of their mission to King Charles, and to consult as to the measures to be adopted at this juncture. In accordance with the advice of the principal doctors of the university, it was decided to send deputies to all the courts of Europe to call a universal council, in order to depose the two popes.

Benedict, furious at the university which had led the way in these steps, endeavoured to weaken its authority by fulminating the most terrible anathemas against it; he declared its doctors, professors, students, and supporters enemies of God and men, and accursed for ever. The university, unterrified at these powerless bulls, protested against this violence, and appealed to the first pontiff who should be canonically chosen. The holy father then declared this appeal to be contrary to the fullness of power which had been transmitted to him by the apostle and his successors, and renewed his excommunication. At the same time he sent agents into all the courts who scattered, with a prodigal hand, gold and promises to prevent the convocation of a general council.

Benedict, not content with these intrigues, even sought to organise a conspiracy against

his competitor; at his instigation, the bishop of Segovia and the count of Fondi, his creatures, corrupted the bannerets, excited the people, and made an attack on the palace of the Vatican, at the head of a troop of cavaliers, either to carry Boniface off or to kill him. But the attempt failed in consequence of the great promptness of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who was then at Rome, in sending assistance to the pontiff. The insurgents were put to flight, and the bishop of Segovia, the count of Fondi, and the bannerets were compelled to leave Italy, to escape the chastisement they deserved. Boniface, having escaped from this danger, as if by a miracle, determined to place himself beyond the reach of a new sedition; he took a large number of foreign soldiers into his pay, constructed fortified towers on the walls of the castle of St. Angelo, and made that fortress his residence.

As nothing seemed to indicate a termination to the disputes which troubled Christendom, Benedict not appearing anxious to make the slightest concession, the emperor Wenceslaus, Charles the Sixth, and several princes of Germany, with a large number of prelates, assembled in the city of Rheims, and determined to proceed to a new election, without troubling themselves about the acceptance or refusal of Peter de Luna, and only to send an ambassador to Boniface to exhort him to give in his abdication. Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, charged with this mission, came to Rome and found Boniface excellently disposed, at least apparently; for often having advised with his cardinals, he declared he would lay aside his tiara, if his adversary would bind himself to follow his example. Peter d'Ailly immediately returned to France, passing through Coblenz, where Wenceslaus was, to whom he rendered an account of the success of his embassy, expressing, however, his fears that the holy father would reconsider his resolve. "Since that is the case," said the emperor to him, "be tranquil; I pledge myself that Boniface is serious; tell the king of France to reduce his pope to obedience, I charge myself with mine."

As soon as the bishop of Cambray arrived at Paris, King Charles assembled a national council, to which the ambassadors of Hungary, Bohemia, England, Arragon, Castile, Navarre and Sicily were admitted; they decreed that, on account of the obstinacy of Benedict, they would refuse him all subsidies. "In consequence of which," says John Juvenal des Ursini, "the church of France recovered her ancient liberties and franchises; that is, the clergy were authorised to elect to dignities and benefices." The assembly also decreed that the king, without further preliminaries, should send the venerable Peter d'Ailly and the marshal de Boucicaut to Avignon with an army, to compel Benedict to leave the chair of the apostle, which decree was carried at once into effect.

The pope was much alarmed on learning of the arrival of the French envoys, and the approach of the troops; he, however, knew

how to hide his emotion, and when the bishop of Cambray came to inform him of the decree of the council, he replied in a calm voice, "No, I will not abdicate. Let your master learn that I have been chosen sovereign pontiff by the will of God, and that I will never obey the will of men; my resistance to their perversity may gain for me the crown of martyrdom." After this reply, the cardinals, who foresaw the consequences of such a refusal, and were unwilling to expose themselves to the horrors of a siege, rose one after another from their seats, and left the hall of audience to make preparations for their departure. Peter d'Ailly and the marshal de Boucicaut retired in their turn, and caused Avignon to be invested by their troops. Then, in accordance with the customs of the time in declarations of war, the French general sent a herald-at-arms to defy the pope in his palace.

The inhabitants, alarmed by this demonstration, presented themselves in a mass at the pontifical palace, declaring that they did not wish a war with France. In vain did Benedict inform them that the city was strong and well provisioned, that his allies in Italy were levying troops to assist him, and that the king of Arragon, as his relative and spiritual son, would not fail to hasten to him at the first call; the magistrates were immovable, and declared that the citizens would never fight against the French. "Well, then, go hence, villains," he exclaimed, in a transport of rage; "guard your houses if you can; I will well defend my palace." The gates of the city were opened at once, and Marshal Boucicaut entered Avignon.

The pope caused the drawbridge of his castle to be broken, and swore never to surrender, and to precipitate himself from the top of the tower, rather than to become a prisoner. He then wrote to Martin, king of Arragon, employing in turn entreaties and threats, to induce him to send troops to free him from the hands of the French. Here he was again deceived, for the prince, after reading the letter of the pontiff, said to his ambassador, "What! does this priest think that I am stupid enough to go to war with France, to sustain his sacerdotal knavery? He is a prisoner in his palace; well, let him remain one."

Obstinate, like all priests, Benedict none the less continued to defend himself; in person he animated his soldiers, says Juvenal des Ursini, and contributed to save the castle by his vigilance. One night whilst he was making his round of the walls, he heard a low noise of the footsteps of men, and the clash of swords; these were the besiegers, who, having removed the grating from the sewers of the kitchen, were gliding, under cover of the darkness of the night, into the court yard of the palace; he called some of the guards in a low voice, and as soon as his enemies reached the court, one by one he cast a covering over their heads to stifle their cries, and had them carried off to the prisons. They made about sixty prisoners before the rest learned their danger.

For the eight entire months during which the holy father had to sustain the rigours of a siege, his firmness did not desert him for a moment. Charles the Sixth, on his side, was inexorable, and only consented to change the siege into a blockade, until union should be restored to the church.

Very different from his competitor, who maintained his rights to the papacy by force of arms, Boniface preferred corruption to resistance, and applied himself to increase his treasures, to buy up consciences, and maintain himself upon the throne. All the resources of simony being exhausted, he published a new jubilee for the secular year, although ten years had scarcely gone by since the last. Here was also a scandalous traffic in indulgences and absolutions; but the offerings were not so abundant as at the preceding jubilee, either because the zeal of the faithful had relaxed, or the confidence of pilgrims in indulgences had diminished. Boniface then turned his attention to the clergy; he revoked the graces and benefices which were sold ten years before; annulled the unions of parishes made by him or his immediate predecessors, and set up all graces, benefices, and indulgences for sale. This measure still failed, and the levy on the clergy not answering his expectations, he had recourse to the inquisitory, and caused a prodigious crowd of heretics to be burned, so as to seize on their spoils. He also persecuted, and for the same motives, the sect of the Whites, a species of mendicant monks, who traversed Italy bearing crucifixes skillfully made, which permitted drops of blood to fall or tears to be shed, to soften the faithful and extort money from the ignorant and superstitious people. Boniface, who saw in these Whites redoubtable rivals, seized on the treasury of the sect as on goods which had been stolen from him, and caused the chief leaders of them to be arrested and burned alive.

Whilst the western church was rent by a deplorable schism, the eastern had to struggle against the new religion of Mahomet, whose dreadful caliphs had already reduced beneath the sway of the Koran the north of Africa and a part of Asia. Thus far, Constantinople had resisted the efforts of the infidels; the conquests of Bajazet induced the suspicion that the Musselmen thought of reducing the Greek empire beneath its sway, and Manuel Paleologus, who was then on the throne, foreseeing that he could not resist his terrible adversaries, abandoned his capital, which comprised, if we may so speak, all his empire, and came to France to ask aid from Charles the Sixth. He passed two whole years in the chateau of the Louvre, amidst feasts and pleasure; his negotiations with France, England, and Germany amounted to nothing, and he was suffered to return almost alone to the east, so much had the schism exhausted Europe of men and money. This journey of Manuel, was, however, very advantageous to Italy and France, for the learned men whom he brought with him introduced a knowledge of those immor-

tal master-pieces of antiquity which the policy of the Latin priests had proscribed from Gaul, Germany, and the Roman peninsula, and prepared for that era of revival of art which is called the Renaissance.

A remarkable revolution took place during the last year of the fourteenth century. The Germans hurled from the throne Wenceslaus, the eldest son of Charles the Fourth, a monster of shamelessness, drunkenness, and cruelty, who inflicted the most execrable tyranny on the people. It is related that he never left his palace without an escort of executioners, whom he called his compeers, and who murdered the unfortunate men who chanced to pass by when he was drunk. His crimes at last maddened the people; generous citizens placed themselves at the head of a conspiracy, attacked the palace of Wenceslaus, made him a prisoner, and confined him in the dungeon of a fortress. Unfortunately, the young daughter of one of the jailers took pity on the dethroned king, and suffered him to escape from his prison by a secret passage.

As soon as the electors were apprised of his escape, they hastened to pronounce him deprived of the empire, and proclaimed Robert the Third, duke of Bavaria, king of Italy and Germany. The pope of Rome having approved of this election, Benedict the Thirteenth naturally took the side of Wenceslaus, who still had powerful friends in Bohemia, Germany, and even in Italy. Thus the two popes, by sustaining each of them one of the emperors, rekindled the civil war and put off indefinitely the meeting of the council which was to depose them.

France was also much agitated in regard to the question of obedience. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the greater party of the clergy, and the university of Paris maintained that they should exact the renunciation of the apostolic throne by the pope at Avignon. But the house of Orleans, making common cause with the ambassadors of the king of Arragon, the university of Toulouse, and several influential ecclesiastics who had been bribed by Benedict, set every engine to work to deliver the pope and render him obedience. Violent discussions took place on this subject; and the people, as usual, taking the part of one or the other, fought for the pope, the king, and the princes. At last, the party of Orleans triumphed: a Norman gentleman named Robert de Braquemond, governor of one of the cities adjacent to Avignon, permitted himself to be bribed, and consented to assist the escape of the pope. As his rank permitted him to enter into conferences with Benedict without exciting suspicion, he availed himself of it to concert with him a plan of escape. It was executed in the following manner:—

After a conference which had lasted into the night, the holy father enveloped himself in the mantle of one of the domestics of Braquemond, left the fortress, and traversed the hostile lines in the train of the captain. Once past the blockade of the city, he found an escort of five hundred men, who accompanied

him to castle Raynard, which was reputed to be impregnable. From this retreat he wrote to the king:—"Our dear and well-beloved son,—We have been besieged for three years in the palace of our city of Avignon, and our sacred person has been exposed to the greatest dangers in defence of the liberties of the church. We have however learned, in our captivity, that our constancy in supporting the iniquities of men has not touched your gross mind, and that our courageous resignation has been regarded as a proof of weakness. We have accordingly determined to act otherwise; and after having humbly recommended our person to the divine mercy, we left, without fear, the palace and the city, traversed the lines of your soldiers, and have arrived, safe and sound, at castle Raynard, where we hope, with God's assistance, to be able to defy princes and lords, and make our holy cause triumph."

Benedict occupied himself in providing a numerous garrison for this place; and when he found himself beyond the reach of all danger he fulminated a bull of degradation against the cardinals, so as to render them incapable of choosing another pope: he then sent ambassadors to the kings of Arragon and Spain to inform them of the change in his position.

These sovereigns, seeing that the party of the holy father was gaining the upper hand, feared to expose themselves to his vengeance, and took the oaths of obedience and submission to him. The envoys of Hungary imitated this example, as well as a large number of ecclesiastics and several French lords. The cardinals themselves followed the impulse which was given, and addressed a supplication to him to be received to his communion. As a kind master, the pontiff retracted the bull lanced against them, and invited them to a great festival as a token of reconciliation. "But," says the monk of St. Denis, "they might have excused such an honour, for they paid a dear reckoning in the great fright to which they were subjected. As soon as they were at the table, on a given signal armed men entered the banqueting hall with their drawn swords in their hands, appearing to await only the order to massacre them. The holy father amused himself for some minutes with the expression of fear on their countenances; he then sent away his guards, and contented himself with causing them to sign a treaty in which they pledged themselves to an entire and blind obedience to him, and promised to labour with all their might to reduce France beneath his sway."

In consequence of this amnesty, things were re-established as before: Benedict, however, was unwilling to pardon the city of Avignon except on condition that the citizens would repair, at their own expense, the fortifications of the pontifical palace, and pay a large sum as an indemnity for the war. These preliminaries adjusted, he gave full powers to the cardinals of Poitiers and Saluca to negotiate a peace with Charles the Sixth, and obtain the re-establishment of his authority in the kingdom. A large number of cities did

not wait for the decree of the king to recognise the authority of the pope, so tired were they of the quarrel. At Paris, in several churches, the ecclesiastics immediately attached to an onyx shell the name of the pontiff and the date of his advent to the apostolic throne.

Charles the Sixth received the legates with distinction, and engaged by oath to recognise Benedict as before, as lawful chief of the church. He published the following edict on the subject: "Five years have passed since the clergy and lords of our kingdom, having met in assembly, declared, that to put an end to the schism, the two popes must be constrained to descend from the chair of St. Peter. In consequence of this decision, our kingdom was relieved from its obedience to Benedict the Thirteenth: unfortunately, the success we hoped for from this determination has not been realised; we thought that the intruder, Boniface, would be abandoned by his followers; but, on the contrary, he is more and more strengthened in his obstinacy. This anti-pope has constantly refused to descend from the Holy See, though Benedict has authentically offered to submit to the event of a new election. Besides, the cardinals, absolute judges of the remedies which should be employed to extinguish the schism, after having seceded from the holy father, having again placed themselves under his authority, we could not remain longer disobedient to him.

"In consequence of these considerations, and with the advice of our uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy; of our brother, duke of Orleans; of our principal lords and prelates, and of the universities of Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Angiers, and Montpellier, we declare that from this time the withdrawal has ceased; we restore to Benedict entire rule over us and our kingdom, expressly commanding our judges to publish this decree, and to punish, with all the rigour of the laws, those who contravene our present will."

As soon as Benedict was apprised of the favourable result of the negotiations of his legates, he left castle Raynard in triumph, and returned to his palace at Avignon. As long as he was a prisoner, the holy father made the most magnificent promises, and pledged himself to maintain in their offices, the ecclesiastics who had been promoted during the withdrawal; but as soon as he found himself free and powerful, he refused to confirm the different promotions which had been made, and exacted from the bishops an enormous sum for investitures. He anathematised the lords who had declared against him, placed the cities and convents within their jurisdiction under interdict, and laid on them a heavy fine to purchase their absolution. At last, when he had by his manœuvres refilled his purse, he recommenced hostilities against his competitor, with greater bitterness and fury than ever. Unfortunately for him, the authority of Boniface rested on a solid basis in Italy and Germany, and he found that he had

profited by time and circumstances. In fact, on the death of Galeas, the tyrant of Milan, the pope had seized on the cities of Bologna, Perouse, and Modena—had laid a strong hand on his treasures, and had with these resources created a powerful party in Rome, where he reigned as absolute master. At that moment he was engaged in placing Ladislaus upon the throne of Hungary, in order to reduce that kingdom to his authority, by overthrowing Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, his personal enemy. The Hungarians had revolted at his instigation, had made the king a prisoner, plunged him in the dungeon of a castle, and had proclaimed Ladislaus, the next heir to Queen Mary, whose memory they venerated, king.

This prince came at once to Warasdin, and was crowned by the cardinal legate Angus Acciajoli. His reign was of short duration. Having wished to levy new imposts upon the people, to pay to the holy father the arrearages of tax which had been due for three years, the provinces broke out into full revolt; Sigismund was taken out of prison, an army of peasants assembled round him, and marched against Ladislaus. The latter fled on the approach of his enemy, embarked on the shores of Dalmatia, and returned to Naples. A second time master of Hungary, the cruel Sigismund avenged himself on those who had declared for his competitor. He burned whole cities, levelled churches and monasteries to their foundations, and put to the sword the ecclesiastics and lords who supported Boniface. Such were the sad results to Hungary of its alliances with the pope.

Benedict wished to profit by this check to make a last effort with his rival; and, as he knew his unbounded love for money, he hoped, that by offering him a large sum, he might induce him to sell his share of the papacy. If the proposal was not agreed to, this step was not without danger with a skilful enemy, and could not especially be confided to secret agents, whom his competitor might cause to be arrested and tortured, in order to obtain revelations. He sent to Rome a solemn embassy, with apparent instructions to labour for a reunion of the church, and to offer to Boniface to make a mutual cession, and both to submit to a new election. The true object of his embassy was to make a bargain with his rival; and he selected for this negotiation safe, wary, and prudent men.

As soon as the ambassadors arrived at Rome, the holy father sent to them rich presents, and caused them to be invited, by his cardinals, to splendid festivals; refusing, however, to see them, and grant them an audience, until they should render him in public the honours which were due to his dignity. They, having deliberated about it, passed over this incident, which was unimportant, and appeared to yield with a good grace the point of ceremonial. Charmed with this mark of condescension, the pope conceived the hope of bringing them over to his interests, and consented to give them a secret audience; but

when he saw that, far from taking his side, they wished, on the contrary, to induce him to sell his tiara to his competitor, he changed his tactics, skilfully dissimulated the wrath and contempt he felt for such an overture, and dismissed them, saying it was necessary to reflect on their proposal. Two days afterwards he secretly convoked in council the ambassadors of England and Naples, the magistrates of Rome, the bishops, cardinals, and all the officers of his court; he then sent to inform the envoys of Benedict that he waited to close with them. The French prelates hastened to the Vatican, and before they had time to concert measures, they were introduced into the consistory.

Boniface then turned towards them:—"I accuse," said he, in a thundering tone of voice, "Peter de Luna, the Arragonese, the anti-pope, who calls himself Benedict the Thirteenth, of having proposed an infamous bargain to me; of having offered me ten millions of florins in gold for the papacy! I summon his agents to confirm, by their testimony, the truth of my accusations!" Placing himself on the throne, with all the majesty of a conqueror, he awaited their reply. All this had been foreseen by the wary Benedict; the em-

bassadors advanced into the midst of the assembly, and after having played the part of surprise and indignation, they declared under oath, that it was not their master, but Boniface himself, who had proposed this criminal bargain. Such audacity transported the holy father with fury; he ordered them to be put at once to the torture in full consistory, to draw from them an avowal of their felony.

Without appearing alarmed at the wrath they had excited, they replied that they were ready to suffer all kinds of torture, and even death, to defend the reputation of their master, but that in this circumstance, however, the truth was too palpable to render it necessary for them to submit to such proof; they, accordingly, invoked the inviolability attached to their character as ambassadors, and guaranteed by a safe conduct signed by Boniface. "This reply," says Theodoric of Niem, "so increased the anger of the pope, that he fell into a fit and was obliged to be carried to his apartment: three days afterwards his reign terminated. He was interred without pomp in the church of St. Peter, on the 2d of October, 1404, in the presence of the ambassadors of Benedict."

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

INNOCENT THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINTH POPE, AT ROME.

BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1404.]

Reflections on the corruptions of the clergy in the fifteenth century—The legates of Benedict the Thirteenth are retained prisoners at Rome—Election of Innocent the Seventh—Character of the new pope—Sedition at Rome—Innocent takes refuge at Viterba—Benedict the Thirteenth goes to Italy—Innocent returns to Rome—Benedict causes his competitor to be poisoned—Council of France.

DURING the fifteenth century of the church, humility became a disgrace, and poverty an opprobrium for the ministers of religion. Already had bishops, charged with dispensing the blessings of heaven to the faithful, renounced their holy ministry, in order to occupy themselves about the means of enlarging their revenues and increasing their enjoyments. Thus pride, ambition, gormandising, and luxury formed the train of the bishops of Rome; the successors of the apostle became the king of kings and lord of lords, and the apostolic chamber, like a gaping gulf, swallowed up for their advantage the riches of nations.

The fifteenth century, however, surpassed all the preceding ages in corruption; the churches became the resorts of robbers, sodomites and assassins; popes, cardinals, bishops, and mere

clerks exercised brigandage forcibly in the provinces, and employed, as was most convenient, poison, the sword, and fire to free themselves from their enemies, and despoil their victims. The inquisition lent its horrible ministry to popes and kings. In France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and England, it embraced in its thousand arms the victims to the cupidity of tyrants, and put them to the most frightful tortures. The country was covered with legions of priests and monks, who devoured the substance of the people, and carried off to their impure retreats, young girls and handsome youths, whom they again cast out disgraced and dishonoured; the cities became the theatres of orgies and saturnalia, and the palaces of bishops were filled with equipages for the chase, packs of dogs, troops of courtezans, minions, jugglers and buffoons.

To all these causes of demoralization was joined the great schism which divided Europe into two hostile camps, and caused torrents of blood to flow.

At length, some courageous men undertook the defence of the oppressed people; the descendants of the unfortunate Vaudois or Albigenes, so cruelly persecuted by the pontiffs, raised their heads and taught their doctrines in England, Germany, and France. Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague continued the movement, and prepared the way for the religious reform which was to strike so terrible a blow on the temporal power of the popes.

By the unforeseen death of the pontiff, Boniface the Ninth, the question of the schism seemed simplified, and the French ambassadors hoped to obtain from the cardinals the recognition of Benedict the Thirteenth, as lawful chief of the church. In consequence of this, on the day succeeding the funeral of the deceased pope, they went to the members of the sacred college, who were preparing to go into conclave, and besought them to defer the election, until they had received from their master a procuration of cession. Unfortunately, they had not money enough to buy all the cardinals; so that, instead of paying any attention to their request, they accused them of endeavouring to excite trouble, to hinder the election. A Neapolitan knight, who was a relative of Boniface, and governor of the castle of St. Angelo, caused them to be arrested, notwithstanding their right to safe conduct as ambassadors, and would not consent to restore them to freedom, until he had received a large ransom.

Immediately after their departure, the members of the college went into conclave, and proclaimed Cosmato Meliorato sovereign pontiff, by the name of Innocent the Seventh. The new chief of the church came from Sulmona, a town of the kingdom of Naples, celebrated as the birth-place of Ovid. Sprung from the lowest ranks of society, Cosmato, by merit alone, had been elevated through all the ecclesiastical grades successively; and the only thing for which he could be reproached was an excessive ambition.

Innocent was received by the Italian ecclesiastics without opposition, but it was not so with the citizens, who laid claim to the government of affairs on which Boniface the Ninth had seized to their prejudice. The Ghibelines placed themselves at the head of the malcontents; and, with the assistance of John and Nicholas Colonna, attacked the Guelphs, and crowded them into the part of the city situated beyond the Tiber. Forced to give satisfaction to the rebels, Innocent concluded a treaty with them, by which he declared that he yielded to them the sovereignty in Rome, and consented that the citizens should appoint regents to conduct the business of the state.

Notwithstanding this solemn recognition of the rights of the people, he soon thought to re-establish his sway; he wished, under pretext of placing himself beyond the reach of

a sudden attack, to surround Rome with troops, and introduce several free companies into the Leonine city. As this manifestation compromised the public liberty, the regents went to the pontifical palace, to address remonstrances to the holy father, and to beseech him to remove his soldiers; but time was not given to them to discharge their mission. Scarcely had they entered the hall of audience, when, by the command of Louis Meliorato, nephew of the pope, ferocious satellites fell on them, seized them by their arms and feet, and hurled them from the windows of the Vatican upon the pavement, where they were killed by the violence of the fall.

Such an atrocity, committed in defiance of laws both human and divine, exasperated men's minds; the great bell of the capitol was rung—the people flew to arms, attacked the palaces of the cardinals, and hung all of them whom they could seize. Innocent had scarcely time to avoid, with his court, the fate of his partizans; his armorial bearings were dragged through the mud, his portraits broken, and his effigy, clothed in pontifical habits, publicly burned.

Benedict, informed of what was passing at Rome, wished to profit by the circumstances, and published that he was preparing to go to Italy, to confer with his competitor as to the means of bringing about a reunion of the church; he accordingly ordered a levy of tents in France, and the different countries which were subservient to him, to defray the expenses of his journey. This new impost was paid by the provinces, notwithstanding the active opposition of parliament; and the holy father was enabled to embark at Nice, to put his plans in execution. He first went to Genoa, where the marshal de Boucicaut, his old adversary, who, since the cessation of hostilities, had become his friend, commanded. Through his influence, that city declared in favour of the pope of Avignon, and determined Pisa and the neighbouring villages to throw off their obedience to the Roman pontiff.

The Genoese soon repented of having permitted Benedict the Thirteenth, and the vagabonds who formed his body guard, to enter their city. His soldiery, accustomed to pillage, excited so much discontent, that Marshal Boucicaut determined to deliver the inhabitants from them. One Sunday, he informed the pope that he desired to review his troops, and asked authority from him to muster them without the walls of the city. When the soldiers had all gone out, he caused the gates to be closed, and announced to them that they were expressly prohibited from re-entering Genoa. The pontiff vainly strove to change the determination of the governor, and was obliged to disband his army.

Whilst the pope of Avignon was seeking to maintain himself in Italy, a civil war was kindled in Rome; the usurper of the kingdom of Naples, Ladislaus, had leagued with John Colonna, to reduce the new republic, and prepared for the execution of his plans, by sending troops towards the holy city. For-

unately, the inhabitants were informed of the plans of their enemies, and endeavoured to drive the Colonna from Rome. They, however, maintained themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, from which they made daily murderous sorties. After several assaults, the citizens, discovering the impossibility of taking this fortress without foreign succour, decided to recall Innocent the Ninth, and informed him they would reinstall him in the Holy See, if he would engage to deliver them from the Colonna. The pope joyfully accepted the conditions offered him; he started immediately to take possession of the Vatican; and, on the very day of his arrival, launched a terrible excommunication against the Colonna, the king of Naples, and all their partizans. Ladislaus, whose right to the crown of Naples was already contested by the duke of Anjou, feared lest an anathema should excite new enemies against him, and consented to make peace with the Holy See. He engaged to restore all the territory he had taken from St. Peter, and promised to furnish troops to Innocent, with which to combat his enemies.

Benedict the Thirteenth, who had essayed to frustrate these negotiations, having failed in his efforts, took other measures more efficacious than those he had employed, and simply decided to poison his competitor. He sent a solemn embassy to Rome, with the apparent purpose of proposing some mode of putting an end to the schism, and secretly instructed to bribe, at any price, a servant of the pope. Innocent, who had no more intention of abdicating than his rival, nor the desire of making any concession, refused to give an audience to the ambassadors. Benedict availed himself of this, and spread letters through all Europe in which his rival was called perjured, schismatic and heretic. The Roman pontiff on his side lanced terrible bulls against his adversary, and accused him of having sent his agents for the sole purpose of assassinating him. Benedict, judging from this that his plan was discovered, despaired of reigning in Italy, and returned to France, where, during his absence, matters had changed much. A formidable party was formed against him

at the court of Charles the Sixth, and wished to pronounce him deprived of the Holy See. The wary pope applied himself at once to bringing back their minds, and sent the cardinal Chalaut as his legate to explain his conduct. An assembly of the lords, bishops, and doctors of the university was convened at Paris; the ambassador of the pope, in a long harangue, dwelt upon the vices of the court of Innocent, and pronounced a pompous eulogium on Benedict. His conclusion was, that his master, as the most worthy, should govern the church; and that it was the duty of all the faithful to submit to him.

Notwithstanding the brilliant addresses of the legate, the members of the council condemned the holy father, and declared that France should a second time withdraw its obedience from him. They accordingly published the following decree: "We inform all persons that the officers of Benedict shall no more receive annates, nor the revenues of vacant prelacies and dignities; that they must cease for the present from levying tithes upon the churches, and from claiming subsidies under any pretext whatsoever. Cardinals and chamberlains are prohibited from receiving, taking, or exacting the smallest sum until the holding of the national council, which is to be convened to put an end to the schism." This ordinance was scarcely made, when the death of Innocent the Seventh was known in France. The legates of Benedict had fulfilled their mission.

The national council, however, assembled at Paris, and confirmed the decision which had been made in regard to the relinquishment of the Holy See. Before separating, the fathers addressed, in the name of the king, a synodical letter to the Roman cardinals, to beseech them to put off the election of another pope; but the sacred college had already assembled in conclave and proclaimed the cardinal Angelo Corario sovereign pontiff, by the name of Gregory the Twelfth. This fatal haste of the Italian prelates discontented the French bishops, and prolonged the schism, by rallying around Benedict partizans who had detached themselves from his cause.

GREGORY THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TENTH POPE, AT ROME.

BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

[A. D. 1406.]

History of the cardinal Angelo Corario before his pontificate—Oath of the cardinals—Gregory sends an embassy to Benedict—Benedict excommunicates the national council—Knaveries of the two popes—Violent character of Gregory—The Roman cardinals abandon his party—He lances ecclesiastical thunders against them—King Charles the Sixth summons the pope at Avignon to lay down the papacy—Benedict places France under interdict—The bearers of his bulls are arrested by the order of the king, and subjected to an ignominious punishment—He flies from Avignon—Council of Pisa—Condemnation of the two popes—Election of a third pope.

GREGORY THE TWELFTH was descended from a noble Venetian family; he was eighty

years old, and had passed through all grades in the church before he reached the sovereign

pontificate. Before his election he was quoted as a model of mildness, prudence, humility, and holiness. On the eve of the conclave he had even proposed to the cardinals to take separately the following oath: "I swear on the gospels and the consecrated host, that in case I shall be chosen pontiff, I will renounce the dignity if the pope at Avignon will consent to abdicate: or if death strikes him, or even if the cardinals of both sides coalesce."

His first steps answered the hopes which had been placed in him from the day of his exaltation; he renewed the solemn oath he had before taken, and in the presence of the cardinals of his court, thus expressed himself: "Anathema on schismatics, whatever may be their power and dignity! Anathema on them! Anathema on myself, if I do not employ all my efforts to put an end to the unfortunate division which brings misfortune and disgrace on Christianity! Yes, my brethren, I swear from the chair of truth, that I will go to the council which shall be convened to settle the differences, notwithstanding my age and infirmities, and wherever it assembles; if I have no galley, I will dare the sea in a boat; and if I have no horses, I will go on foot, with my staff in my hand." In order to give more force to his words, he read publicly a letter which he addressed to Benedict to urge him to renounce with him the sovereign pontificate, and both to submit to a new election.

Benedict, who was at Marseilles, received the deputies with great honours; he appeared disposed to follow the example of Gregory, and even consented to an interview with his rival in the city of Savona. Gregory then cast aside the mask of hypocrisy which he had worn for eighty years; this humble and simple man changed in an instant his character and language, and showed himself proud and haughty, covered himself with robes of purple and gold, surrounded himself with all the pomp of courts, and caused himself to be adored as a god. When the French ambassadors came to offer him all kinds of guarantees and sureties on the part of the king, that he might go to Savona, as he had solemnly engaged to do, he replied to them with hauteur that he had no promise to fulfil, or condition to comply with. He dismissed the ambassadors, and ordered the cardinals never again to speak to him of abdicating, if they did not wish to incur his displeasure.

As soon as Benedict was informed of what had taken place at Rome, his hopes and audacity increased; he hastened to publish a bull of excommunication against the national council, which had decreed the withdrawal of the French from his obedience; he anathematized in general all who had taken part in this salutary measure, mere laymen, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, kings, or emperors; he declared that if, at the expiration of twenty days after the publication of the sentence, the excommunicated persisted in their resolution, the ecclesiastics should be deprived of their benefices, and the territories

or domains of secular princes placed under interdict. He freed vassals from their oaths of fidelity, he confiscated all the fiefs, goods, moveables, or immoveables of the excommunicated, enveloping, in the same sentence of excommunication and interdiction, kingdoms, republics, cities, castles, universities, colleges, churches, and communities, which were favourable to those who had already withdrawn from obedience to him. Then, to show how ardently he desired the reunion of the church, he went immediately to Savona and informed his competitor that he was waiting at the appointed place, to confer upon the best mode of putting an end to the schism.

Several cotemporary historians affirm that the two popes had agreed neither of them to withdraw, whilst still appearing to desire it, and thus to make all Europe the dupe of their knavery. Gregory, in fact, went as far as Lucca, received the nuncios of his competitor with distinction, and replied to them in a public audience, that he had the same intention as their master, and that he only waited for his abdication to renounce the tiara himself, and put an end to the schism. This reply gave great joy to the cardinals of both parties, but it was of short duration.

"These two popes," says Theodoric of Niem, "were like two champions who present themselves in a listed field to combat to the death, after having secretly agreed not to inflict a wound; they impudently amuse themselves with the spectators, and the combat having finished, they divide the prize of the tourney, congratulating themselves in the success of their trick." The same historian adds, "If one was desirous of recounting all the knaveries, iniquities, and crimes of Gregory the Twelfth and Benedict the Thirteenth, it would be necessary for him to add three lives to the duration of his own; he would then run the risk of failing in paper and ink. These two wretches have cauterised consciences; they fill Christendom with vice, pillage, and murder; through their deplorable influence the Christian world is abandoned to frightful calamities; fear of God, modesty, pity, equity, and all the virtues have been banished from among men, great and small, from the king to the serf; impiety, avarice, and licentiousness reign with them over the faithful. There is nothing sound or whole in the universal church; all its body is covered with an impure leprosy, from the sole of the feet to the crown of the head." The farce played, the two popes retired, each to the country of their jurisdiction, and committed new brigandages.

Gregory confiscated the property of the Italian ecclesiastics, who were suspected of a desire to put an end to the schism; he sold castles and ecclesiastical domains, created new magistrates, removed the old, and imposed extraordinary imposts on the clergy for the maintenance of his numerous soldiery. Notwithstanding the incessant marks of submission by his priests, he had no regard for them, and constantly threatened them with his anathemas, whenever they ventured to

address any remonstrances to him in regard to his withdrawal. Two of his cardinals having reminded him of the oath he had taken at the time of his exaltation, he made this reply to them: "Are you ignorant that popes have the power to take oaths and then perjure themselves if they wish to, since they are above every thing in this world?" A preacher of the order of the Carmelites having dared to maintain a contrary doctrine, was arrested by order of the pontiff, and put to the torture as a heretic.

To prevent a recurrence of such attacks upon his authority, Gregory published a bull prohibiting any ecclesiastic from delivering any sermon or public discourse, until it had been submitted to a censor. This arbitrary act excited opposition in all quarters, and the cardinals came in a body to entreat the holy father to retract this bull of iniquity. His reply was, that he would immediately frame a new college, as he was tired of their murmurs, and, in fact, he elevated to the cardinalate four priests, his creatures, who were steeped in debauchery.

All the cardinals then abandoned his court, and went to their estates. Leonard Aretin, who was at Lucca, relates this circumstance at length, in a letter addressed to his friend Petrillo; it is as follows: "We have well divined that the clouds, which were gathering on the horizon, would break in a terrible storm. The cardinals, who have been, for a long time, irritated at the insolence, perfidy, and pride of the pope, have at last lost their patience, and abandoned that vicious and obstinate old man. I praise your prudence in having foreseen the tempest and retired to Naples, and I blame myself for having dared it, by remaining here.

"You know the mystification to which these two popes have subjected their partizans in regard to the place which should be fixed on for their interview. Gregory affirmed that all cities were equally agreeable to him, provided they were not situated on the sea shore. Benedict found them all to his taste, provided they were not in the interior. It might have been supposed that one was an aquatic animal which had a horror of dry land, and the other a terrestrial animal which dreaded the water. Every body murmured at this conduct, and no one could see without indignation two men, more than septuagenarians, sacrificing religion and the church to reign for a few days longer over the consciences of the simple. The cardinals of Gregory having dared to address remonstrances to him on this subject, he determined to frame a new court for himself, and convened the sacred college in consistory to ratify the promotions of his creatures. Several members resisted, and wished to leave the assembly. The pontiff then descended from his throne, and placing himself before the door of the saloon, threatened them with his wrath if they should dare to leave the consistory without his orders. After this he gave a signal to armed men to surround the council hall. The prelates, filled

with indignation, regarded each other in astonishment without speaking; at last the cardinal Raynald, of Saint Vit, broke the silence, and demanded from Gregory what he wished them to do. 'I intend,' he replied, 'to provide for the safety of the church by making an entire reformation of the sacred college.'—'No,' replied the former, 'it is its ruin you desire.' Then advancing resolutely into the midst of the assembly, 'No,' he added, in a firm and strong voice: 'it is much better to suffer all kinds of torture than the indignities of this execrable pope!' This rally, as you might suppose, my dear Petrillo, excited great agitation in the council. Some, dreading the vengeance of Gregory, exclaimed, that they ought to obey him: others, transported with rage, heaped curses and reproaches on him; others contented themselves with groans and tears.

"I myself saw the venerable cardinal Colonna cast himself on his knees before the pontiff and beseech him, with joined hands, to desist from such a measure; but instead of allowing himself to be softened by tears and prayers, Gregory became still more insolent. He prohibited the cardinals from leaving the city of Lucca under penalty of being declared heretics, and as such to be burned: he then drove them from the consistory with blows of halberds. One of our cardinals, the bishop of Liege, a German, escaped in the disguise of a porter, and retired to a small town in the territory of Florence. As soon as Gregory was informed of this flight, he sent a troop of horse in pursuit of the prelate, with orders to bring him back, dead or alive. Fortunately for the bishop, the garrison of the town in which he had taken refuge defended him, and repulsed the soldiers of the pope: several were slain, and the rest forced to fall back on Lucca. From this resulted a quarrel between the governor and the holy father, and, favoured by the confusion, the cardinals escaped to Pisa, where they are now in safety."

As soon as the members of the sacred college were established in this last residence, they published the following manifesto against Gregory: "We have left the court of that accursed pope because he desired to murder several of us, and because we knew that he was making, in his palace, irons to chain us, and instruments of torture to be applied to us, as Urban the Sixth did to some of our predecessors. For our own safety, and that of the church, we have removed our persons beyond the reach of the cruelty of this schismatic pope, and we protest before all Christendom against his acts of violence. We also protest against his prohibition of our assembling in any place without his authority; because such an order overthrows the institution of our college, which has a right to assemble to judge of the principles of the faith, heresies, and schisms. We also protest against the prohibition of communion with the cardinals or deputies of Benedict the Thirteenth, or with the ambassadors of the court of France; because we are compelled by our oath to take all measures which

shall be necessary to restore union to the church. Finally, we appeal from his decretals and anathemas, to a general council, which, according to the custom of the church, shall judge his actions and ours."

This declaration was made known to Gregory in a public consistory, whilst he was giving to the cardinals of the last promotion the rings and other marks of their dignity. During the sitting, the holy father fulminated a terrible anathema against the signers of the protest, declaring them to be stripped of their dignities, deprived of their benefices, and interdicted from all sacerdotal functions. The faithful, who were obedient to him, were prohibited from communing with them, or giving them an asylum, under penalty of incurring a like excommunication; and on the next day he sent to the different princes of his communion, a bull, in which he exposed the treason of his cardinals, who, according to his story, wished to depose him in order to recognise Peter de Luna.

They replied to the libellous calumniator by causing to be affixed to the pontifical palace and the cathedral of Lucca, the following act, which has been transmitted to us by Theodoric de Niem: "Anathema on Gregory the coward, the drunkard, and the knave; the man of blood, the illustrious robber, the schismatic, the heretic, the precursor of antichrist! Anathema upon him! He has mounted the chair of the apostle like a thief, to set fire to the four corners of the house of God, and to pull down its columns! Anathema upon him, for he is associated in an infernal conspiracy with the infamous Benedict, a worthy co-partner in his work of violence and iniquity. Not content with what they have already done, these two wretches still wish to bend beneath their tyranny, prelates, princes, kings, and people, and to take from them the very garments which cover them. But we are about to arrest the evil, and undeceive the nations, by opening their eyes, and teaching them that the popes are insatiable and cruel impostors, who, in the name of God, impudently make sport of men, and seek to render their reign eternal by stifling the light of knowledge.

"You, Gregory! We will unveil all your turpitudes and your incestuous amour with your own sister. We will cite you before our tribunal at Pisa to depose you from the Holy See, which you have usurped and profaned, and to degrade you from every dignity. If you shall refuse to appear before us, we shall none the less proceed with your condemnation.

"We have already deposed your chamberlains, those purveyors of your hideous lubricity; we have excommunicated Gabriel, your eldest son, who is also your minion; the archbishop of Ragusa, your prothonotary, who has filled your bald head with the fumes of pride; and, finally, your legate, that young monk, your partner in bestiality!"

Whilst they were thus proceeding in Italy against Gregory, the king of France caused Benedict the Thirteenth, who was still at

Genoa, to be notified by his ambassadors, that if the union was not concluded before the festival of the Ascension, he should prohibit his re-entering his kingdom or even Provence. The pontiff sent at once to Charles, several of his confidential friends, with a bull, containing these propositions: "The sovereign father of the faithful, declares ecclesiastics, lords, princes, kings, and people, whose opinions are contrary to his, excommunicated; he anathematizes those who retract from the obedience due to him, and who refuse him the levies of pence or the collation of benefices; finally, if in twenty days France is not entirely subjected to him, he will pronounce a general interdict upon all its territories, will suspend all the beneficiaries, and will free the faithful from their oaths of allegiance to the king and princes; he will, moreover, give the crown to a monarch who will be devoted and submissive to him."

As soon as the envoys of the pontiff had fulfilled their mission, they left Paris, without waiting for the decision of the council, which they supposed would be unfavourable to them, as was the case. The French ecclesiastics and the members of the university, declared by their organ, John of Courtecuisse, that Benedict was an obstinate schismatic and heretic, a disturber of the peace of church and state, and as such, could no longer be regarded as pope or cardinal; that they ought to refuse obedience to him, place him under the ban of the kingdom, and punish those who gave him council, aid, succour, protection, or asylum. His bulls were torn by the hands of the executioner, and the priests, who had the audacity to carry it, were condemned to an ignominious punishment, of which the monk of St. Denis has left us a description.

"The horsemen of the pope's stable were caught on their route," says the chronicle, "and, that their punishment should render the partizans of Peter de Luna more circumspect in future, they placed paper mitres on Sancho Lopez and his colleagues, clothed them in a dalmatic of black cloth, on which were the arms of Benedict the Thirteenth, covered with insulting placards; and in this condition they were led about in a tumbril filled with filth and excrements, as far as the court of the palace; they caused them to mount a scaffold, and in the presence of an immense crowd the executioner buffeted them, and spit in their faces, as a mark of contempt."

At the request of the university, King Charles addressed a letter to the two colleges of cardinals, to exhort them to meet and labour efficaciously for the extinction of the schism. Benedict, finding himself rejected by the French, and hunted by King Ladislaus, was compelled to quit Genoa, remount his galleys and keep the sea for two months without daring to land. Finally, he disembarked in Catalonia, and went to Perpignan, a frontier city of France and Arragon, to abide in safety the end of the storm.

After having regularly cited the two popes before their tribunal, the cardinals of both

parties assembled in the cathedral of Pisa; a crier, standing on the threshold of the church, summoned Benedict and Gregory in a loud voice, and as they did not appear, nor any one for them, the two rivals were, after the third call, declared to be contumacious; the patriarch of Alexandria then mounted the pulpit of the church, and pronounced the following sentence:—"In the name of Jesus Christ, the sacred universal council, assembled under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, after having examined the accusations against Peter de Luna and Angelo Corario, declare that these two infamous men are guilty of enormous iniquities and excesses; that they should be cut off for ever from the church, and rejected from the bosom of God. Consequently, they are, as such, deposed from every sacerdotal function, and prohibited from styling themselves sovereign pontiffs. The council declares the Holy See vacant, and that the lawful ecclesiastics shall proceed to the regular election of a pope, and those who shall refuse to submit to this sentence shall be handed over to secular justice, as the divine precepts and sacred canons command.

"The council, moreover, erases and annuls the procedures, decretals, excommunications, and interdicts fulminated against clergy and

laity, by the two popes; they absolve from all their oaths, Christians who have ranged themselves under their rule, prohibiting them expressly from obeying the two rivals, and from giving them counsel and an asylum, under the penalty of anathema, and other censures, pronounced by the holy fathers.—Finally, the council erases the promotions to the cardinalate, or rather the profanations committed by Angelo Corario, since the 3d of May, 1408, and by Peter de Luna, since the 15th of June, in the same year."

Immediately afterwards the cardinals went into conclave, to choose a pope, and signed the following engagement:—"We, the members of the sacred college, bishops, priests, and deacons, assembled at Pisa, for the extinction of the schism, engage, by oath on the sacred body of Christ, to continue the council, even after the election of a sovereign pontiff, and not to permit it to be dissolved before having made a lawful, reasonable, and sufficient reform in the church, as well for its chief as its other members." On the same evening, twenty-four cardinals assembled in the episcopal palace of Pisa, and ten days afterwards they proclaimed as chief of the universal church, Peter Philargi or Philaret, of Candia.

ALEXANDER THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH POPE, AT ROME.

BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

GREGORY THE TWELFTH, BECOME ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1409.]

History of Peter Philargi before his election—Louis of Anjou recognised by him as king of Sicily—Weakness of Alexander's government—His bulls—He re-establishes the authority of the Holy See in Rome—His journey to Bologna—France refuses him the tenths—Cardinal Balthasar Cossa administers poison to him—His obsequies.

SEVERAL cotemporary historians, among others the monk of St. Denis, Theodoric of Niem, Monstrelet, Philip of Bergamo, and Platina, affirm that Peter Philargi, surnamed the cardinal of Milan, was born in the isle of Candia or Crete; other chroniclers maintain that he was of Novaro or Bologna, and several relate that at his death the holy father declared he was a Milanese, and originally from a city called Candia, situated in the territory of Pavia. Although there are these different versions, his election is none the less one of the most extraordinary examples of the pranks of fortune; and it appears as if Divine Providence was pleased to draw this pope from the most profound abyss of baseness, to elevate him slowly and by degrees to the culminating point of greatness and glory.

In his earliest infancy, Peter Philargi had been abandoned on the high road, so that he

afterwards avowed that he would be much embarrassed in enriching and favouring his relatives as his predecessors had done, since he had known neither father nor mother, nor any one in the world attached to him by ties of blood. He wandered through the streets of Candia, imploring alms from door to door, when an Italian Cordelier accidentally met him. Touched by the state of the child, whose intelligent and suffering physiognomy announced intelligence beyond his years, the monk took him to his monastery to serve in the church. His protector taught him Latin and the holy scriptures, and induced him to make such rapid progress in his studies, that they gave him the habit as soon as he attained his fifteenth year; he was then sent to the universities of Oxford and Paris, where he received the cap of a doctor.

On his return to Italy, the young Cordelier

was invited to the court of John Galeas, the tyrant of Milan, to occupy the post of councillor. This prince, charged him some years afterwards, with an important mission, of which he acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his master and that of the emperor Wenceslaus, who elevated him to the dignity of a prince of the empire. Through the influence of Galeas, he then obtained the bishopric of Placenza, and in succession those of Vicenza, Novarro and Milan.

Alexander was affable and liberal to every one; but, according to Theodoric of Niern, he was unfortunate in allowing his scandalous bestialities to be too publicly known. He also loved good cheer and rich wines, and was intoxicated regularly every night; so that his familiar friends allowed no one to approach him in his moments of revelling. They had the better cause to do so, since the holy father placed no bounds to his largesses, and gave away to his last crown, saying, "I have been a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and I wish to be a mendicant pope."

Notwithstanding these faults, Alexander attracted to himself the love of the Romans. Of a frank and loyal character, he constantly refused to imitate the example of his predecessors; and, as he was incapable of wearing a mask of hypocrisy in the different acts of his government which required deceit, he was almost always represented by the officers of his court, who had been initiated into the art of deceiving men by Gregory the Twelfth, or Innocent the Seventh.

The election of Alexander was received with acclamations of joy in the different Christian states, and especially in France; deputies from Florence, Sienna, and several other Italian cities, came to him at Pisa, to take the oath of obedience to him, and Charles of Anjou presented himself at the council to render his homage to the holy father. As a recompense for this mark of condescension, Alexander declared him king of Naples and Sicily, and standard bearer of the Roman church, to the great discontent of Ladislaus, his competitor.

After the exaltation of the pope, and the ceremonies of the pierced chair, the council recommenced its sessions, and published various decrees, approving and ratifying the collations, provisions, promotions, translations of prelacies as well as the dignities, consecrations, or ordinations, granted or made by the rivals or their predecessors. They also confirmed the dispensations and absolutions of reserved cases which had been made during the schism. Alexander remitted to all churches the arrears of large and small services which they owed the apostolic churches up to the day of his promotion; he declared that he should not reserve to himself the spoils of deceased prelates, nor the revenues of vacant benefices, and that in no case should the property of the church be hereafter alienated or hypothecated by popes or cardinals.

These regulations were reduced to the shape of bulls, and sent to Christian kings and

princes, that they should be executed at once in their states. The pontiff would, doubtless, have gone further in his plans of reform, if the ecclesiastics themselves, who wished to maintain the abuses which enriched them, had not stopped him by demanding the closing of the council. Nicholas Clemangis wrote on this subject—"The council of Pisa deceived the people! The cardinal and greedy men who composed it, led on by their passions and contemptible interests, prevented the reform of the clergy, which all good men wanted. This assembly of knaves at first proceeded to the election of a chief. When the pope was elected, they exacted that he should ratify the promotion and benefices which they coveted; and, as soon as they had obtained what they wanted, that is, their own advancement, they declared the peace of the church assured."

A few months after his election, Alexander undertook to overthrow the power of Robert of Bavaria, and re-establish Wenceslaus on the imperial throne. It was against his own interest, but he followed in it the inspirations of his heart, and manifested his gratitude to his former protector. Robert, on his side, in order to revenge himself on the pope, wished to prevent Germany from yielding him obedience; this attempt failed, because Alexander had been careful to appoint the elector of Nassau his hereditary legate for the city of Mayence. Thus, in defiance of the ill-will of the prince, the party of the holy father triumphed in Germany, and was reinforced by all those to whom he granted dispensations, dignities, and benefices, and even authority to contract unlawful or incestuous marriages.

Notwithstanding these apparent successes, the government of Alexander was feeble, and the holy father, kept as it were, in private confinement, dared not command, except during the sleep of those who imposed their will on him. Among his ministers the cardinal Balthasar Cossa had the first place; nothing was done without the orders of the favourite, and every one was subjected to his slightest caprices. It was at the instigation of this prelate that he issued several bulls in favour of the Minor and Mendicant Brothers, which were condemned by the university of Paris, which then erected itself into a sovereign court on all religious questions; it was also by Balthasar's counsels, that he fulminated against Ladislaus a sentence of anathema, remarkable for the history of the allegations against that prince.

"The infamous Ladislaus," said the pope in his decree of excommunication, "was nourished with the milk and substance of the Roman church, by the hands of Boniface the Ninth, who crowned him king of Naples and Sicily; since that period he has turned against the Holy See the arms which the church has placed in his hands, and compelled Innocent the Seventh to strike him with ecclesiastical thunders. He then returned, like a dog, crawling on the earth, to implore pity and pardon. His oaths of devotion and fidelity

touched the compassion of our predecessor, who granted him absolution, and he has anew fallen into his former sin. When Boniface granted to him, in fief, the kingdom of Naples and its appendages, which belonged to the Roman church, he engaged, for himself and his heirs, never to enter into any league with kings, princes, or lords who were enemies to the Holy See; he also swore not to seize on the Milanese, Tuscany, the city of Beneventum, the Campagna of Rome, the Isle of Maritimo, the duchy of Spoleto, the patrimony of St. Peter, the march of Ancona, Perouse, Bologna, Rome, or on other places belonging to the church; he promised to pay yearly to the apostolic treasury eight thousand marks of gold; he pledged himself on the sacred body of Christ to defend the rights, privileges, and independence of the Holy See against all its enemies, under penalty of excommunication and deposition should he fail to do so. Not only has this renegade refused to fulfil his promises, but has even become the greatest enemy to Christian peace, the most dangerous maintainer of the schism. Under pretext of sustaining the excommunicated Angelo Corario, he has seized upon the holy city, a large number of towns, several provinces, castles, and territories which belong to us, and he exercises unheard of cruelties against those who wish to recognise us as their lawful pontiff. We accordingly cite him to appear before our supreme tribunal, to be deprived of the kingdom of Sicily, and of his other goods and rights, as guilty of having violated his oath, of having invaded the territory of our see, and of having conspired against our council."

About the same time Alexander received envoys from Sbinko, the metropolitan of Prague, who informed him of the dangers with which the Catholic faith was menaced in Bohemia, and solicited a sentence of excommunication against the heretics who infected his province. His holiness received the delegates of the archbishop with distinction, and invited them several times to dine with him, which was one of his greatest favours, "for, in his eyes, the pleasures of the table surpassed all others," says Bernardin Corio, the Milanese historian; "and he pushed gormandising to such a point, that he prohibited his cook from preparing the ragouts, which were to appear on his table, until he had commenced his repast, in order to have the pleasure of waiting for every course and prolonging his festivities." At the conclusion of one of these dinners, the holy father, who had drunk extravagantly, granted to the deputies of Sbinko the bull which they asked for, and designated four masters in theology, and two in the canon law, to second the archbishop in his pursuit after those who taught the doctrines of Wickliff, whether in public or private; he gave them full power and authority to hand them over to the secular arm if it were necessary to repress their disturbances.

The plague had been depopulating Italy for some months, and threatened to alight on the

city of Pisa; the holy father immediately left his residence and retired to Prato, and thence to Pistoia, near Florence. It was there that he learned of the victory of Louis of Anjou over the troops of Ladislaus, and, in consequence of it, the evacuation of Rome by the hostile forces. Bzovius maintains that the French owed their success less to their courage than to the intrigues they had entered into with the states of Sienna, Florence, and Bologna, and several Italian princes. This crusade against Ladislaus had for leaders the cardinal Balthasar Cossa, Tanneguy du Chatel, Paul des Ursini, Malatesta, and Magnus Sforza.

"The confederates," says the historian, "first established secret communications in the place, and connected themselves with some influential citizens who were to excite a rising at a given signal. Balthasar Cossa then led straight to Rome a body of troops commanded by Paul des Ursini and Malatesta, and feigned a wish to attack two gates at once. The count of Troyes, who commanded in the holy city for Ladislaus, repulsed the assailants, who gave way before him and fled in disorder. This manœuvre determined him to make a sally, which was what the allies were waiting for. Scarcely had the Neapolitan troops passed the walls, when the tocsin of the capitol sounded to summon the people to revolt; at the same time Malatesta retraced his steps, charged the soldiers of Ladislaus vigorously, and drove them back into the city, where they were massacred by the insurgents. The count of Troyes had scarcely time to take refuge in the palace of the Colonna, from whence he escaped during the night, disguised as a monk."

Having become master of Rome, the cardinal Balthasar Cossa thought of preparing for himself the means of arriving at the pontificate; and as, for the execution of these plans, it was necessary that Alexander should not go to the pontifical city, he went to the holy father at Pisa, and induced him to pass the winter at Bologna, to wait until the agitation in Rome had entirely ceased. According to custom, the pontiff obeyed the cardinal; and, notwithstanding the snow and ice, parted with all his court for Bologna. A few days after his arrival, he received a deputation composed of the regionary prefects, ten bishops, and several Roman lords, who presented him with the keys of the holy city, beseeching him in the name of the people to come and take possession of the Vatican. The pontiff, desirous of complying with the urgent request of the ambassadors, determined, contrary to the advice of his minister, to change his former intentions, and go at once to Rome. He, at the same time, made a decree to advance the holding of the jubilee, which was a source of fortune to the inhabitants. But the cardinal Balthasar had determined that the pope should not return again to the holy city; and that he himself should receive the honours of the triumph which the Romans were preparing for Alexander. In consequence of this, on the eve of his departure, which was fixed

for the 3d of May, 1410, a poisoned clyster was administered to him by Daniel of Saint Sophia, his physician in ordinary, of which he died during the night.

On the next day, Daniel destroyed the evidences of the crime, by disembowelling his victim, under the pretext of embalming the body. "Then," says Andrew du Chene, "that venerable pontiff was borne into the hall, in which the consistory assembled, and remained exposed with his face uncovered, his feet naked, and the rest of the body clothed in the sacerdotal garments. His arms were placed on the four corners of his coffin; and during nine days the service for the dead was

celebrated nine times for him in the presence of the cardinals, patriarchs, bishops, abbots, doctors, and numerous clergy, who formed his court. On the tenth day, the cardinals of Thury, Viviers, and Malta, with Cossa (his assassin) bore him upon their shoulders to the cloister of the Cordeliers, where he was buried in the sanctuary of the church."

No important event occurred during this reign, which lasted less than a year; and, although the cardinals had appointed a third pope, the schism none the less continued, and the two popes, Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, exhibited no less obstinacy in their pretensions.

JOHN THE TWENTY-THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWELFTH POPE, AT ROME.

BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, AT AVIGNON.

GREGORY THE TWELFTH, ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1410.]

The cardinal Balthasar Cossa seizes the tiara—His history before his pontificate—He makes his entry into Rome—Gives the imperial crown to Sigismund—Demands subsidies from France—Opposition of the university to the levy of tenths—Victory of Louis of Anjou over Ladislaus—Treaty between the holy father and the king of Naples—Council of Rome—Singular adventure of an owl—Bull against the followers of Wickliff—Exactions of John the Twenty-third—Conduct of Benedict the Thirteenth in Spain—History of the inquisition of Spain—The holy office and its familiars—Agreement between Benedict the Thirteenth and the Jews—Ladislaus seizes Rome—Flight of the pope and cardinals—Negotiations between John the Twenty-third and Sigismund—Ladislaus is poisoned by one of his mistresses at the instigation of the pope—Council of Constance—Intrigues of the pope—Atrocious accusations against John the Twenty-third—Arrest and deposition of the pope—Gregory the Twelfth solemnly withdraws his claims on the papacy—Decree against Benedict the Thirteenth—Punishment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague—Election of a fourth pontiff.

DURING the nine days which preceded the assembling of the conclave, the cardinals were engaged in their usual intrigues of buying and selling votes. More skilful than his colleagues, Balthasar Cossa formed a powerful party for himself among the people of Bologna, by distributing grain and money. He also attached to his interests Louis the Third, duke of Anjou, by promising him his aid in the conquest of Naples; he then encompassed Bologna with free companies, whose presence he knew was a cause of terror to his colleagues.

This done, he convened the conclave for the 14th of May, 1410; he presented himself in the costume of a corsair, clad in a coat of mail, with a sword by his side, and took his place among the cardinals, threatening them with his displeasure, if they dared appoint a pope who was not agreeable to him. All the prelates, chilled by fear, listened in silence to the blasphemies of this abominable assassin; at last one of them proposed to elevate the cardinal of Malta to the sovereign pontificate.—"No, I reject him," exclaimed Balthasar;

other cardinals nominated, successively, the bishop of Palestrina, the metropolitan of Ravenna, and the archbishop of Bordeaux. He rejected them all. At last the members of the conclave, alarmed and trembling, and thinking only of their personal safety, besought him to designate the cardinal whom he would wish to appoint pope.—"Well, then I give myself the pontifical mantle," he replied to them, "and I will cover with it the only cardinal who is worthy to wear it." He put it on at once, and stretching out his arm toward the tiara, exclaimed, "I am pope." He then went to the cathedral for the ceremony of the pierced chair, and was crowned by the name of John the Twenty-third.

Theodoric of Niem says, positively, "that the holy father was an intruder, that he broke the pontifical gate with a golden axe, and had closed the jaws of the Cerberuses, who guarded the threshold, by casting to them the remains of his festivals, to prevent their barking at him."

Balthasar of Cossa, or Cuisse, was born of a noble Neapolitan family; his parents, not

city, by the pontiff, surrounded by his cardinals; the porch of the church of St. Peter was decorated as for a conqueror, and flags, still soiled with blood, were entwined about the high altar."

Balthasar then renewed the anathemas pronounced against the conquered prince, excommunicated his descendants to the third generation, declared them deprived of the thrones of Naples and Jerusalem, and solemnly crowned the conqueror. But whilst they were celebrating, with feasts, the success of the French prince, his competitor was rallying the remains of his army and levying new troops, so that he was soon ready to take the field and recommence hostilities, whilst Louis of Anjou, who had permitted his army to disorganize itself, found it impossible to struggle against Ladislaus, and was obliged to return to France. The pope, who found himself exposed, by this precipitate departure, to cruel reprisals, thought of his personal safety, and hastened to send secret agents to Ladislaus to negotiate peace. The prince, who still thought himself defeated, listened joyfully to the proposals of the pope, and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were equally disgraceful to both parties. Balthasar recognised Ladislaus as the lawful king of Naples, engaged to place him in possession of Sicily, and to furnish him with troops; he appointed him grand standard bearer of the Roman church, and attached to this title a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, hypothecated on the cities of Ascoli, Viterba, Perouse, and Beneventum; and, finally, he entirely remitted to him the rental of forty thousand ducats which Naples had owed, for ten years, to the Holy See. On his side, Ladislaus engaged to recognise John the Twenty-third as the sole lawful sovereign of the church, he swore to constrain Gregory the Twelfth to renounce the pontificate, by giving him, in exchange, a pension of fifty thousand ducats, the government of the March of Ancona, and three cardinals' hats for his relatives.

In consequence of this singular treaty the prince signed the following declaration: "After having doubted for some time the regularity of the promotion of Balthasar Cossa to the apostolic chair, we have sought the light of truth, and it has pleased God to inform us, that John the Twenty-third has been canonically chosen. On this account we take an oath of obedience and fidelity to him in our own name and that of our subjects."

During the conclusion of this bargain between the altar and the throne, Gregory was at Gaeta, under the protection of the prince who was selling him to his enemy. Though a prisoner, the holy father did not wish to yield; and as soon as he was informed of this great treason, he assembled his court to determine on the best mode of escaping from the peril. It was immediately decided that he should, with his cardinals, embark for the March of Ancona, and claim the assistance of Charles Malatesta, duke of that province. Gregory took up his residence at Rimini, from

whence, in accordance with the custom of the popes, he thundered forth anathemas on all his competitors and their adherents.

After his treaty with the king of Naples, John the Twenty-third governed Rome as an absolute despot, bearing down the citizens by his exactions, and sparing neither his cardinals nor the officers of his court; for Theodorico of Niern relates, that he invited the ecclesiastics of his party to festivals, in order to make an appeal to their purse under the name of the Collection for the Communion. "Behold," adds this author, "how the holy father accomplished it. He spread before his guests generous wines, and when intoxication came on, he called in his chamberlain, who presented empty urns in which each placed his offering. Those who declined assisting at the orgies of Balthasar Cossa, none the less escaped his cupidity. The officers of the apostolic chamber came on the next day to present to them quittances for sums borrowed from the holy father; those who said they owed nothing were immediately arrested, conducted to the dungeons of the Vatican, and tortured by the inquisitors, who forced them, according to the quaint expression of John, 'to untie their purse.'"

He also levied imposts on wine, grain, and salt, and even the work of artisans: finally, following the example of the king of France, he altered the money, and entirely ruined the commerce of Lower Italy. All the wealth which he wrested from the people was divided among his concubines and minions, or swallowed up in useless or ridiculous works. It was thus that he spent prodigious sums in building the inner wall of the burgh of St. Peter, and in piercing a hidden way between the passages of the walls, by which to introduce, secretly, into his palace the victims of his debauchery or his tyranny.

Notwithstanding the apparent peace between the pontiff and the king of Naples, these two ambitious men carried on, none the less, a concealed war, as was easy to be seen on the occasion of the council which had been convened at the Vatican to confirm the proceedings of the synod of Pisa. The prince prohibited John from retarding the period of that assembly; and on his refusal to yield to his wishes, he occupied the environs of Rome with his troops, and prevented stranger prelates from entering the holy city. The result was, that this meeting was very small, though the holy father proudly gave it the name of an œcumenical council.

Clemangis relates a strange incident which happened very mal à propos during the deliberations of this council. "At the opening of the first session, after the celebration of the mass of the Holy Spirit, an owl flew suddenly from a corner of the church and lighted upon the drapery of the pontifical throne, from whence it steadily regarded John the Twenty-third. All the prelates manifested their astonishment that this bird, an enemy to light, should leave its retreat in full day. Some drew from it baneful presages; others could

not avoid laughing, and said that the Holy Spirit had taken a strange form in which to descend among them. The pope alone, swayed by a superstitious fear, could not sustain the fixed, immovable stare of the owl: he descended from his throne, and left the church; the assistants followed his example, and left the field free to the bird of Minerva. On the next day the same scene was renewed. Scarcely had the prothonotary commenced reading the programme of the council, than the owl took its flight, and after having made several turns around the nave, came as before, to seat itself upon the pontifical dais. John, more master of himself than before, remained calm, and ordered the fathers to kill the animal which interrupted their holy deliberations. Immediately cardinals, bishops, abbots commenced a pursuit of the owl, casting their crosses and bonnets at it, chased it every where, and caused it to fall palpitating on the high altar, where it was killed by a cardinal."

Order being restored to the assembly, the business of the session was recommenced; they were first engaged in regulating the precepts which commanded reformers, whose doctrines were contrary to the belief of the Roman church, and tended to overthrow the pontifical authority, to be handed over to the executioners.

The following was the bull for this purpose: "Since then there have risen up audacious spirits, infamous teachers, who dare to condemn the sovereign power which the vicar of Christ has received from God himself, we denounce them to the faithful as corrupters of the faith, who wish to crush religion beneath the ruins of the church, and we rank among these the commentators on the writings of the abominable John Wickliff, that infamous heretic, who calls the popes mere bishops, who accuses them of having destroyed Christian doctrines and worship, and evangelical morality, and having subjected the faithful to the practices and pomps of paganism. This philosophical rhetorician, having breathed his spirit of corruption into all the schools of Christendom, and into the universities, we have determined to follow the advice of the apostle, and exterminate the heretics to the last one, since a morsel of heaven suffices to corrupt the whole lump. Before, however, pronouncing a terrible sentence upon the guilty, we wished to illumine our mind by the lights of our cardinals, bishops, and orthodox doctors, and it is after a solemn deliberation, that we have condemned the works of the English Wickliff, his Dialogue, Trialogue, and other small works as favouring heresy; in consequence of our decision, they will be publicly burned in all the kingdoms of Christendom, and the pupils of the excommunicated shall be delivered over to the holy tribunal of the inquisition to be tortured; for Christ has said, 'If any one remains not in me, he shall be cut off as a vine branch, he shall be dried, cast into the fire and burned.'"

It was the first bull issued by the popes against the reformed doctrines, which had

already sprung up under the name of Hussism, from that of John Huss, the successor of Wickliff, and which were soon to separate the Christians of the west into two powerful sects, the Protestants and Catholics.

Although John the Twenty-third appeared to triumph in Rome, his competitors none the less exercised sovereign authority at their residences; Gregory the Twelfth fulminated his anathemas in the March of Ancona, and Benedict the Twelfth strengthened himself in the kingdom of Arragon, by confirming the usurpation of Frederick, count of Urgel, and transmitting to him the rights of the legitimate sovereigns of that kingdom over Sicily, Sardinia, and the island of Corsica. Gregory, however, imposed, as a condition, on that prince, that he should furnish to him every year three armed galleys, an hundred thousand ducats, and troops enough for his defence.

Peter de Luna, tired of inaction, wished, as employment, to convert the Jews of Arragon, and proposed public conferences at Tortosa, to confound, as he said, all the Hebrew doctors. The learned Rabbi Solomon, the celebrated Ben Virga, and Vidal, as well as several Israelites of profound knowledge went to this assembly. Benedict received them with great kindness and spoke thus to them:—"Honourable Hebrews, remains of a nation once cherished by Jehovah, and now rejected from the bosom of God, children of David, welcome to the temple of Christ, and profess courageously before us the faith of Moses." He then read them a long discourse, commencing with these words of Isaiah:—"Come, let us argue our rights boldly, but if you are rebellious you shall be consumed by the sword."

When he had finished his discourse, the Rabbi Vidal, undismayed by the threatening text of the prophet, spoke and replied to all the arguments of the pontiff with a power of logic and elegance of dialectics which were the admiration of the assistants. According to the account of the Jewish historian, Abunstioc, his coreligionists had the advantage in this theological quarrel. On the other hand, if we are to believe the assertions of Surita, author of the annals of Arragon, and the chronicler Nicholas Antoninus, the pope obtained prodigious success, and converted Jews by thousands. This last opinion is not very admissible, since it was at the same period that Benedict published his constitutions against the Israelites, closed their synagogues, prohibited them from exercising any business, or lending money, and handed them over to the tribunals of the inquisition, that terrible institution, which covered the soil of Spain, Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon, from the commencement of the fourteenth century, and which yearly renewed human sacrifices in honour of the divinity.

The schism had much influence over the Dominicans and familiars of the holy office; since some recognised Benedict, others Gregory the Twelfth, or John the Twenty-third; but the people of Spain gained nothing from

the disputes. Instead of one chief inquisitor, they had three; and as fortune favoured this or that party, he who triumphed, wishing to signalise himself over his predecessor by the magnificence of the auto-da-fé, augmented the number of victims who were handed over to the flames.

Before the arrival of Benedict, extraordinary tribunals had been established by his competitors in the provinces of Algarves and Valencia, to multiply and facilitate the researches of the inquisitors; the pope suspended them from their functions, not from a motive of humanity, but only because they were devoted to his enemies, and instituted new tribunals. His bull pointed out the general rules the inquisitors were to follow in the exercise of their dreadful ministry, and what were the crimes they were to punish.

"By our sovereign authority, and in the name of him who has conferred on us absolute power on earth and in heaven, we declare," said the holy father, "tainted with heresy, and we hand over to the tribunals of the inquisition:

"Those who in their blasphemies shall have enunciated heterodox principles on the omnipotence or attributes of the divine Trinity, even when made in a burst of passion or the delirium of drunkenness.

"Those who are addicted to black magic, divinations, enchantments, or witchcrafts, or who in their operations use words derogatory to religion.

"Those who make agreements with the spirits of darkness to obtain favours from them, or who swear obedience, faith, and adoration, on a book called the Clavicle of Solomon.

"Those who, after having been excommunicated, remain an entire year without purchasing absolution, or satisfying the penance which had been imposed on them.

"Those who admit the orthodox faith, but who refuse blind obedience to the pope, and who do not recognise him as vicar of Christ, and supreme chief of the faithful.

"The receivers, favourers, and adherents of heretics and schismatics.

"Those who condemn the sacred institution of the tribunal of the inquisition, or who place obstacles in the way of its justice.

"All sovereigns, princes, or governors of kingdoms, provinces, and cities, who will not undertake the defence of the church when required to do so by the inquisitors.

"Lawyers who favour heresies, by aiding schismatics with their advice, and who seek to deliver them from the justice of the inquisitors.

"All persons who give ecclesiastical burial to excommunicated persons; since the dead, denounced as heretics, cannot be submitted to the punishment they have deserved, their memory should be branded, their bones exhumed, and burned, and their property confiscated to the Holy See.

"Finally, all writers, whose works contain propositions contrary to the faith or obedience due to the pope, or who set forth principles whose consequences can lead to heresy."

VOL. II.

O

Although this decree subjected to the jurisdiction of the inquisitors all persons guilty of the crimes comprised in these categories, it nevertheless excepted popes, legates, nuncios, and officers of the Holy See; even though they were recognised heretics, the inquisitors could not pursue them without a special order from the pontifical court. The same prerogative extended to the chiefs of some dioceses, but not to princes, who were all within the jurisdiction of the holy inquisition, and could be burned like the meanest of their subjects.

Whilst Benedict was desolating Spain with his legions of inquisitors, John the Twenty-third was pursuing his infamous career in Italy. He finally became so execrated by the Romans, that Ladislaus determined to profit by the hatred of which he was the object, to overthrow his authority, and seize on the holy city. For this purpose he organised a conspiracy, and bribed several companies of soldiers, a kind of people who are ever ready to sell themselves. When every thing was ready, the prince appeared before Rome with some chosen troops, penetrated the enclosure of the church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, through an opening which had been pierced in the ramparts, and threw himself, with his troops, into the streets. A frightful massacre then commenced; all the bishops, priests, and monks, who fell into the hands of the soldiers were mercilessly massacred, nuns were violated, churches pillaged, convents burned, and the rage of the stormers only ceased when they had nothing more to destroy.

Ladislaus then went to the Vatican to arrest the pope, who, fortunately for himself, had escaped with his cardinals at the commencement of the action. The conqueror was obliged to keep within bounds in the pillage of the pontifical palace; but he laid violent hands on the sacred ornaments of the chapel, the jewels, the relics of saints which were enclosed in boxes of massive gold or silver, and adorned with precious stones.

The profanations did not stop there; by the orders of the king of Naples, the soldiers transformed the church of St. Peter into a barrack, fed their horses on the altar of the apostle, and of each of the chapels of this magnificent church made places of debauchery. The arms and statues of John the Twenty-third were broken, his banners torn down, and after fifteen days of obstinate strife, Ladislaus drove out all the partizans of the pope, and remained the absolute master of Rome. The citizens were oppressed by the new tyrant, as they had been by John the Twenty-third. "So much," says an ancient author, "that it really appeared that popes and kings took pleasure in showing to the people that their institution is nothing less than divine, and that it would be better to slay them all."

Whilst surveying the levy of forced impositions which he had inflicted on the holy city, Ladislaus did not lose sight of the advantages he could draw from his position. Like a skilful politician, he resolved to give

no relaxation for repose to the enemy whom he had overthrown, and he sent in pursuit of John a troop of horse, who drove him successively from Sutri, Viterba, Monte Fiascone, and Siena. Pressed by the danger, the holy father wished to place himself under the protection of a powerful city which could resist his enemy, and addressed the Florentines for permission to take refuge among them; his demand having been rejected, he fell back on Bologna, where he had still a great preponderance.

Finding himself, however, tracked like a wild beast, and fearful of being besieged in his last asylum, John determined to treat with the emperor Sigismund, in order, by his aid, to re-seize his authority over all Italy. The ambassadors charged with this important mission, were the cardinals Chalant and Zabarellus, and the celebrated Greek monk Manuel Chrysoloras, the regenerator of polite literature in the west. They were instructed to discuss with Sigismund the period for holding a general council, and to oppose, with all their might, the choice of a city which was a dependency on the empire for this meeting. The emperor fixed upon Constance, a city of the dutchy of Suabia; and his will on the subject was so formally expressed to the deputies that they were obliged to submit to it.

John, on being informed of the result of the negotiation, cursed the fatality which constrained him to convene a council in a foreign country, and deliver himself bound hand and foot to a prince who had been hitherto his enemy. Still, as he could do nothing but submit, he dissimulated his discontent, and solicited a private interview with the emperor. Sigismund consented to his request, and came to receive him at Lodi; but all the eloquence of John could not change the determination of the prince, and he was obliged to accede to Constance as the place for holding the synod.

These preliminaries being arranged, the pope left the emperor, and returned to Bologna with Francis Gonzaga, one of his partizans. He was scarcely installed when he learned that Ladislaus was hastening, at the head of a considerable army, to besiege him in his residence. The cardinals were at once seized with a panic, and deserted the pontifical court to the last man. John alone waited for his enemy unalarmed; the reason was simple—he had taken measures to have him poisoned by one of his mistresses.

Monstrelet, a cotemporary chronicler, thus relates the death of the king of Naples:—"This prince could not live many years, because he was too much abandoned to debauchery, and because he had created too much hatred by his cruelties; thus he died, poisoned in an infamous manner. One of his mistresses, the daughter of a physician, bribed by John the Twenty-third, became the instrument of the vengeance of the pope.

Ladislaus being dead, the holy father quitted Bologna, and went to the council of Constance; he had first, however, strengthened himself with assistance in case of reverse,

and made a treaty of alliance with the duke of Austria, whom he appointed captain-general of the troops of the Roman church, adding to his title a pension of six thousand florins, on the apostolic treasury: he had also purchased the protection of Bouchard, marquis of Baden, and of John, count of Nassau, elector of Mayence, paying him therefor, sixteen thousand florins of gold. Although he had taken all the precautions which prudence commanded, John still dreaded the consequences of a council which might depose him, and resolved to dissolve it, under some pretext, as soon as the fathers had assembled.

Several writers, who accompanied the holy father in his journey, relate divers incidents which show how much his mind was tormented, and what was his disquietude as to the result of the conferences. "Whilst we were on the mountain of Arlberg, in the Tyrol, says Theodorich of Niern, the pope fell from his horse, and we hastened to raise him up, asking him if he were wounded.—'Not by all the devils,' he exclaimed, 'but this fall is a sinister prestige, and indicates to me that I had better have remained at Bologna,' and looking at the city of Constance in the valley, he added, 'I really believe that is the ditch in which they trap foxes.'"

At length, on the 18th of October, 1414, he entered the city, and found assembled there the ambassadors of all the kings of Europe, lords, princes, a crowd of bishops, the legates of Gregory the Twelfth and Benedict the Thirteenth, and deputations from all the trades. According to the details which have been preserved to us in the manuscript of Breslau, the assembly numbered four patriarchs, twenty-eight cardinals, thirty metropolitans, two hundred and six bishops, three hundred titular bishops, two hundred and three abbots, eighteen auditors of the sacred palace, four hundred and forty doctors in theology and law, twenty-seven prothonotaries, two hundred and forty writers of bulls, one hundred and twenty-three procurators of the pope, a crowd of attendants of various kinds, twenty-seven ambassadors of kings, dukes or counts, and, finally, a great number of deputies from bishops, cities, and universities.

In his opening discourse, Sigismund informed the fathers, that he had convened them to take, with their assistance, proper measures to restore peace to the church, by putting an end to the schism, and that he consequently thought it advantageous to the cause, to hold a meeting, at which John the Twenty-third himself should be refused admission, in order that the debates should not be constrained. The wary pope, who knew the venality of those who were to judge him, made no objection, and feigned even to wish to remain a stranger to their deliberations; but his agents manoeuvred with so much skill, and knew so well how to use presents, threats, and promises, that the influential members of the assembly embraced his side and made him master of the council.

All was going as he wished, when, unfor-

tunately the opponents got wind of what was occurring; the emperor, to defeat his skilful combinations, decided that the votes should be received by nations, and not individually; then, without leaving to the pontiff longer time to form new intrigues, he put the vote on the proposition, declaring the Holy See vacant; this was carried. During the same sitting they presented to his holiness a formula of cession thus drawn:—"I, John the Twentieth, declare, pledge myself, and swear to God and this sacred council, to give freely, and of my own free will, peace to the church, by my pure and simple withdrawal from the pontificate, which I promise to execute as soon as Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth shall have renounced their pretended rights, or shall have died." After many difficulties the holy father consented to read it aloud in the assembly; when he arrived at the words, "I swear," he went down on his knees, and laying his hand on a crucifix, swore to observe the conditions indicated in the formula of cession.

The emperor immediately raised him, and urged the fathers to proceed to the election of a new pope; but at this proposal, John bounded from his seat, declared that there was an end to concessions, and threatened to quit Constance if the prince persisted in his criminal plans. In reply, Sigismund ordered his officers to place guards at all the gates of the city, and signified to the pontiff, that he must subscribe his abdication at once and without any restriction. John formally refused to obey him, called him a fool, drunkard, barbarian, scoundrel, beggar, and threatened him with ecclesiastical thunders. Sigismund, not daring to use him roughly, contented himself with causing him to be conducted to his palace, and gave orders not to lose sight of him. John, however, found the means of deceiving the vigilance of his enemy, and one night on the eve of a grand fête, having made the soldiers who guarded him drunk, he disguised himself as a groom, and sallying forth on a sorry horse, covered with a stout linen cassock, and having a cross bow suspended to his saddle, he reached, without difficulty, the city of Schaffhausen, where the duke of Austria, who had aided his flight, came to meet him.

From this residence, John wrote to his officers to come to him under penalty of excommunication. He also addressed a letter to King Charles, the duke of Orleans, and the university of Paris, to explain his conduct, and render the emperor and the council suspected by the court of France. He even pushed his impudence so far as to write to Sigismund that he had not retired from the council from fear, but only on account of his health, that he might breathe a purer air than that of Constance. As he did not consider himself sufficiently safe at Schaffhausen, he went to Lauffenburg, on the Rhine, taking care, before his departure, to draw up, through a notary and in the presence of witnesses, a protest, by which all the acts which he had signed in council were declared

null and void, as having been wrested from him by violence.

Eight days had scarcely passed when the holy father abandoned this last residence. On receiving the news that the emperor was making preparations to attack the duke of Austria, his ally, he retired to Friburg in the Brisgau, a place reputed impregnable. From thence John could, in his turn, impose conditions on his foes; he sent to the fathers of the council a declaration, purporting that he was ready to return to Constance, if the ambassadors of all the powers and the princes pledged themselves to give him a safe conduct, and make no attempt on his liberty, whatever might be convenient for him to do; and that, in case they should deprive him of the Holy See, they should preserve to him the title of perpetual legate of Italy; with the enjoyment, during his life, of the province of Bologna, the county of Avignon, and a pension of thirty thousand florins of gold hypothecated on the cities of Venice, Florence, and Genoa; and, besides, that he should not be dependent on any power in the world, and be responsible to no one for his actions.

These overtures gave the fathers some hopes of being able to make arrangements with him, and they hastened to send deputies to him at Friburg. This shameless pope gave them an audience in his bed chamber, being still in bed and in a position most indecent. The pious prelates remained, however, near him, and appeared even to take pleasure in listening to his obscene recitals, so anxious were they to succeed in their negotiations. They then gave him an account of all that had occurred in the council during his absence, and the hope the fathers expressed to see him among them. Their harangue being terminated, John made this reply: "No, I will not place myself within the jaws of the wolf; return to that accursed council, an impure mixture of kings, cobblers, and courtisans; say to them who sent you, that I excommunicate them, and will never grant them truce nor repose."

The deputies, confused and abashed, returned to Constance, and announced to their colleagues the bad success of their efforts. They then continued the sittings and the informations against John, in order to proceed at once to his deposition.

John Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, having been appointed a prosecutor in this matter, read, in full audience, charges of an atrocious character, all sustained by material and irrefutable proof. He declared that it was formally demonstrated that John the Twentieth had reached the pontificate by causing his predecessor to be poisoned by his physician, Daniel of Saint Sophia; and, that he had then poisoned this latter with wine of cyprus, to avoid having cause to dread the indiscretions of an accomplice; that he had violated three hundred young nuns of different convents; that he had carried on incestuous relations with the wife of his brother; that he was addicted to the unnatural crime; that he

had abused a whole family, consisting of the mother, son, and three young sisters, of whom the oldest was scarcely twelve years old; that he had trafficked in bishoprics, holy orders, indulgences, taxes, graces, and even in ex-communications! Finally, that he had put thousands of innocent persons in Bologna and Rome to the torture.

In consequence of these facts, the fathers rendered the following sentence: "The general council of Constance, after having invoked the name of Christ and examined the accusations brought against John the Twenty-third, and established on irrefragable proof, pronounces, decrees, and declares, that Balthasar Cossa is the oppressor of the poor, the persecutor of the just, the support of knaves, the idol of simoniacs, the slave of the flesh, a sink of vices, a man destitute of every virtue, a mirror of infamy, a devil incarnate; as such, it deposes him from the pontificate, prohibiting all Christians from obeying him and calling him pope. The council further reserves to itself the punishment of his crimes in accordance with the laws of secular justice; and his pursuit as an obstinate and hardened, noxious and incorrigible sinner, whose conduct is abominable, and morals infamous; as a simoniac, ravisher, incendiary, disturber of the peace and union of the church; as a traitor, murderer, sodomite, poisoner, committer of incest, and corrupter of young nuns and monks!..." The decree of the fathers contained fifty-four articles, which the bishop of Posnanie read in public, and twenty other secret ones, so frightful were the crimes which they announced! And yet the monster who had committed them was entitled sovereign pontiff, chief of the church, father of the faithful, successor of the apostle, vicar of God on earth! He was declared to be infallible, and his decrees were received as if they had emanated from the Divinity itself!! Such are the doctrines of these depraved, ambitious, and cruel men, who endeavour to bring the art of duping the people to perfection, and who coin money on the steps of the altar and the throne.

All the turpitude of John the Twenty-third having been discovered, the duke of Austria dared no longer support him, and to make his peace with Sigismund, he betrayed the pope and caused him to be arrested in the town of Ratoffzell.

Having no longer any hope of escaping from his enemies, or of reconquering the Holy See, John determined to submit. After having listened to the decree which announced his withdrawal, he affixed his signature to it and approved of all its contents. He was then transferred to the fortress of Galleben; he was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, his domestics and pages were taken from him; a cook only being left him.

The assembly was then engaged in the condemnation of the celebrated John Huss, and his disciple Jerome of Prague; those bold innovators, who, sustained solely by the ascendancy which genius exercises over the masses, had dared to attack the sovereign

pontiffs, and preach religious reforms. John Huss was accused of a want of respect and submission to the Holy See, in a discourse which was produced on his examination, and which was as follows: "People, listen to my words, which are the words of God! Learn to know those popes who arrogate to themselves supreme authority over all the earth. Know that they are all knaves, despoilers, heretics, simoniacs, and assassins! Know that their true place is not in the church of Christ, but in hell with the devils! Extirpate with fire and sword all those ulcers which eat your flesh, and corrupt your blood. Renounce your superstitions which, like the leprosy of Job, attach you to a dunghill. Why do you adore a virgin who was the mother of seven children? Why do you invoke in your prayers idle monks, dead in the odour of sanctity? Will your eyes then remain for ever closed to the light, and refuse to see the infamies of those shameless priests, of those popes who deflower your daughters, blast your children, steal your gold, and send you to the scaffold when you dare to complain? . . ."

This intrepid reformer, far from recoiling from an examination of his doctrines, had himself, solicited a safe conduct from Sigismund, to defend his opinions before the fathers, and had gone to Constance; but by an act of meanness, worthy of a king, he had been arrested in contempt of conventions; and when the unfortunate man appeared before the council, it was as a criminal.

John Huss, sprung from the ranks of the people, owed to his eloquence and his immense erudition, the influence which he had over the minds of men, and which had led to the conversion of a great number of proselytes in his own country, Bohemia. He was large, well made, of a majestic carriage, with a grave and melancholy air, and a sonorous voice; to these external qualities which charmed the eye, he added an energy and force of character which ruled the mind. He was led before the assembly, ironed hand and foot, and was then mounted on an elevated platform, that he might be seen from all parts of the hall. When he appeared, murmurs of approbation were heard from several benches, and troubled the joy of the triumph of his enemies: these manifestations were of short duration, for a bull was almost immediately read, which prohibited every person from giving tokens of approval or disapprobation during the debate, under the penalty of anathema, fine and banishment.

Henry of Pisa, the attorney of the council, then rose and read a long requisition, in which John Huss was called heretical, seditious and captious. It concluded with the recommendation, that the fathers should condemn his works and their author to the flames.

The following are some of the articles pointed out by the public prosecutor: "The popes," said the reformer, "have forged falsehoods on falsehoods to build up the scaffoldings of their religious ceremonies; let them then point out a single passage in the gospels,

which proves that Jesus Christ invented mass."

"A priest in a state of mortal sin has not grace to administer the sacraments; since then they are the most perverse of men, it follows that few Christians have really received baptism and the eucharist.

"All auricular confession is useless when a sinner has admitted his fault, and sincerely asked pardon from God; those who maintain the contrary are knaves who wish to pervert young girls, or discover the secrets of families and the state.

"The pope has no power over Christians, because he is condemned; he is condemned because he possesses rich domains, and sumptuous palaces, which are contrary to the morality of Christ.

"All who give alms to monks will be damned, because they encourage sloth.

"We should not fear the excommunication of the pope, because antichrist has no power over the church. . . ."

John Huss was then submitted to interrogatories on different points of religious controversy; he replied to all those questions with enchanting eloquence, and remarkable logic; he retorted all the arguments of his enemies, convicted them of falsehood and imposture, demonstrated clearly the absurdity of the dogmas of Catholicism, and concluded by declaring that he would rather surrender his head to the executioner, than become the accomplice of popes and their supporters.

In vain did several fathers of the council, who shared his opinions, conjure him to abjure, to escape the punishment of fire. John remained unshakable in his faith; he rejected even the solicitations of the emperor, who offered him honours, dignities, and wealth. Prayers and promises being unable to produce his conversion, they had recourse to threats. Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, addressed him in the name of the council, and said to him, "that he must bend or break."—"I would rather," replied Huss, "that they should put a millstone around my neck and cast me from heaven into the sea, than deny the truth! Prepare your instruments of torture and your racks; tear out one by one all the fibres of my body; I prefer the most terrible punishments to the disgrace of being called the defender of popes and kings. Let your infernal proceedings take their course; give John Huss to the flames; but ere a century passes, there will spring from those ashes an avenger who will proclaim anew the truths which I have taught, and for which you would condemn Christ himself, should he return to earth." After this speech, his friends abandoned all hope of saving him, and left the assembly. The prosecutor then read the following sentence: "The council condemns John Huss to be degraded from the priesthood and all the orders which he has received, and it abandons him and his works to the punishment of fire."

On the next day, the martyr was led to execution, in the midst of an immense con-

course of people from all countries. He was clothed in a long linen robe, on which was written the word "heretic;" his head was surmounted with a long paper cap, on which were represented devils, deaths' heads, and flames. On the scaffold, John showed all the intrepidity of an apostle of the truth. He sung sacred songs in honour of the Eternal; and with his powerful voice he bade a last adieu to his disciples. After the execution of the master, they proceeded to judgment on Jerome of Prague, his disciple, who underwent, in the following year, the punishment of fire.

That could not, however, arrest the mission of these defenders of the people: what was material of them was burned, but their doctrines remained. The scaffold had devoured two victims, but the executioners lighted a violent fire which broke out five years afterwards, and which the blood of two hundred thousand Catholics could not extinguish. All Bohemia flew to arms; formidable bands were organised under John Ziska, one of the most ardent supporters of the heresy, which fell upon Germany, pillaged the churches, massacred the priests, monks, and nuns, annihilated the greater part of the armies which were sent against them, and did not return to their country until they had taken a terrible vengeance on the assassins of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

Thus the council accomplished two things; a great iniquity and an act of justice, the deposition of John the Twenty-third. The representatives of Gregory the Twelfth made in his name a solemn abdication, which was afterwards ratified by Angelo Corario himself. There remained still, to extinguish the schism, to obtain from Benedict the Thirteenth a renunciation of the pontificate, and they foresaw that his obstinacy might be a rock, on which all the efforts of the synod of Constance might break. The emperor decided to go himself to Peniscola, to confer with him on the subject; the king of Arragon joined his entreaties to those of Sigismund; but their prayers and their threats were alike useless. Benedict replied to them, that the schism was at an end, since his two rivals had voluntarily and freely renounced the pontificate; that he was consequently the sole legitimate chief of the universal church, and that he would never consent to cover himself with eternal disgrace by abdicating. The conferences were broken off and the two monarchs left the fortress of Peniscola.

Notwithstanding the refusal of Benedict to submit to the council of Constance, the fathers went on and rendered a sentence of deposition against him. It was then decided that they should proceed at once to the election of a new pope, and the cardinals entered the chamber of conclave by the light of torches, all the windows having been walled up, the doors were locked, two German princes and the grand master of Rhodes, were charged to keep watch day and night, around the conclave, and the inspection of the food destined

for the cardinals, was submitted to several bishops or doctors, in order to prevent any letter being concealed in the plates or cups. Three times a day the emperor came at the head of his clergy and sang the *Veni Creator*.

At length, on the third day, the cardinals proclaimed Otho Colonna, cardinal deacon of St. George, of the Veil of Gold, sovereign pontiff, and he was enthroned by the name of Martin the Fifth.

MARTIN THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH POPE, AT ROME.

BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH AND CLEMENT THE EIGHTH, ANTI-POPES.

[A. D. 1416.]

History of Otho Colonna before his pontificate—Death of Gregory the Twelfth—Disputes between Martin and the king of Arragon—Satire of the Spaniards on the pope—The holy father declares that it is not permitted to appeal from the judgment of the pope—Martin dissolves the council of Constance—His departure from that city—His sojourn at Florence—Death of John the Twenty-third—The pope comes to Rome—The king of Arragon endeavours to seize on the kingdom of Naples and fails in his enterprise—Death of Benedict the Thirteenth—Election of the anti-pope Clement the Eighth—Excommunication of King Alphonso of Arragon—Legation of Bohemia—Letter of the pope—Quarrels between the pontiff and the sovereigns of Great Britain, Poland, Portugal, and Arragon—Abdication of the anti-pope Clement the Eighth—Termination of the schism—Congress of Lucko—Letter of the pope against the Hussites—The Hussites cut to pieces an army which was sent to combat them—Death of Martin the Fifth.

MARTIN the Fifth was a Roman, and born of the most noble and ancient family of the Colonna, which had already given so many bad pontiffs to the people. He was the son of Agapet Colonna, called the Roman prince, and had been created a cardinal by Urban the Sixth. Platinus accords to him great qualities, an extreme amenity of character, and a remarkable skill in the conduct and management of state affairs. Leonard Aretin, who was secretary of the apostolic chamber, maintains, on the contrary, that the holy father was notoriously incompetent, and that he had a violent, despotic, and vindictive character. Windeck, the counsellor of Sigismund, reconciles these two contradictory statements, by saying, "Cardinal Otho Colonna was poor and good, but Pope Martin the Fifth became avaricious and cruel."

The news of the election of Martin the Fifth was received in all parts of the Christian world with extraordinary joy. Nations which had been divided in belief for fifty years, all submitted to the pope: the cardinals of Benedict the Thirteenth, themselves abandoned that obstinate old man, to go to Constance; and, to increase their happiness, the fathers of the council learned that Gregory the Twelfth had died from a burst of passion. Martin resolved to take advantage of the circumstances, and not allow the general enthusiasm to cool before he had made a party for his temporal interests. He sent to Spain the cardinal of Pisa, Alcanar Adamar, to induce the king of Arragon to constrain Benedict, by secular penalties, to submit to the decisions

of the assembly of Constance. The legate was also charged to fulminate bulls of anathema against the anti-pope and the two Spanish cardinals who remained faithful to him.

Like a skilful prince Alphonso sought to sell his pope for a good price, and pledged himself to deliver him up to the agents of Martin, on condition that the holy father would cede to him, in perpetuity, the tithe on ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, and the right of disposing of the benefices of Sardinia and Sicily, without being compelled to render any account to the Holy See; and would also grant him some of the domains of the knights of Rhodes, among others Moriscar and Peniscola, as well as power to appoint the grand masters of the order. Martin refused to agree to these proposals, which tended to diminish considerably his revenues, and considering also, that Benedict, enfeebled by age and infirmities, could not live long, replied to the king of Arragon, that he would not purchase his protection, and that he would leave it to the judgment of God, whether Benedict or he should remain pope.

This determination drew upon him the hatred of the Spaniards, who were still at the council. A formidable party was formed against him; several cardinals wished even to depose him, and published violent satires against his election. Among all these productions, the "Mass of Simony" was unquestionably the most lively and cutting critique which had yet been written against the papacy. The following are some extracts from it:—

"A young priest went on a pilgrimage to visit St. Peter's, at Rome; when he arrived in the holy city, he perceived a splendid palace, which was more elevated than the highest churches, and which workmen were constantly endeavouring to raise higher. Having inquired the name of the master of this magnificent edifice, he was told, it is Simon the Robber, the only god now adored in the church; come, officiate at his altar. He was then conducted into a cavern, in which he saw heaps of gold and silver, and on an altar three young naked females crowned with myrtle, and holding in their hands cups and garlands of flowers.—Then the divine sacrifice commenced, and he pronounced the following words:—

INTROIT.—In the name of licentiousness, pride, and avarice, I will not love, serve, or adore any, save the god of gold, which alone procures for us all enjoyment on this earth.

COLLECT.—I will employ every moment of my life in seeking new modes of oppressing the people, since it is just that stupid men, who believe our lies, should be despoiled.

LECTURE.—It is written in the Apocalypse, the angel who had the seven horns appeared in the west, mounted upon a pale courser; he went before a kind of monster, half man, half woman, which had no clothing on, and was covered about the head with only a tiara with a triple crown. This apparition was seated on a beast which had the form of an immense dragon, and whose folds were covered with a scarlet nap; in each hand it held an urn, filled with the oil of fornication, which it poured out on its way.

CONFITEOR.—I confess that I love only gold, and that I am capable of committing every crime, in thought and deed, to rob men. Amen!"

This satire was handed to Martin by the ambassadors of the king of Arragon, in full audience; he then saw that it was necessary for him to break up at once, the assembly of Constance, if he did not wish to expose himself to the fate of John the Twenty-third. Before taking this extreme measure, he wished, however, to alarm the weaker minds by some terrible execution, and continued, against several disciples of John Huss, the proceedings which had been interrupted by the judgment of John the Twenty-third, and made a magnificent auto-da-fe.

A few days afterwards, the holy father announced, officially, his intention of leaving Constance: in vain did the emperor beseech him to prolong his sojourn until he had settled the differences which existed between the altar and the throne, as he had engaged to do; in vain did he offer him the cities of Strasburg, Basle, or Mayence for his residence; all his entreaties were useless, the pope remained immovable in his resolution, and, to put an end to the solicitations, he fulminated a bull, which prohibited all Christians from appealing from his decisions, or even discussing its motives; maintaining that a pope was the absolute judge of his own actions, in all circumstances, and that he could

annul the promises which he had previously made. He consequently fixed, irrevocably, his departure from Constance, and used as a pretext, that the patrimony of the church was exposed to pillage in the absence of the pastor; that the capital of Christendom was exposed to the scourges of war, famine, and pestilence; and that besides, his title as successor of Saint Peter made it his duty to take possession of the throne of the apostles. On the next day he declared the council dissolved, and gave orders to the cardinals and officers of the Holy See to take the road to Geneva, where he had resolved to hold his court until the moment of his final departure for Rome.

Martin left the city of Constance on the 16th of May, 1418; his train, say Reichaubaal, surpassed in magnificence, all that had been before seen. The procession was opened by twelve counts of the empire, mounted on white horses, richly caparisoned and covered with scarlet housings; they were followed by twelve pages, carrying, on the ends of long pikes, cardinals' hats; after them came four priests, sustaining a dais, beneath which was a bishop, who carried the holy sacrament; then came twelve cardinals in their rich scarlet costume, mounted on mules entirely covered with gold brocade; behind them a metropolitan, clothed in his episcopal attire, presented a second sacrament; he was also beneath a dais, which was supported by eight abbots on horseback. Fuzatius, the celebrated theologian of Westphalia, immediately preceded the holy father, and carried a cross glittering with precious stones; he was surrounded by the canons and senators of the city, who carried lighted candles in their hands. Then appeared Martin the Fifth, with his tiara on his head, mounted upon a horse, of which the housings were of purple and gold; four princes and four dukes carried above him a dais adorned with fringe of gold; the emperor walked on foot, holding the right side of the reins, and having at his side, Louis, duke of Bavaria, who held one of the tassels of the housing of the horse; the elector of Brandenburg held the reins on the left side, and Frederick of Austria carried the tassel of the housing; four princes walked on foot on each side and sustained, with golden cords, the middle and extremities of the housing; behind the pope, came his parasol bearer, then marched in squadrons, on foot and on horseback, nobles, soldiers, priests, monks, all the trades, and the seven hundred and eighteen courtiers of the council, dressed in white, and marching two and two.

As soon as the cortège, which contained more than forty thousand persons, had passed the suburbs of the city, Martin put on a travelling garment, mounted a saddle-horse, and continued his route to Gotleben, still accompanied by the emperor and the princes. At this last city, Sigismund took leave of him, and returned to Constance; the pope and his cardinals embarked on the Rhine, and descended to Scaffhausen, from thence they went to Basle, and, finally, to Geneva. After

having reposed in the abbey of the Cordeliers, for two months, Martin crossed the Alps and entered Milan, where he was received with great honours; he then went towards Florence, avoiding Bologna, which had thrown off the sacerdotal yoke and declared itself independent.

Pogge and Leonard Aretin affirm, that the pontiff had no cause to congratulate himself on his reception by the most serene republic, and that the children who went to meet him, sung a satire, which terminated in these words, "Pope Martin is not worth a quatrino," (a small piece of money.) The inhabitants, however, permitted the holy father to remain in their city without prejudice to their prerogatives, and until he had found another residence.

During his sojourn at Florence, the holy father entered into negotiations with the lords who had augmented their domains at the expense of the church, and obtained from several of them restitution of the cities which they had usurped. He had also the satisfaction of receiving a solemn embassy from the emperor of the east, which came to implore his protection, and even offered to reduce all his subjects to obedience to the see of Rome, by causing them to abjure the schism, if he would grant him some aid in men or money. The pope appeared at first to take much interest in the Greek deputies, and even named a cardinal legate to treat of the reunion of the two churches; but that was all; for the good intentions of Martin were not followed by any result, and the ambassadors had to return to Constantinople as they came.

A few days afterwards the holy father learned, that John the Twenty-third, who had been detained for three years in the fortress of Heidelberg, had escaped from prison by paying the elector Palatine thirty thousand crowns in gold, and had gone to Genoa to the doge, Thomas Fregosus, to rally around him his old partizans. His alarm was the greater as he knew Balthasar to be a man of action and capable of kindling a civil war to recover his power. But as the anti-pope had no money, no one was willing to enrol under his banner, and his efforts completely failed. John the Twenty-third then changed his tactics and made a singular movement; he came to cast himself at the feet of his competitor, and recognised him as the lawful pope, to the great astonishment of the cardinals, who could not explain so imprudent a step. Martin received him with every appearance of joy, made him magnificent presents, created him at once cardinal bishop of Frascati, and assigned to him considerable pensions on the treasury of Saint Peter. Two months afterwards Balthasar Cossa died poisoned.

Martin, freed from his fearful adversary, had no longer any inducement to keep up with those who refused him obedience, and commenced fulminating anathemas against the malcontents. Still further, joining cowardice to meanness, he wished to excommunicate Florence as soon as he saw his affairs settled

at Rome, and would doubtless have executed this project, if Leonard Aretin had not remonstrated with him energetically against it. "Whence arises, most holy father," he said to Martin, "your great resentment against Florence? Is it because you were received there at a time when all the cities of the Holy See were in the power of your enemies? Have you forgotten that it is to the protection you received within its walls, that you owe the submission of Bologna, Anagni, and even Rome? Is it not to the solicitation of the most serene republic, that Braccio, your most implacable foe, has consented to restore to you the domains usurped from the church? Do you not owe it to the generosity of Florence that you have received the ambassadors of princes in this very palace? Is it not here that the most important acts of your pontificate have taken place, the reunion of the three obediences, and the submission of John the Twenty-third? Finally, have not those very Florentines, whom you wish to excommunicate, defended your august person against your enemies, and is it not to them you owe your tiara? If you excommunicate them, holy father, I predict your speedy ruin, for God will know how to punish a monster of ingratitude."

Martin, intimidated by the language of his secretary, dared not proceed farther, and instead of launching an interdict against the republic, he even thanked, in his audience of leave, the magistrates of Florence for the good offices he had received from them. "And to recompense you," said he, "for the expenses which our sojourn has occasioned you, we will erect your church into a metropolis." This strange compensation, which was not to the taste of the inhabitants, freed him from restoring the enormous sums he had borrowed from them, which was an important thing for his holiness.

At last the pope freed them from his presence and took the route to Rome; he was received in the apostolic city as a father long expected by his children. In fact the priests greatly needed his presence to raise them from the abject state into which they had fallen; the churches were devastated, the monasteries in ruins, and the faithful brought no more offerings to the madonna and the saints for miracles. Martin applied himself to repair the disasters caused by the last wars; he restored the churches, constructed new monasteries, and did so well, that in less than a year Rome appeared more resplendent than it had ever done before. The holy father was then engaged in re-establishing the rule of his see over the cities which had freed themselves from the tyranny of the popes; but before attacking the republics of Genoa, Venice and Florence, he judged it prudent to commence with Lower Italy.

His plans were favoured by the disorders in Naples, consequent on the expulsion of the cruel duke of Bourbon, husband of Joanna the Second, the sister of Ladislaus. The holy father called Louis the Third, duke of Anjou,

into Italy, invested him, by virtue of his omnipotence, with the crown of Naples, on condition that he would restore to his see its ancient rights and privileges for benefices, collations, tithes, prebends, and other perquisites. This agreement made, Louis of Anjou raised a formidable army, and prepared to conquer the kingdom ceded to him by the church.

In this extremity Queen Joanna called to her aid Alphonso, king of Arragon, and adopted him as her son and heir, in order to attach him to her cause. The prince sent numerous troops at once to Naples, which he placed under the command of a brave general, Braccio of Perouse, a personal enemy of the pope. In a short time affairs took so favourable a turn for the queen, that Braccio wrote to her, that in less than a month he should reduce the holy father to such a state of distress that he would be obliged to say masses at six deniers each for a living. Martin himself, foreseeing that he could not long resist this formidable adversary, then had recourse to perfidy; he entered into secret negotiations with Alphonso of Arragon, and induced him to dethrone the queen of Naples, as Charles de Duras had done before him to Joanna the First, promising him to sanction his usurpation and obtain from Louis of Anjou a renunciation on advantageous terms.

In consequence of these arrangements Alphonso went in person to Queen Joanna, and under the pretext of relieving her from the burthen of affairs, he seized on the sovereign authority, disposed of the employments of the state, changed the governors of the fortified towns, replaced them by his creatures, took an oath of fidelity from the troops, reformed the laws, made new ones, and even wished to abolish the ancient customs of the Neapolitans; finally, when he supposed the moment favourable, he secretly equipped a fleet in Arragon, which was to carry off Joanna and conduct her as a prisoner to Spain.

But this plot failed; the queen, who notwithstanding her debauchery, had known how to keep the love of her subjects, was warned by some of her partizans of the mysterious conspiracy organised against her liberty; in her turn she opposed craft to knavery; she retook the reins of government, re-installed a portion of the governors who had been changed by the king, shut herself up in a strong castle situated near one of the gates of the city, so that gradually her authority was anew substituted for that of Alphonso of Arragon. The prince, perceiving that his plans had been discovered, threw off the mask, attacked the seneschal John Carracciolo, one of the lovers of the queen, when he was entering the port of Capua, and even endeavoured to seize the fortress; this effort failed, because a crowd, hastening to the aid of Joanna, fell on the Arragonese troops and made great carnage among them.

To revenge themselves for this check, the Arragonese set fire to the four corners of the city, and favoured by the fire, they rushed upon the Neapolitans and massacred them by

thousands; Alphonso then again assaulted the fortress in which the queen was. His soldiers could not, however, prevail over the courage of the citizens who fought under the command of the captain Sforza, and Joanna was saved. The queen, however, a few days afterwards, determined to leave the port of Capua, on hearing that Bernardo de Cabrera was coming from Catalonia with a fleet and reinforcements. Her departure took place during the night under the protection of Sforza and five thousand citizens. Alphonso thus became absolute master of Naples; he wrote at once to Martin to inform him of the success of their plans, and to claim from him the confirmation of his title as king of Naples, and the deposition of Joanna.

His holiness did not delay his reply; he declared sharply that he had never intended to fulfil the promises he had made him; that Louis of Anjou, as the heir of his father, was the lawful sovereign of the kingdom; that he had bought the investiture of it from Popes Alexander the Fifth and John the Twenty-third; that he had confirmed this act by approving the council of Constance; and, moreover, that Louis never having undertaken any thing against the Holy See, he could not take away his kingdom to give it to a prince who granted his protection to the anti-pope Peter de Luna.

Such a breach of faith, outraged the sovereignty of Arragon, and he resolved, in revenge, to cause Benedict to be recognised as the lawful pontiff through all Italy. But whilst he was taking his measures to overthrow Martin, the latter, by a new act of treachery, was making proposals to Joanna of Naples, to furnish her with the means of returning to her capital, if she would consent to annul the adoption of Alphonso, and substitute Louis of Anjou in his place. Before taking her determination, the queen made an exchange of prisoners with Alphonso, and got back her favourite Carracciolo; as she had then nothing more to gain, she solemnly adopted Louis of Anjou, and united her troops with those of that prince to combat their common enemy.

From that time the fortune of the Arragonese went on declining: constantly defeated in their encounters with the French, they found themselves pushed to the sea; Alphonso was soon reduced to the last extremity, and obliged to return to Spain to recruit a new army. His first act, on setting foot in his dominions, was to publish a solemn recognition of Benedict, as the successor of the apostle, and the lawful pontiff, in order to draw the rest of the peninsula into the party of Peter de Luna. This step, which placed in question the dearest interests of Martin, induced him to write to the cardinal of Pisa, his legate in Arragon, either to seize the person of the anti-pope, or to take such measures as would leave him nothing more to dread from that competitor. His orders were admirably obeyed. Benedict the Thirteenth died in the course of the same month, poisoned by a monk. This wretch was arrested, put to the torture, and condemned

to be quartered; before undergoing the punishment, he avowed that he had been urged to this crime by the cardinal of Pisa, and at the instigation of the pontiff.

Maimburg himself, represents Benedict as one of the most remarkable popes who reigned during the schism; and indeed he had an admirable force of will; alone, abandoned by all the princes of his party, having only for his residence a fortress, situated on a tongue of land, beaten on three sides by the sea, he lanced his spiritual bolts from the bosom of the elementary tumult, and amidst the roar of thunder. In the midst of the convulsions of his dying agony, he preserved his presence of mind and his energy; he showed no weakness, no repentance, and caused the two cardinals who remained faithful to him, to swear to give him a successor.

In accordance with his orders, two days after his death, an Arragonese gentleman named Giles Munoz, was enthroned pope, by the name of Clement the Eighth, and consecrated by the two cardinals for the sum of three thousand florins in gold, as John Corario affirms. The new pontiff took the sacerdotal ornaments, exercised in public his trade of pope, formed a court and created cardinals, among whom he placed his nephew, in accordance with the usages of his predecessors. Alphonso caused him to be recognised in his dominions of Arragon, Valencia, Sardinia, and Sicily, and even entered into negotiations with other sovereigns, to induce them to place their kingdoms under his rule.

Alarmed at the consequences of this hostility, which might give new strength to the schism, Martin despatched to the king of Arragon, his legate Peter, Cardinal de Foix, to offer him peace, on condition that he would abandon his anti-pope. This step had no result, for Alphonso, who had already experienced the bad faith of Otho Colonna, refused to receive his ambassador; he even published edicts against Martin, and prohibited all the prelates of his kingdom, under penalty of confiscation of their goods, from receiving any bull from Rome, and from communing with the cardinal.

Unable to deceive his enemy, Martin wished to try more violent means; and, on the 15th of July, 1425, he fulminated a bull against the king of Arragon, declared him to be an enemy of religion, a supporter of the schism, and as such, deprived of all his properties and dignities. His policy succeeded the better, as Louis of Anjou and Joanna of Naples had driven the troops of Alphonso from the kingdom of Naples, which re-established his sway over Lower Italy.

This success obtained, he kindled the fire of discord in Upper Italy, and used the ambitious Philip Marie Visconti, duke of Milan, to subjugate it. At the instigation of the holy father, the latter declared war on all the Italian republics, and carried fire and blood into Florence, against which state Martin had preserved an implacable hatred, the hatred of a priest. The Florentines, who were ignorant of the

hostile sentiments of his holiness towards them, sent an embassy to Rome to implore the protection of the holy father, and to remind him of the services they had formerly rendered him. Not only did he refuse to interfere as a mediator in their quarrel with the duke of Milan, but even joined insolence to ingratitude, and said to them when dismissing them, "You will see if Pope Martin is not worth a quattrino." This pleasantry of the children of Florence, was the only motive for the hatred of the holy father! It was to avenge his vanity that the representative of a God of pity covered entire provinces with disasters, and caused thousands of innocent persons to be massacred.

From Italy the conflagration extended into Germany; already, at the council of Constance, Martin had shown himself to be one of the most ardent enemies of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; afterwards, in the synod of Pavia, he stood forth the persecutor of their disciples, and had even published a terrible decree against them, in which he enjoined on the emperor, the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany, and the king of Poland to unite their armies to exterminate all the people of Bohemia who had embraced the doctrines of John Huss, their fellow countryman. But as his fanatical bulls and preachings were unable to influence these princes to declare war on the Hussites, he fell back on the bishop of Winchester, one of his creatures, and conferred on him the cardinalate, on condition that he would recruit an army at his own expense and invade Bohemia. The ambitious Englishman accepted the bargain which was offered him, preached a crusade, assembled, under the banner of the pope, a crowd of wretches and banditti, placed himself at their head, and entered Bohemia.

Without being alarmed by the number of their enemies, the courageous Hussites, who had to defend their altars and their hearths, assembled in arms and marched against the hordes of the cardinal. On their approach the Italians, who formed a large part of the papal army, were seized with a panic terror and fled, casting away their arms; the English endeavoured to resist, but feebly, and were soon compelled to yield the field of battle, leaving more than ten thousand dead, and all their baggage in the power of the enemy. After his defeat, the cardinal endeavoured to entrench himself in the town of Tausch to wait for re-inforcements; he was again defeated; the Bohemians attacked the place, carried it by storm, and put to death all the Italian, French, German, and English soldiers: the cardinal himself, with difficulty, escaping in disguise.

Although conquered, the pope had attained his end, which was, to kindle the fire of civil war in Germany. He wrote thus to his legate, to restore his courage: "We have heard the news of your defeat with great grief, and we are the more dismayed at it, since it will contribute not a little to increase the strength and insolence of the heretics. We cannot too much praise your zeal, my dear son. We

hope that this blow of fortune will not abate your energy; that you will persevere in the holy enterprise you have commenced; and that you will immediately recruit new troops to recommence hostilities, and to wash out, in the blood of the Hussites, the opprobrium with which your name is covered. Let no consideration arrest you; spare neither money nor men. Believe that we are acting for religion, and that God has no more agreeable holocaust than the blood of his enemies! Strike with the sword, and when your arm cannot reach the guilty, employ poison; burn all the towns of Bohemia, that fire may purify this accursed land; transform the country into arid steppes, and let the dead bodies of the heretics hang from the trees in greater numbers than the leaves of the forests!"

While the cardinal legate was seeking to execute these sanguinary orders of the pope, and was re-organising a new army, the duke of Milan, on his side, was arrested in his conquests by General Carminiola, and forced to enter into negotiations with the Venetians and Florentines.

His holiness came opportunely to his aid, and sent the cardinal Nicholas Albercati to Venice, under the pretext of consulting with the belligerent parties on the means of pacifying Upper Italy, but, in reality, to give his ally time to assemble new troops, and resume the offensive. A kind of treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed the duke should restore the cities of Brescia, Bergami, Cremona, and several other places on which he had seized, and that the republics should be recompensed for their commercial losses. The duke appeared to accede to all the proposals up to the moment of their execution; he then made new difficulties, which brought about a rupture, and the war recommenced with more fury than before.

From the height of the apostolic chair Martin animated all the combatants, and favoured by the disorders, he strengthened his sway. He was soon not content with combating the heretics; he attacked orthodox bishops, and framed accusations against Henry Chicheley, metropolitan of Canterbury, because he had opposed the abolition of a decree of the English parliament, hostile to the pretensions of the court of Rome, and had treated the holy father as an avaricious and ambitious man.

This prelate, dreading the consequences which might result to him from the censures of the church, hastened to write to Rome, protesting the purity of his intentions and the regularity of his conduct, and solemnly engaging to show himself, in future, one of the most zealous defenders of the privileges of the Holy See. Martin, who knew exactly the value of a priest's promise, replied to him: "It is by the efficacy of your actions, and not by your letters of excuse, that you must repair the scandal of your conduct. We have learned, that so far from repenting of what you have done, you privately solicit members of parliament to support the bill which attains our privileges, under pretext that we only demand its revoca-

tion from avarice, and to despoil the kingdom of England. We are too skilful in the arts of policy not to have unmasked the motives which have actuated you: we order you then to proclaim loudly, that we would be guilty towards Jesus Christ if we did not claim the rights which he gave with his own mouth to our see, and which the fathers have recognised in all times. Be careful lest we discover new perfidy on your part, for our vengeance would be terrible."

Martin also reproached Wladislaus, king of Poland, with having given the bishopric of Posnania to the vice chancellor of his kingdom, in defiance of his orders. He did more; he declared the protegee of the king incapable of possessing any ecclesiastical charge or benefice, and appointed the prevost of Guesna, one of his own creatures, in his place. This affair might have induced terrible consequences, if one of the rivals had not died very apropos; the holy father then consented to give his approval to the promotion of the vice chancellor, on his paying a considerable sum.

His holiness was then occupied with the difficulties which had broken out between John, king of Portugal, and some prelates of his kingdom, on the subject of imposts. This prince made the singular pretension that the state expenses should be equally borne by all his subjects, clergy or laity, and that priests no more than other men should be freed from respect to the laws of the land. His officers therefore taxed the rich domains of the clergy, and his judges took cognizance of the crimes of peculation, incest, and murder committed by priests; finally, he wished to rule alone in his kingdom, and had consequently prohibited his prelates, under penalty of death, from publishing the orders of the court of Rome without his authority. Martin could not tolerate such abuses in a Christian kingdom; so that when he learned that his letters and missives produced no effect on John the First, he sent ambassadors to him, bearing an order for him to go to Italy, or to be deposed if he refused to abase his forehead before the majesty of the tiara. At the same time he instructed the archbishop of Braga to convene a provincial synod to advise with him on the course to be taken to repress the audacity of the prince.

These measures not having succeeded better than his letters, he cast the interdict on Portugal, and called down all the curses of God on that kingdom. This done, he turned his attention towards a very important plan, which he desired to bring to a successful issue; it was to attain the expulsion of the anti-pope, Clement the Eighth. His legate, Alphonso Borgia, Cardinal de Foix, still maintained himself in Arragon, where he had been overwhelmed with outrages; but, in his turn, he took his revenge. He sowed gold, was prodigal of promises, framed intrigues, and excited a large part of the towns against Alphonso of Arragon; even the bishops and nobles soon separated from the king, and threatened to proclaim him a schismatic if he persisted in his revolt against the Holy See.

Alarmed at the developments of the sacerdotal conspiracy, he invited the cardinal to his court, and agreed with him on the articles of a secret convention, which provided that the king should labour to bring back, within the pale of the church, the anti-pope of Peniscola; and that, if Clement persisted in the schism, he would deliver him up to the pontiff to do with him as he pleased. He still further engaged, to permit the Roman collectors freely to receive the revenues, goods, and rights of the Holy See; he also bound himself to re-establish the ecclesiastics of Arragon in their former liberty, and to restore prelatures and prebends to bishops and priests who had been deprived of them; and finally, he formally engaged to put an end to the war which he had undertaken against the kingdom of Naples.

On the other side, it was agreed that the pope should give the king the body of St. Louis of Gonzaga; that the arrearages due to the apostolic chamber should be entirely remitted, and that the annual tribute should be replaced by a cloak of gold, to be sent every five years. It was agreed that the grants of vacant prelatures, cathedrals, and abbeys should belong to the king; that he should name the cardinals of his choice, and that succours of troops, by land and sea, should be afforded him to defend Sicily against the infidels; that one hundred and fifty thousand florins should be allowed him, as an indemnity for the expenses he incurred in putting an end to the schism, and that a general absolution should be granted him for all that he had done against the Holy See during the war.

Alphonso Borgia went at once to Rome to submit these articles to the pope, and to obtain a ratification of the treaty. He found his holiness in the most pacific disposition, as his affairs were taking a bad turn in Italy. Cardinal Albergati left the apostolic city to open fresh negotiations between the republics and Philip Visconti, who, for the second time, had been reduced to the greatest distress, having lost his best generals, and spent all his money. Not only was Martin unable to bend Venice or Florence, but his authority was compromised, even in some cities of his own domains, in consequence of the revolutions of which they had been the theatre. Therefore, the pope's legate was empowered with full authority to conclude a solid peace for his own territories, which permitted the pontiff to turn all his strength against Romagna and the city of Bologna, where the people had replaced the papal banner by the standard of liberty.

A treaty of alliance was signed at Ferrara, and on the next day Martin lanced anathemas against the Bolognese; still, none of his officers dared to carry the bull to the insurgents, and he was obliged to have recourse to a poor Dominican of weak mind, who was induced to undertake this dangerous mission in the hopes of achieving martyrdom. The monk, in fact, entered the place, attached the bull to the end of a pike, and elevated it above his head, crying out "Anathema on Bologna! Accursed be its inhabitants." He had not

gone ten steps when a crowd fell upon him, and tore up the bull of the pope; the poor fanatic himself was only put out of the city though he ceased not to cry that he wished to undergo the punishment of the Maccabees. Martin, unable to conquer the obstinacy of the Bolognese, assembled an army, the command of which he confided to Antonio Bentivoglio, one of his generals; and after several months of strife and combats, he retook all the places which had joined the rebellious city, and Bologna itself.

All these causes induced the holy father to give his approval to the articles proposed by Alphonso, and he sent back the cardinal of Foix to Barcelona, to sign the treaty definitely. As soon as the latter had obtained the ratification of the prince, he went beneath the walls of Peniscola to inform Clement the Eighth that he must abdicate his vain title of pope. "And the good man, Giles Mugnoz," says Maimburg, "whom they had travestied into a pontiff, showed that he had never been attached to that dignity, by the joy with which he laid it down."

Thus terminated, on the 26th of July, 1429, the great western schism, which had commenced on the 21st of September, 1378, and had torn to pieces all Christian kingdoms for more than fifty years. This period in the history of the church is one of those which presents the most curious episodes—when we are permitted to go behind the scenes of the pontifical theatre, and observe the machinery which moves the theocratic decorations. All the consecrated actors put off their spiritual masks, and exhibited themselves in their terrestrial figures as ambitious, avaricious, vindictive, debauched, and cruel; solely occupied with duping men, and changing the holy water into a stream of gold.

Martin having become, by this withdrawal, the tranquil possessor of the chair of St. Peter, was occupied in regaining the preponderance he had lost, and availed himself of the assembling of a congress at Luckow in Poland, to induce Wladislaus to take a vigorous resolve against the Hussites, his most redoubtable adversaries. He addressed the following letter to the prince on this subject:—"The grand actions which you have accomplished since your baptism, my lord, and the zeal which you have shown for our holy religion, in imposing your belief on idolatrous nations, give us hopes that you will persist in the same way, and will bring back to the fold of the church the Christians of Bohemia, whom the abominable John Huss has drawn into schism. Know that the interest of the Holy See, and those of your crown, make it a duty to exterminate the Hussites. Remember that these impious persons dare proclaim principles of equality; they maintain that all Christians are brethren, and that God has not given to privileged men the right of ruling the nations; they hold that Christ came on earth to abolish slavery; they call the people to liberty, that is, to the annihilation of kings and priests! Whilst there is still time, then, turn your

forces against Bohemia; burn, massacre, make deserts every where, for nothing could be more agreeable to God, or more useful to the cause of kings, than the extermination of the Hussites."

In consequence of the orders of the court of Rome, a new crusade was preached against the Bohemians, with promises of indulgences to those who should take up arms; but this expedition, which was the sixth enterprise for the extinction of Hussism, was not more

fortunate than its predecessors; the Catholic army was cut to pieces, and liberty triumphed.

This bad news reached the holy father whilst he was engaged in the nomination of a legate, whom he wished to send to Basle to preside over a general council, and proceed against the heretics; the mortification and anger which he experienced were so violent, that he was struck with a fit of apoplexy. His death took place on the 20th of February, 1431, after a reign of four years.

EUGENIUS THE FOURTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1431.]

Election of Eugenius the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—His efforts to re-establish his sway in Italy—Rome rises against him—Frightful punishment inflicted by his order on the monk Masius—Council of Basle—Policy of the court of Rome—The duke of Milan declares war on the pope—Eugenius is driven from Rome—He is protected by the queen of Naples—He wishes to transfer the council of Basle to Ferrara—The assembly is divided, and forms two councils, which anathematise reciprocally—Eugenius is deposed by the council of Basle—Amadeus, duke of Savoy, chosen pope by the name of Felix the Fifth.

BEFORE proceeding to the election of a new pontiff, the members of the sacred college, having assembled in conclave, took a solemn oath, that he among them who should be chosen to the papacy, should in future subscribe the apostolic bulls with this formula, "By consent of the cardinals." They also agreed that the pope should not give the purple to any ecclesiastic without their authority, and that he should share with them all the revenues of the church. After this the notary received their suffrages, and Gabriel Condemière, cardinal of Saint Clement, was canonically proclaimed the successor of the apostle.

This prelate was a bastard of Pope Gregory the Twelfth and a Benedictine nun; his father had elevated him successively to the deaconate, priesthood, episcopate, and finally, had given him the red hat at an age when other clergymen were only taking their lowest orders.

As soon as Eugenius the Fourth had been consecrated, he assembled the ambassadors of the principal cities of Upper Italy in a hall of the Vatican, and declared to them that he was resolved to put an end to the civil wars, and to excommunicate the princes who should oppose this wish. Philip Visconti, who found his ambition checked by this determination, alone disapproved of the pacific views of the church. To put himself in a situation to resist it, he formed a league with the inhabitants of Sienna and Lucca, speedily raised free companies, and threatened to march on Rome, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, if the pope dared to furnish aid to the republics of Venice and Florence.

The war then recommenced with new fury on both sides, and complicated the political

situation; for the Romans, feeling a sort of repugnance for Eugenius, because he was not of their city, waited but an opportunity to give vent to their hatred, and cast on him the cause of their disasters. It was related that an eclipse of the sun took place on the day of the death of Martin the Fifth; and that, at the first public consistory held by Eugenius, the galleries of the church broke down, and crushed, in their fall, a great number of persons: "An evident sign," they said, "that God disapproved of the elevation of a bastard to the chair of the apostle." They became still more embittered in consequence of visits which the holy father caused to be made to the palaces of Antonio, prince of Salerno, Edward, count of Calani, and Cardinal Prospero, all three of the family of the Colonna, and relatives of Martin the Fifth. These measures were counselled by the Ursini, their enemies, who accused them of having stolen a large part of the treasures of the deceased pope.

The Colonna, furious at finding themselves the objects of odious and unjust suspicions, organised a conspiracy against Eugenius, and resolved to seize the castle of San Angelo. They had brought into their plot the monk Masius, who was to surrender to them the keys of one of the gates of which he had the custody, when, unfortunately, on the eve of the execution, the pope, informed of what was going on against him, caused the conspirators to be invested in their fortresses. The Colonna, taken by surprise, had scarcely time to escape from Rome; their magnificent palaces were pillaged, and razed to the ground; their property was all confiscated, and themselves condemned to the loss of their honours and

dignities. The holy father then proceeded to the punishment of the monk Masius, and exhausted on this unfortunate man all kinds of cruelties.

This punishment produced a very different effect from that which his holiness expected. He hoped that sight of the sufferings of his victim would fill all minds with dread, and prevent a new effort at rebellion; but it so happened, that indignation exceeded fear. The people followed Eugenius to his palace, overwhelming him with hisses and curses; his guards even offered terrible threats to him, and that evening one of his domestics put poison in his food. Remedies were, however, applied in time, and the holy father escaped from this attempt at assassination.

Although they had failed once, his enemies did not abandon their project of taking revenge upon him, and a revolution was on the very point of breaking out, when the emperor Sigismund came to the holy city, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Eugenius. His presence appeased the troubles for the moment, and the holy father was enabled to employ himself in strengthening his authority over Italy. After the ceremony of the consecration, the pontiff appointed the cardinal Juliano Cesarini as his legate to Basle, to assist at the opening of the council, which was fixed for the 23d of July, 1431.

From the very opening, the fathers who composed the assembly, discussed a proposition, tending to establish the superiority of councils over popes, and consequently to take from the successors of the apostle, their privilege of infallibility. Eugenius, alarmed at this disposition, immediately sent orders to his legate to dissolve the synod, and transfer it to Bologna, that he might preside over it in person, and at the same time wrote to the emperor to notify him of this translation. But the cardinal Juliano Cesarini refused to obey the decrees of the pontiff, and told him that he would renounce his legation, rather than render himself an accomplice in arbitrary measures towards the prelates at Basle; he was strengthened in this resistance by Sigismund, who declared that the fathers should continue to hold their assembly.

Eugenius lanced a preventive bull against the council, and declared all the decrees, procedures, or citations, framed in his absence, null. As he, however, feared to push matters to extremities, he sent two cardinals, who were devoted to him, to regulate the deliberations at Basle. This step did not succeed; the fathers, exasperated at the pope, refused to receive them, and published a protest, in which Eugenius was accused of prevaricating towards the councils, who alone possessed the legislative power of the church; they even threatened the legates to use their rights to the full extent, and depose the pontiff, if the decretals and bulls of the court of Rome were not revoked within sixty days.

Thus the holy father found himself at once exposed to the hatred of the Roman people, the anger of all the prelates of Europe, and

that of Philip Visconti. Too weak to resist so many enemies, he determined to temporize, and made concessions to the council. He declared in a bull, that at the request of the emperor, and by the advice of his cardinals, he consented to approve of the decisions of the fathers, in order that they might labour without trouble in extirpating heresies and reforming the morals of the ecclesiastics.

Reassured on this side, Eugenius wished to take energetic measures to resist the duke of Milan, who had assembled numerous troops under the orders of his son-in-law, Francis Sforza, and an adventurer called Nicholas Strongarm, and who was marching on Rome, ravaging the domains of the church, pillaging the castles, burning the farms, and massacring the cultivators. This time the Roman people remained deaf to his exhortations, and refused to take up arms to repulse the enemy. In his fury, the holy father lanced a bull of excommunication against the city, ordered the churches to be closed, and the priests every where to cease to perform divine service. This violent remedy, instead of appeasing the troubles, augmented the confusion; the citizens rose, rushed to the Vatican, besieged and stormed it, after having murdered all the soldiers. Eugenius had scarcely time to fly to the Tiber and save himself in a boat with a monk; he then went to Florence and installed himself in the patriarchal palace.

From that city the holy father wrote to the fathers of the council of Basle and the emperor Sigismund, to claim their interference in his quarrel with the duke of Milan, and to beseech them to constrain Visconti to restore peace to the Holy See, and the Romans to receive him in the apostolic city. The prelates, who supposed that the sentiments of Eugenius were in conformity with the one he had expressed in the last bull, interceded themselves in his favour with Sigismund and the other princes of Europe. Philip Visconti, menaced by all the powers, was obliged to reconcile himself with the pope and recall his troops to his duchy. Thanks still to the solicitations of the fathers of the council, Eugenius obtained from the queen of Naples, Joanna the Second, succours in men and money, which aided his party to triumph in Rome.

It appeared as if God wished to punish this queen for having restored the dominion of the pope over the people, for on the very day on which Eugenius took possession of the palace of the Lateran, she lost her adopted son, Louis of Anjou, and her favourite, Carracciolo; she herself died shortly after, leaving her kingdom, to René duke of Anjou.

As soon as the news of Joanna's death reached Rome, Eugenius sent word to the lords of the kingdom, that they must abstain from proceeding provisionally to the election of a sovereign, and almost immediately despatched John Viteleschi, bishop of Recanati and patriarch of Alexandria, who was regarded as a man of sense and courage, to take possession of Naples in his name. But the inhabitants, who dreaded the government of the

pope more than any thing else in the world, refused to receive his legate, and determined to send a deputation to René of Anjou, to offer him the crown, beseeching him to come to Naples, to take possession of the throne. The prince listened joyfully to the ambassadors, and as he could not leave his dutchy, being a prisoner on parole to Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, he gave them his two children and Isabella his wife, to govern the kingdom in his absence.

As soon as Isabella arrived in Naples, she took the reins of government into her own hands, and endeavoured to repress the factious, who excited disorders in the capital, and sought to induce the people to revolt. Among the fanners of the sedition, the agents of the king of Arragon, who were the most ardent and the most redoubtable, were enabled even to seize the city of Capua. This success destroyed them, for in the intoxication of their triumph, they sent to inform Alphonso, who kept the sea close to the shores of Sicily, that he could disembark in entire safety, and that the population would rise in mass on his approach to proclaim him king of Naples. On the receipt of this news, the prince advanced with his fleet to make a descent on the land of Labour, in sight of the port of Gaëta; unfortunately for him his agents had taken their measures badly; he met on his way the vessels of the Genoese, the allies of the duke of Milan, who also laid claims to the sovereignty of Naples; a terrible contest took place between the two fleets; almost all the vessels of Alphonso were sunk, that in which he was with his family, and which had cowardly kept out of the fight, was taken and conducted in triumph to Genoa, and Alphonso, with the king of Navarre and the infants of Arragon was surrendered to the duke of Milan. This reverse became in the end the cause of the fortune of the duke of Arragon; he knew so well how to captivate his conqueror, that Philip Visconti consented to set him at liberty and cede to him his claim on the kingdom of Naples, on the payment of a ransom and a tribute; he even engaged to aid him with his armies against the duke of Anjou and the pope, if this last persisted in his ridiculous pretensions over Lower Italy.

Eugenius no longer thought of disputing possession of the kingdom of Naples for his see; he had already ranged himself entirely in the party of René of Anjou, in order to procure from that prince authority to levy tithes on the faithful of his provinces, and also, which he did not yet avow, to create a protector, who might aid him in annulling the decrees of the council of Basle.

This assembly had become in fact a subject of serious alarm to the holy father. The prelates who composed it had declared themselves in permanent session, and continued to frame decrees for the reform of the church, in its supreme chief and its ministers. Among other decisions they had framed this against the abuses of simony:—"The general council, lawfully assembled and representing the uni-

versal church, orders, in the name of the Holy Spirit, in regard to that in the Roman court which concerns elections, admissions, presentations, grants, collations, gifts, postulations, institutions, installations, investitures, dignities, benefices, ecclesiastical offices, sacred orders, blessings, and grants of the pallium, that in future no recompense shall be demanded for the seal of the bulls, for annates, small services of first fruits, or under any other title or pretext whatsoever. If any one infringes this canon by exacting, giving, or promising any present or salary, he shall incur the penalty inflicted on simoniacs, be he the pope himself!"

The fathers then declared the constitution of Gregory the Tenth, in regard to pontifical elections, to be obligatory: they were also engaged with the Greek question, and received ambassadors from John Paleologus the Sixth, who came to offer, in his name, to reunite with the Latin church, if the king of the West would consent to furnish him with troops to drive back the Musselmans to the deserts of Arabia. The council decreed indulgences to all Christians who should labour for the reunion of the two churches, and ordered that they should proceed immediately to equip an armament to succour Constantinople. John Paleologus, on his side, hastened to name plenipotentiaries, to send to the council, to abjure the schism.

Eugenius, informed of the turn negotiations were taking, wished to oppose their proceeding with the armaments destined for the Greeks; he maintained that the executive power belonged to him alone; that the council of Basle was trespassing on his attributes, and that not content with taking the initiative in the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline; it was even arrogating to itself the right of absolute jurisdiction over the faithful, a right which had always belonged to the popes. He dared not, however, order the fathers to break off the conferences, and contented himself with thwarting them in the matter of the reunion with the Greeks. At his instigation, John Paleologus demanded that the council which, with his envoys, was to arrange the clauses of the reunion, should meet at a place nearer Rome than Basle, in order that the pontiff might assist at the deliberations.

In order to satisfy the desires of the prince, the bishops sent two ambassadors to his holiness, beseeching him to come in person to the assembly, or to transfer it to Avignon or a city of Savoy. Eugenius rejected this proposal, and instructed the legates to inform the fathers that he exacted that their decisions, made in the last sessions, and which touched the privileges of the papacy, should be revoked, or otherwise he would not appear among them. The prelates refused unanimously to submit to these disgraceful conditions, and decreed that the assembly should continue its deliberations in the absence of the pope, and that they would send an embassy to inform the Greek emperor, that he must accept the city of Basle as the place of the conferences, or renounce the succour they

had promised him. When the deputies arrived at Constantinople, they found that Eugenius had been before hand with them, and that his agents so completely swayed the mind of Paleologus, that it was impossible to induce the weak monarch to choose any other city than Ferrara.

Eugenius availed himself of the foolish credulity of the Greek emperor, to order the fathers of the council of Basle to go to Ferrara. He hoped it would be easier for him to annul the decrees made in contempt of his authority, when he himself presided over its deliberations, as he was at peace with Philip Visconti, the Genoese, Venetians, and Florentines. Unfortunately, Alphonso of Arragon deranged all his plans; this prince, by a succession of victories, had re-conquered all the strong places of the kingdom of Naples, and even driven Queen Isabella and the legates of the Holy See from the capital, which permitted him, in his turn, to take vengeance on the treason of the pope to him. Thus he did not hesitate to increase the number of the enemies of Eugenius. He published a decree, enjoining on all the bishops of his kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Arragon, to go immediately to the council of Basle, to have Gabriel Condemière, the bastard of the anti-pope Gregory the Twelfth, placed on trial.

The Spanish prelates had no difficulty in inducing the council, which was already badly disposed towards the pope, to order him to come to Basle, to render an account of his conduct, and to answer for the unworthy use which he had made of the supreme authority with which he had been invested. In the letter which was sent to Rome on this occasion, the council enumerated the struggles which they had maintained against the Holy See to bring about a reform of the clergy; and to put an end to the shameful disorders which existed in the church, and which were the scandal of Christendom. The fathers cast all the evils upon Eugenius; they accused him of having encouraged simony, of having protected licentiousness, and of having shown himself to be the most corrupt of his court, instead of setting an example of the Christian virtues. They closed by ordering the cardinals to come to the city of Basle, to take with the council the measures necessary for the good of religion. Finally, after having waited the period of delay fixed in the citation, they pronounced a sentence which condemned Eugenius the Fourth as contumacious, and suspended him from sacerdotal functions.

The pontiff, on his side, was not inactive; he convoked a council at Ferrara for the 8th of January, 1438; on the appointed day, the cardinal of Saint Croix, solemnly opened it in his name, though the Greek ambassadors were absent, and scarcely twenty prelates were assembled. The cardinal emphatically declared that all the proceedings of the cabal at Basle were tinged with heresy, and erased them as destructive of the liberty of the Roman church; this decision was notified to all the powers of Europe.

Exasperated at this new insult, the prelates assembled at Basle, deposed the pope, and lanced the thunders of excommunication against the synod of Ferrara. Eugenius, in his turn, fulminated anathemas against those who had had the audacity to depose him; he declared them to be deprived of their dignities and their benefices, and excommunicated the kings, lords, and people who did not arm to exterminate the fathers of the council of Basle.

Such was the situation of affairs when the plague interrupted the labours of the assembly of Ferrara, and obliged Eugenius to transfer the council to Florence. The Greek ambassadors also went to this city, and all having assembled, decreed the following constitution:

"Eugenius, supreme ruler of the universal church, to bequeath to posterity a perpetual testimony of the faith of his dear son in Jesus Christ, John Paleologus, the illustrious emperor of the Greeks, affirms, that by his influence, the faithful of the east will, in future, profess the dogmas and worship framed in this diploma.

"Let the heavens and the earth rejoice, since the walls which divided the churches of the east and west, have crumbled into the abyss; since concord is rebuilt upon the corner-stone of religion; since all the faithful of the earth are reunited in Jesus Christ, after ages of darkness and sorrow! Let the church, that divine mother, rejoice at carrying in its bosom all its reunited sons, and even those who have so long torn her by bloody divisions. Let the East and West leap with joy; let them confound their love in a spiritual embrace, and let their souls unite in infinite pleasures."

After this strange exordium it thus continues:—

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, we define that the truth of the orthodox faith consists in recognising the Holy Spirit to be identical with the Father and the Son, and that it proceeds eternally from them as from one beginning and action. We declare that the fathers and doctors who affirm that the Holy Spirit does not proceed immediately from the father, establish, notwithstanding the apparent contradiction of their words, that this procession is simultaneous, and recognise the Son to be as the Father, the cause and principle of the Holy Spirit. We, consequently, decide, that the words "Filioque," have been lawfully added to the Nicene Creed, to define that article of faith.

"We declare that the body of Jesus Christ is truly present in the consecrated host, be the bread unleavened or leavened. We recognise that the souls of true penitents, dead in the charity of God, without having confessed their faults, are admitted to contemplate the face of Christ eternally, but only after having been purified in the flames of purgatory. We confess that the duration of their punishment can be abridged by the good works of the living. We confess that the souls of the faithful who have not sinned since their baptism, or those who have been purified in their bodies by the

remunerating sacraments, after having laid off their terrestrial prison, come at once to the kingdom of Christ, and see the Holy Trinity face to face, although in different degrees, according to their merits. We confess that those who are dead in a state of mortal sin, or without having been baptized, immediately descend to hell, to be burned for ever."

Such is the famous definition of the faith, of which the Greek deputies approved. A cotemporary historian, maintains, however, that the pontiff bought their consent to the admission of purgatory for the sum of five thousand ducats; that he gave ten thousand to obtain the procession of the Holy Spirit, and that he went as high as twenty thousand to have the communion under one kind admitted. Both parties signed it, and the ambassadors returned to Constantinople with the money of his holiness.

Three days after their arrival, the act for the reunion of the two churches was annulled by the oriental prelates, and the name of the pope was more execrated than ever by the Greeks.

Whilst Eugenius was lulling himself to sleep with illusions, the assembly at Basle was acting; it first declared the pontiff to be simoniacal, perjured, a dissipator of the property of the church, a dangerous administrator, and an incorrigible schismatic; it then named three members, Thomas, abbot of Donduces, John of Legovia, and Thomas of Corcellis, to form a college of twenty-nine prelates, and to proceed to the election of a pope, in accordance with former customs.—The bishops who were designated, entered into conclave on the 30th of October, 1439, and chose, as sovereign pontiff, Amadeus, duke of Savoy and abbot of the convent of Ripaille.

LIBRARY

FELIX THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH POPE.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EUGENIUS, BECOME ANTI-POPE.

[A. D. 1439.]

History of Amadeus, duke of Savoy—Difficulties in the council on the subject of his promotion to the pontificate—Amadeus accepts the tiara—He is excommunicated by Eugenius—Tragical death of Vitelleschi—Difficult position of the two popes—The king of Arragon declares for Felix—Termination of the councils of Basle and Florence—Return of Eugenius to Rome—Conduct of the emperor Frederick the Third towards the two popes—Eugenius deposes the electors of Cologne—Bull in relation to the diet of Frankford—Death of Eugenius.

AMADEUS, duke of Savoy, had governed his dominions with great prudence for forty years, when he took the singular fancy of becoming a hermit. He abandoned his duty to his two sons, and retired to the agreeable sojourn of Ripaille, on the borders of Lake Geneva, with several pages, twenty domestics, and some lords of his court. The new congregation embraced the rules of the order of Saint Maurice.

The kind of life which these brothers followed is differently spoken of; some authors affirm that the rules were extremely rigid; others establish by authentic documents, that these pious anchorites drank exquisite wines instead of water, and replaced roots with the most delicious dishes; they even say, that by way of mortification, the brothers doubled the number of their repasts on fast days, and committed fornication or sodomy at the hours of prayer, morning, mid-day, and night.—Daniel Desmarets assures us, that the hermitage of Ripaille had become a cave of abominations, the receptacle of every vice; and that it was a thing so well known in his time, that "to perform Ripaille," signified joyous orgies with good companions and light women.

As soon as this election was known, violent outcries arose on all sides; many ecclesiastics

alleged the disorders of the life of Amadeus as a cause for exclusion, others argued from his state as a layman and father, as a cause of his rejection; others still protested against the nomination, because he was not a doctor in theology, and would consequently find himself a stranger to all matters which concerned the government of the church. Notwithstanding this formidable opposition, the electors, who made him pope, stood firm and silenced all scruples. If your pope is not a doctor, they said, you will not deny that he is well versed in profane knowledge, which is not less necessary for the government of the church. He has been married, beyond doubt, they added, but the fathers and councils have not excluded from the priesthood those who have espoused one wife, and his state of layman will cease as soon as he shall have received sacred orders. As for the disorders with which you reproach him, who among you can say that he is exempt from the same sins.

From that moment all opposition ceased, and ambassadors were sent to Ripaille, to offer the tiara to the duke of Savoy. The joyous abbot was at table with his monks, when they came to announce to him that he had been chosen pope. He at first refused to

believe what they said. When by the protestations of the deputies, he was made to comprehend that his nomination was serious, he fell into such a fit of gaiety that it burst out into noisy laughter; his hilarity communicated itself to his fellow feasters, reached even the grave ambassadors, and the refectory soon presented one of the drollest scenes that could be imagined.

"Although he was completely drunk," says the chronicle, "they clothed him in the pontifical ornaments; one of the cardinals blessed him, placed the ring of the fisherman on his right hand, and two monks sustained his tottering steps to the church of the monastery, where he was submitted to the proof of the pierced chair, and enthroned with the usual ceremonies, by the name of Felix the Fifth."

As soon as Eugenius was informed of the election of the duke of Savoy, he fulminated the most terrible anathemas against him; confirmed the preceding excommunications launched against the fathers of the council of Basle, cursed individually each of the electors of Felix the Fifth, and especially the cardinal of Arles; declared that prelate deprived of all his offices, dignities, and benefices, and named to replace him in the archiepiscopal see, Roger, bishop of Aix, in Provence. He then addressed the following circular to all the princes in Europe:—"The sots, fools, madmen, and barbarians who have assembled riotously in the city of Basle, to adore that drunkard, that sodomite, that Cerberus, that golden calf, that Mahomet, that antichrist, called the duke of Savoy, are all anathematised by us; and we command you to exterminate them like wild beasts, who in their insatiable fury tear the entrails of their mother, and renew the schism in the church. Pursue, unceasingly, the infamous debauchee of Ripaille, who has caused himself to be made pope, that he may pursue his saturnalia in full security—curses upon the monster who has excited the dregs of the priests against the lawful chief of the church!—curses on the shameless hog who cherishes his priests with gold and silver!—curses upon that satan who causes himself to be adored in the temple of Christ!—curses, death, and damnation, upon the infamous Amadeus, duke of Savoy."

The hatred of the pontiff to his successor was so violent, that it led him to massacre his legate, Vitelleschi, one of the most venerable prelates of Italy, because he had been bold enough to propose to his holiness to enter into an arrangement with Felix the Fifth. This venerable prelate, who had rendered him such great services in his legation at Naples, was arrested by the guards of the pope, thrown into a dungeon, pitilessly tortured and beheaded.

It was not enough for the council of Basle to have conferred the dignity on Felix: they must give him the means of maintaining his dignity; and as those who dispose of the fortunes of the people usually exhibit great prodigality, if some parcels of it are to return to them, the cardinals authorised the new pontiff

to levy tithes for five years on the revenues of land, and ecclesiastical, secular, and regular benefices. This decree encountered an active opposition in the states of Arragon, Hungary, Austria, and Bavaria; in Savoy, in several cities of Germany, and in the universities of Paris, Vienne, Erfurt, Cologne, and Cracow; it was, however, put in execution, thanks to the support of the sovereigns of those countries who had recognised Felix as the lawful head of the church.

Eugenius, in imitation of his competitor, did not neglect to increase his treasures; he levied contributions on Upper Italy, and the courts of France, England, and Spain; he made promotions of cardinals, and sold to his creatures, the sees of the excommunicated bishops. Thus he soon found himself in a condition to struggle against his adversary, who thought of nothing less than treating with the king of Arragon and the duke of Milan, to purchase the city of Rome, and the other places of the Holy See. As soon as he was informed of the proceedings of his rival, the Roman pontiff at once sought the friendship of those monarchs; he sent them rich presents, and even abandoned the party of René of Anjou, to please Alphonso of Arragon. He at the same time sent ambassadors to visit the emperor Frederick, to divert him from the plan he had formed of convening a general council to decide the quarrel of the two popes; Eugenius caused captious observations to be presented to him on this grave subject, objected to him that this measure was inopportune, since he had convened an œcumenical and apostolical synod at Florence, which had made decisions that he could not annul, without being guilty of heresy and rebellion towards God. All these reasonings being unable to change the determination of the emperor, Eugenius determined not to create a new and powerful enemy; he pledged himself to convene a general council in the palace of the Lateran, and to place it under the protection of Frederick; he even published a bull on this occasion, which declared the council of Florence dissolved, and transferred it to Rome. On their side, the fathers who were sitting at Basle, terminated their session, and convened a general meeting for the following year in the city of Lyons.

Such was the conclusion of those two councils, which separated from sheer weariness, and found means to terminate their debates, without making peace or accommodation, and without either of the parties being able to flatter itself seriously that it had gained the victory. Eugenius desired to return to Rome, from which he had been absent for eight years; and to cause the people to forget the evils he had drawn on the holy city, he abolished the barrier duties, reformed some abuses, and disbanded his army.

Two years passed away in profound peace, his holiness having no other care than that of regulating the march of religious solemnities, or with occupying himself with varying his orgies, and of inventing new festivals, in which he was marvellously seconded by a

Spanish family called Borgia, and of which all the members, male and female, made their infamy a mark of honour. One of them, whom he had made a cardinal, and who afterwards became pope, was publicly called his minion.

During this period of peace and tranquillity, took place a very important act, the sentence of deposition against Theodorick of Meurs, and James Sotic, metropolitans of Cologne and Treves, and both electors of the empire. This new mark of audacity excited the indignation of the other electors, who held a diet at Frankford, to oppose the encroachments of the court of Rome, and decided that if Eugenius refused to revoke at once his decrees of deposition, they would abolish the taxes under which the German nation was ground down, and would recognise the superiority of councils over the Holy See, as the council of Constance had declared; that they would withdraw from his obedience, and range themselves in the party of Felix the Fifth.

This decree was announced to the pope by Aeneas Sylvius, the secretary of the assembly, in person. The pope submitted to the injunctions of the diet, and revoked the sentences of deposition; but in regard to the other propositions of the electors, he asked permission to submit them to the œcumenical council, before making a definite conclusion. As the archbishops of Cologne and Treves were re-installed in their sees, the Germans were content with his promises on the subjects in litigation, and recognised him provisionally as the sole legitimate pontiff.

Eugenius had not the satisfaction of long enjoying his triumph; a few days afterwards he fell very sick and took to his bed, not to rise again. His malady increased daily, and the aid of art having been decided to be useless, his chamberlains wished to administer the last sacraments to him.

When the metropolitan of Florence presented himself with the holy oil to give him extreme unction, the dying man, who endeavoured to deceive himself with regard to his state, and to re-attach himself to life, rose on his couch, upset the chalice, and uttered horrible blasphemies, ordering them to drive the archbishop from his presence.

This burst of passion aided to weaken his strength, and on the next day he perceived the fatal term approaching; he then called his cardinals around him and made this singular address to them:—"May God pardon the faults which I have committed upon the apostolic throne, in what I have done in yielding to the guilty sentiments of pride and avarice. I admit that I have committed great crimes during my pontificate, and at this last hour they appear to me like the sombre lights which announce the abysses of hell. Let this example instruct you, and, after me, elevate to the seat of the apostle a holy priest who possesses charity and humility, who will cause probity to reign instead of robbery and murder, which for so many years have established their court in the Vatican." He could say no more; strength failed him, and he yielded up his last breath. His death took place on the 23d of February, 1447.

NICHOLAS THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1447.]

Election of Nicholas the Fifth—His history before his advent to the pontifical throne—Negotiations of the holy father to obtain the renunciation of the papacy by Felix—Nicholas is recognised in France, Germany, England and Spain—End of the schism—Death of Felix—Jubilee at Rome—The Greeks offer to reunite with the Latin church—Coronation of Frederick the Third, emperor of Germany—League against that prince—The taking of Constantinople by Mohammed the Second—Conspiracy against the pope—New project of a crusade against the Turks—Death of Nicholas—Judgment of historians on the pontiff.

DURING the eight days which were consumed in the funeral solemnities of Eugenius, the eighteen cardinals who were at Rome assisted regularly at the religious ceremonies; after the inhumation, the three chiefs of the order of the sacred college posted guards at the avenues leading to the castle of San Angelo, and invited their colleagues to assemble in the saloon in which its sittings were usually held; but the governor of Rome having refused to wall up the gate, the cardinals determined to form the conclave in the dormitory

of the chapter of Minerva; the keys of the door were confided to the metropolitans of Ravenna, Aquileia, Sermonetta, and the bishop of Ancona. These first arrangements made, they swore in the officers of the Holy See, and the members of the sacred college took possession of the cells which were destined for them; some were hung with green serge, others with violet, and only one with white, that of the cardinal of Bologna, who wished to indicate thereby how pure his conscience was.

Several days passed in intrigues and cabals, at length Prosper Colonna having obtained ten votes on the eighth sitting, the cardinal Firmano exclaimed, "Why, my brethren, do we lose precious time in useless strife? Do you forget that Rome is divided into two factions; that the king of Arragon holds the sea with a powerful fleet, and that Pope Felix might dissolve our college at any moment? Let us then bring the conclave to a close, and give a chief to the church! The cardinal Prosper Colonna has already ten voices; let one of you rise, another will soon follow him, and we shall soon have a pontiff, whose mildness, merit, and firmness, can alone restore peace to Italy."

Notwithstanding the apostrophe of Firmano, the cardinals remained immovable. Then the cardinal of Bologna, impatient at the length of their debates, which threatened to be interminable, rose to vote, but the cardinal of Trent, holding him by his robe, forced him down again, observing to him, "That he ought not to choose a pope in a moment of ill humour, and that he ought to bring to this choice all the prudence of his mind, since he was about to confer on a man the highest dignity in the universe, that of the vicar of Christ on earth." "All that you do and say," replied the cardinal of Bologna, "is but to prevent the election of Prosper; give your voice to whom you will, and let me vote for Colonna." "Well," exclaimed the cardinal of St. Sixtus, "I swear he shall not be pope, I vote for Thomas of Sarzanus."

This sudden exclamation turned the chances; the majority gave their voices for Thomas, who was enthroned by the name of Nicholas the Fifth. Prosper Colonna, who was the first deacon, immediately opened the window of the hall of conference to announce to the people the election which had been made; but as the window was very high, the crowd did not hear exactly the name of the new pontiff, and several persons having recognised Prosper Colonna, cried out that he was pope. This error caused the people to pillage his palace, which did not save that of Thomas Sarzanus when the truth was known.

Platinus affirms, that the merit of the new pontiff was very moderate, and that he owed his elevation to the cardinalship to favour, rather than real services rendered the church. The commencement of his pontificate was signalled by an happy event for Italy, the death of the most ambitious and treacherous of the princes of that period, Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, who had endeavoured, for thirty-five years, to subjugate the republics of Florence and Venice.

Profiting by this circumstance, which deprived the king of Arragon of his most powerful ally, the holy father concluded a treaty of peace with Alphonso, and obtained from him a recognition of himself as the lawful chief of the church in all his dominions. Nicholas also caused Frederick the Third to be notified of his election, by his legate the cardinal Carrafa, who conducted this negotiation so well,

that he induced the emperor to confirm the nomination of the holy father, without obliging him beforehand to give his approval to the proceedings of the council of Basle.

Frederick surpassed even the hopes of the legate, for he made a decree, ordering all the subjects of the empire to be obedient to Nicholas, without any restriction, formally condemning the decisions of the council of Basle, and rejecting Pope Felix as an intruder and schismatic. This compliance of the sovereign was in truth, but the result of concessions made by the Holy See, which had relieved Germany from the subjection of the investitures. The example, however, of the prince, influenced other monarchs, and drew into the party of Nicholas almost all the Christian kingdoms, always excepting Switzerland and Savoy; these two states continued to recognise Felix, who still dwelt in the city of Lausanne, where he followed his trade like a thief, according to the expression of Pogge, the secretary of Nicholas, who wrote thus in the name of his master:

"You give red hats to your creatures, and you travestie them in ridiculous masks, you send ambassadors to the princes of Europe, to cause them to adore your statue and burn incense to Moloch, by proposing to them to follow your infected herey. Happily, your delegates have been hissed, rejected from all courts with horror, and the evil has not been accomplished." This missive terminated with furious menaces against Amadeus, if he continued the strife with Nicholas, and with magnificent promises if he consented to submit.

Felix, tired of this agitating life, determined to abdicate, as a bull, dated at Rome on the 18th of January, 1448, attests, decreeing a general amnesty and an entire abolition of all censures, excommunications, penalties, privations, damages, or anathemas, pronounced against Felix the Fifth, the council of Basle, or their adherents.

As soon as they had cognizance of this bull at the court of France, the king, Charles the Seventh, held a general assembly of his prelates in the city of Lyons, at which it was determined to send deputies to Duke Amadeus, who was still at Geneva, to treat definitely concerning his withdrawal. The holy father was very docile, and stipulated no other condition for himself, than that of being replaced in possession of his convent of Ripaille, and of being enabled to resume his usual course of life. It was not so, however, with his cardinals and the officers of his court; they exacted that their honours, dignities, and emoluments should be retained for them; that the grants made by Felix and the general council of Basle, should be approved by Nicholas, and that the latter should also engage to provide for his competitor in an honourable manner.

Such was the Roman pontiff's desire to possess the sole exercise of sovereign power, that he agreed to all that was required. He assigned a considerable pension on the revenues of the apostolic chamber to his com-

petitor; he conferred on him the titles of cardinal, bishop, perpetual legate, and vicar of the Holy See, in all the territories of the dutchy of Savoy, and assigned to him the first rank in the church after that of the sovereign pontiff; he specified even, that should it please Felix to visit the court of Rome, he would rise from his seat to receive him, and would give him the kiss of peace upon the mouth, without exacting from him any particular mark of submission or respect; he also consented to permit him to wear the pontifical ornaments, except the ring of the fisherman and the cross on his hose; finally, he declared by a brief, that Felix should preserve the title and rights of a legate, even if he quitted the dominions of Savoy, and in no case should be responsible to the court of Rome nor councils.

Felix, on his side, went to work, to fulfil the obligations of the treaty, and convened the bishops of his party at Lausanne, to lay down his functions; before, however, pronouncing the formula of his abdication, he performed a last act of authority, and published three bulls, which annulled the decree made by Eugenius the Fourth and Nicholas, against the council of Basle.

The schism was terminated by the withdrawal of Felix, and Nicholas the Fifth was recognised as sole chief of the church. But Amadeus of Savoy did not long enjoy his delightful retreat of Ripaille; he died from indigestion, on the 28th of February, 1452, less than a year after these events.

This was the same year which the constitution of Clement the Sixth indicated for the celebration of the jubilee, the handsomest financeering operation that the popes had invented. His holiness had neglected nothing calculated to increase the solemnity of the festival, and attract the faithful to Rome; and for this purpose, he had sent circulars into all Christian kingdoms, promising indulgences to pilgrims who should come to offer presents to St. Peter, and to recite prayers in the three principal churches of the apostolic city.

Among the lords whom the superstition of the times attracted to Rome, was remarked an old man of eighty years, named the count of Cilley. "He had great need of indulgences," says *Æneas Sylvius*, "for his long career was filled with crimes and infamies; he had strangled his wife with his own hands, because she had refused to abandon herself to horrible plays with one of his mistresses; he had carried off a prodigious number of women, young girls, and boys, whom he kept confined in his seraglio; and he was, besides, the leader of a band of robbers and forgers. Although it appears that he made this journey to be converted," says the historian, "he returned no better, and one day, when his bishop asked him, what motive he had in undertaking a pilgrimage, since he had no intention of changing his conduct, he replied to him, 'I do like my shoemaker, he went to Rome, and on his return commenced making boots again.'"

This jubilee, commenced under prosperous

auspices, terminated very sadly. One night when the faithful, who had been present to receive the blessing of the pope in the church of St. Peter, were leaving it, several arches of the bridge San Angelo suddenly broke, and a large number of victims were swallowed up or crushed.

In the beginning of the following year, Constantine Paleologus sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the proposition which the Greeks had so often made, to reunite with the Latin church, provided his holiness would arm against the Turks, and would raise the siege of Constantinople, which was blockaded by the infidel.

Nicholas, according to Father Maimburg, received the envoys of the emperor with great haughtiness, and made this reply to them:—"Go tell your prince, that the Greeks have sported long enough with the patience of God and men, in seeking by false promises to abuse the equity of the pontiff: We know full well you would deceive us now, still we will not be more severe than Christ, and according to the language of the gospel, we will wait three years to see if the fig tree which the popes have cultivated, will at last produce any fruit; after this delay the tree shall be cut up from the roots, or rather the Greek nation shall be entirely dispersed by the executors of the decree of divine justice."

The Greeks protested their good intentions, but uselessly, and they were obliged to return to their country without other aid than sterile vows.

His holiness evinced the best dispositions towards the young duke of Savoy, the son Amadeus, and from gratitude that the father had yielded to him the tiara, he published the following bull: "We grant to the duke of Savoy, as long as his dominions shall persevere in their obedience to the Holy See, the right of designating the subjects whom he would elevate to the function of abbot, metropolitan, or bishop, or even the inferior dignities, so that no promotion made in the government of the church, or of monasteries, may trouble the peace of his kingdom." This bull has been ever since a subject of continual discord between Savoy and the Roman church.

Towards the close of the year 1451, Frederick informed the holy father, that in accordance with their secret arrangements, he was preparing to come into Italy to receive the crown in the church of the apostle. He, in fact, caused Albert, duke of Austria, to precede him immediately with a considerable body of cavalry, and he himself crossed the mountains with all his nobility of Germany and Bohemia. His train was so numerous that the Italians said loudly, that the emperor was advancing into their provinces rather as an enemy who came to subdue them, than as a prince who came humbly to seek a crown. Nicholas foresaw that he must dread the consequences of an entrance into Italy of a powerful, bold, and ambitious sovereign; they even read in full consistory the prophecies which

announced, that in the year 1452 a tyrant of the German race would seize on Rome, and behead the pontiff on the porch of St. Peter, which so alarmed him that he sent orders to his legates in Germany, to prevent the journey of the emperor by every possible means; he wrote with his own hand to the emperor, to induce him to put off the journey until the winter was over, on account, as he said, of the bad state of the roads, and that he might have time to collect provisions for his escort, and to prepare the festivals at his coronation. The pope, at the same time, commanded Æneas Sylvius, who was then at Sienna, to come immediately to Rome to confer with him about the coronation of the emperor; but the latter, who had always shown hostility to the Roman See, refused to obey him: he replied to Nicholas, that he had received orders to wait for the empress at the port of Talamona, in Tuscany, to accompany her to Rome, and that he had better not retard the coronation of Frederick, if he did not wish to expose himself to the danger of losing his tiara.

Frederick, without paying any regard to the letters of the holy father, continued his march, and went towards Florence; five bishops and two archbishops came to receive him at the gates of the city, and accompanied him as far as Sienna, where he found the empress Eleonora with her court. Twelve cardinals awaited him in this last city, to receive his oath that he would undertake nothing hostile to the Holy See, and to conduct him to Rome.

Nicholas received the emperor with the ceremonial usual on these occasions; he himself installed him in a magnificent palace, and, to do him more honour, put off his coronation until the anniversary of his exaltation, that he might make of their two consecrations a solemn festival. Frederick, in the interim, solicited a bull of anathema against the Austrians. Æneas Sylvius relates at length, the reasons which prevailed on his holiness to issue a sentence of excommunication against his enemies. "It was," says the historian, "an ancient custom of the house of Austria, from which Frederick and Prince Ladislaus were sprung, on the death of an emperor to confide the guardianship of his children to the seniors of the family until their majority. In accordance with this usage Frederick had taken the reins of government, on the death of his uncle Albert, who left his wife enciente.

"In every way the prince hoped he would not be compelled to lay down again the sovereign power; if the empress was delivered of a girl, the sceptre passed into his hands; if she brought a male child into the world, he was of right his guardian; and it was well known how little it costs a regent to put out of the way a pupil, who is an obstacle to his ambition. The princess at last gave birth to a son, named Ladislaus, whom she was obliged to confide to Frederick, surrendering to him the government of Austria.

"Frederick at once pretended to have a fatherly care for his pupil; he affirmed that he had given fiefs to the nobles, not to attach

them to his cause, but because they had deserved well of their country; that he had placed honest and vigilant magistrates in the cities; that he had built impregnable forts on the frontiers; that he had driven off the enemies who were ravaging the dominions of the young Ladislaus, and had even paid out of his own treasures seventy thousand crowns of gold, which were due to the soldiers.

"Now," added the emperor, "the ungrateful people revolt against my authority, under pretext that they no longer owe me obedience, since my pupil has attained his majority; they accuse me of having brought Ladislaus into Italy to put him to death the more surely; and it is those very Hungarians who are accustomed to kill their kings; men and children; who judge of my sentiments, by their own. During the twelve whole years that Ladislaus has been under my guardianship, could I not have found a favourable occasion to rid myself of him, if his death were necessary to my ambitious views? On the contrary, I have always desired a long life for him, and never have dreamed of ravishing his inheritance from him.

"If I have brought my pupil into Italy, it is to show him Rome, and to instruct him in the manners of a foreign people; it is that he may become informed by listening to your holiness, and the wise men of your sacred senate; I wish him to learn from you how to govern his people, and to receive your blessing. You see, holy father, that my veneration for your person is the principal cause of the revolt of the Austrians; let us then unite our arms against the rebels, and strike at once with the spiritual and temporal sword."

Nicholas, flattered that so great a prince professed so much respect for the Holy See, promised him to send legates at once into Austria, to threaten the people with the most terrible anathemas, and to place the provinces under interdict, if the people and lords did not within forty days return under the rule of Frederick. This step did not, however, fulfil the wishes of the tyrant, for he added: "Do you think, holy father, that these people, who do not believe in God, will dread your censures? The Austrians are baptized when young, and as soon as they become men they make a mock of baptism. Besides, it is useless to dissimulate longer; I ask from you a bull of excommunication, to have a pretext for exterminating them, and I pledge myself to divide the spoils of these heretics with you."

His holiness had no more objections to make, and hastened to fulminate a bull of anathema against the Austrians, Moravians, and Hungarians. They did not remain inactive, but formed a powerful league against the emperor, and prepared for war. The decrees of the court of Rome were publicly burned in the cities of Salzburg, Vienna, Passaw, and Olmutz; the priests even preached a crusade against the pope and the emperor, and pointed them out to the vengeance of the people.

Things were in this state when an event

took place which, from its importance, arrested all minds, and stopped, in a moment, the embittered strife of the different parties: the bulwark of Christendom, the rival of Rome, Constantinople, fell into the power of the Musselmén, and Mohammed the Second put an end to the great empire.

This caliph was the son of Amurath the Second, whom the Musselmén count as the eighth from the prophet, and governed the powerful empire of the Ottoman since the year 1451. On the death of his father, Mohammed the Second lived on the best understanding with the Greek emperor Constantine Paleologus; he had even confided the custody of his uncle Orcan to him, but his want of promptness in paying the pension which he had promised for the support of his uncle, excited demands too animated from Paleologus, who had the impudence to threaten the young sultan to send him back his prisoner.

Mohammed the Second, instead of giving satisfaction to the emperor, declared himself grievously offended at his proceedings. He marched on Constantinople with a numerous army, which he installed in a small borough, two leagues from the city; his camp extended along the whole northern shore of the Bosphorus, and was, besides, defended by a powerful artillery, among which was the famous piece which threw bullets of six hundred pounds weight, more than two thousand yards. In this way the entrance to the Black sea was entirely closed, and all intercourse with Constantinople, from without, intercepted. To take away from the Greeks their last resource, the sultan invested the places they possessed on the borders of the Black sea, on the banks of the Propontus, or in Thrace. He, at the same time, attacked the cities which remained to them in the Peloponnesus, and carried them without striking a blow; Sparta alone, which was defended by good walls, resisted the Turks, and only surrendered after a siege of ten months. At length, in the third year of the reign of Mohammed the Second, Constantinople, besieged by a land force of three hundred thousand men, composed of Turks, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, and Latins, and blockaded, by sea, by a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, was carried by storm, after a bombardment of fifty-five days. This event took place on the 29th of May, 1453.

Thus terminated the empire founded by Constantine, after an existence of eleven centuries and a half. The implacable policy of the popes triumphed; the rival of Rome existed no longer; what mattered it to Nicholas to have sacrificed to the interests of his see, even the blood of Christ!

Still, the Greek religion was not annihilated. Mohammed permitted the free exercise of their religion to the conquered; he gave them one half of the churches, and a solemn investiture to the patriarch Germadus, according

to the custom of the Greek emperors, which consisted in presenting to the titular a cap with a veil, a cloak with bands, a magnificent Arab courser, and a pastoral baton. The caliph gave up to him the church of the apostles as a cathedral, and permitted him to transform the rich monastery of the Virgin of Summacrista into a patriarchal palace.

The capture of Constantinople was a still more terrible blow to Frederick, as it gave him the redoubtable Mohammed the Second for a neighbour; he therefore hastened to suspend his war against the Hungarians, and to bring about negotiations with the court of Rome, to induce the pope and sacred college to preach a crusade against the Turks.

But his holiness was too much occupied in his own states, to think of succouring his allies effectively. A Roman knight, named Stephen Porcario, was traversing the principal cities of the patrimony of St. Peter, calling the people to arms, and exciting them to break the yoke of the pope. At the instigation of this courageous tribune, a vast conspiracy was organised, the day was fixed, the party distributed, and the conspirators were to seize the persons of the pontiff and the cardinals, on the day of the Epiphany, at the moment when Nicholas was celebrating divine service in the church of St. Peter, when, unfortunately, on the eve of the execution a traitor revealed the plot. Soldiers were sent against the conspirators, and invested the house in which they were assembled. A bloody combat followed. Porcario was arrested, after having received seven wounds; his companions fell into the power of the Holy See, and Baptiste Sciéera alone escaped. Eleven of the conspirators were decapitated in the capitol; twenty others were hung to the gates of the city; fifteen more were burned alive, and Porcario was nailed to a cross on the walls of the castle of San Angelo.

These bloody executions over, tranquillity was restored to Rome, and the pope was enabled to employ himself in organizing a general crusade against the Turks. As he thought the king of Arragon alone capable of conducting this expedition, he sent to him the cardinal Dominic Capranico, one of the most distinguished prelates of the court of Rome, to offer him the title of generalissimo of the confederated forces. At the same time he convened a congress at Frankford, that the northern princes might arrange the contingency of troops which each was to furnish.

This assembly was actively engaged in the preparations for the war against the Turks, when Pope Nicholas died suddenly, in the night of the 24th of March, 1455, from an attack of gout. He was interred in the church of St. Peter.

Some ecclesiastical historians exalt the qualities and virtues of Nicholas; but conscientious historians only say he was one of the best of the bad popes.

CALIXTUS THE THIRD THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1455.]

Election of Alphonso Borgia—He wishes to follow up Nicholas' plans of a crusade—Orders public prayers against the Turks—Remarkable decree of the parliament of Paris, which refuses subsidies for this enterprise—Crusade against the Moors of Spain—Dissensions between the holy father and the king of Arragon—Calixtus pretends to arm galleys to combat the Turks, and levies tithes on all the Christian kingdoms—Opposition of Germany and France to this fiscal measure—Abuse of the employment of the tithes—Calixtus wishes to give the kingdom of Naples to his nephew, Peter Borgia—Death of the pontiff.

DURING the obsequies of Nicholas the Fifth, which, according to custom, lasted nine days, the old cardinal Alphonso Borgia spread about every where a prediction of Saint Vincent Ferrer, which promised him the papacy; and his confidence in this prophecy was so great that he had already chosen the name he would take after his exaltation, and had contracted diocese engagements, among others that of persecuting the Turks with spiritual and temporal arms.

As this prelate was more than a septuagenarian, and the irregularities of his life had altered his moral faculties, the cardinals thought he had relapsed into childhood, and would scarcely admit him among them when the sacred college assembled. Things, however, went so in the conclave, that the election which had been thought impossible was realised. None of the cardinals who were intriguing for the supreme authority, having been able to obtain a majority, all gave their voices for the old Borgia, whom they thought would not cause them to wait long for a new conclave. He was enthroned by the name of Calixtus the Third, which he had chosen in advance, and received the adoration of the faithful, after having undergone the proofs of the pierced chair.

Alphonso Borgia was born in Spain, and if we are to judge of his family by what Alphonso of Arragon said of it in one of his letters, we must conclude it to have been one of the lowest; the young Spaniard had been created a canon by Benedict the Thirteenth; Martin the Fifth had afterwards given him the see of Valencia, and the hat of a cardinal. Become pope, he followed the path marked out by his predecessors, and endeavoured to extract the utmost possible from his authority, to advance his own ambition and that of his family. He at first appointed his two nephews, Peter and Roderigo, cardinals, though the one was but twenty-one, and the other twenty-five years old; then, as these young men were not satisfied with that eminent dignity, he gave to Peter the post of treasurer, and to Roderigo the legation of the March of Ancona, with the title of vice-chancellor of the Holy See.

After having elevated his favourites to the highest dignities of the church, it remained to provide for their expenses, and as the treasury was empty, he thought of filling it, and preach-

ed a crusade against the Turks. At his command legions of monks spread themselves through the different kingdoms of Europe, and under pretext of seeking for soldiers, they explored all the provinces, cities, and boroughs, laid the inhabitants under exactions, sold to them indulgences and absolutions, and drew from them such enormous sums, that the cellars of the Vatican were none too large to contain them.

There appeared a comet at this time which alarmed all minds. His holiness took advantage of the superstitious panic to sell new indulgences. Finally, when he thought that the mine was exhausted, he recalled his monks, and in return for all the gold he had taken from the faithful, he gave them the institution of the Angelus, which consisted in reciting the Lord's prayer and the angelic salutation, morning, midday, and night, when the bells rang. Platinus gravely affirms that the Christians owed several victories to the efficacy of these prayers, and among others that which the celebrated John Corvin Huniades, Vayvode of Transylvania, gained over the Muselmén before Belgrade.

In addition to the voluntary impost of indulgences, Calixtus still wished to levy a forced impost of dimes; but his bull encountered an active opposition in Germany and France, where the parliament of Paris interfered to protect the immunities of the kingdom. This assembly had already, in a previous matter, evinced hostility to the court of Rome, and had seized the property of William of Malatroit, bishop of Nancy, because he had appealed to the Holy See from an ordinance of Charles the Seventh's. On this occasion the learned chamber had made the following decree:—

"We declare the prelate guilty of violating the fundamental laws of the state, which prohibit appeals to the court of Rome; considering that the king holds his crown from God alone, and that he is not answerable in temporal matters to any power on the earth; although the Holy See has the canonical right to excommunicate the prince, we declare that it has no power to deprive him of his kingdom, or to give it to the first ambitious man who would seize it, nor to free his subjects from their oath of fidelity; we finally decide that the rights of the sovereign can only be pleaded before his own court; that prelates

cannot erase his ordinances through the popes, and that they cannot even quit the kingdom without his authority."

The university also protested with energy against the bull of tithes; and notwithstanding the flatteries which the holy father lavished on the French for their military courage, it was decreed that no lord should arm against the Turks until after the revocation of the impost.

In Germany, the complaints excited by the avidity of Calixtus, were still more lively. All the electors of the empire went in a body to Frederick, to cause him to execute in all its force, the concordat, which protected the nation against the violence of the officers of the apostolic treasury.

In Spain even his exactions also irritated Alphonso of Arragon, and as his sway was strengthened in Italy by the double marriage of his grandchildren, the prince of Capua and the princess Eleonora, with the son and daughter of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, he threatened to retire from the obedience of Rome.

Instead of seeking to return into the good graces of the king of Arragon, the ambitious Calixtus, who wanted the crown of Naples for his nephew, Peter Borgia, endeavoured to thwart the plans of Alphonso, and refused him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, which the king demanded for Ferdinand, his natural son, and the vicariates of Terracinum and Beneventum, which he demanded for two of his other bastards.

Matters went so far that the prince wrote to his holiness a letter, which has descended to us, and in which he lashed, in energetic terms, the infamous morals of Calixtus, and his insatiable cupidity. He reproached him with the baseness of his birth, and the disgraceful means to which he had recourse to elevate himself; he unveils the horrid mysteries of lubricity which took place in his family; he accuses him of entertaining relations, reproved by men, with his nephews, whom he maintains were the fruits of an incest with his own sister, and finishes by swearing implacable hatred against him. In fact, Alphonso commenced intriguing against the pope, and sent to solicit Henry the Feeble, king of Castile, and the other princes of Spain, to abandon the communion of the infamous Borgia.

To prevent the fatal consequences of these measures, Calixtus sent to Madrid a legate and three monks, commissioned to compliment Henry on the victory he had gained over the Moors, and to offer him a casque adorned with gold chasings, and a sword whose sheath was ornamented with precious stones. This embassy arrived at the court of Castile on Easter eve, and immediately presented to the prince letters, filled with servile adulations and magnificent predictions. Henry, like all kings, vain and superstitious, listened to the flatteries of the Roman priests with great joy, and commanded a solemn service in his cathedral on the next day, in order to thank God for the victories which he announced to him through his vicar; but his happiness was of short du-

ration, and events soon occurred which gave the pope the lie. During the celebration of the mass a courier brought despatches to the prince, which informed him of the complete route of the Castilian army, and the captivity of his general, the Count de Castaneda.

In France, the indignation against Calixtus was at its height, and even the clergy were ranged in hostility to the court of Rome, since the publication of a bull which gave to the mendicant monks the right of confessing the faithful at a discount, and permitted them to enter into a formidable rivalry with the curates in the sale of indulgences. The university of Paris mixed itself in the dispute, took the side of the priests, and prohibited the monks from using the bulls of the pope, and from confessing. The latter, having refused to obey this injunction, were excluded from the bosom of the university; they then referred it to Calixtus, who erased the decrees and proceedings of the doctors. The university, notwithstanding the decision of the pope, persisted in its conduct, and obtained an ordinance from the king, which prohibited the mendicant monks from confessing the faithful, if they did not wish to be driven like beggars from the kingdom.

It was in vain that Germany uttered its complaints against the Holy See; Frederick permitted the pillage of his subjects, to divide the spoils with Calixtus. Still, these complaints taught his holiness that it was impolitic to take too much money, under a pretext of an armament against the Turks, and not make some preparations for war in reality; he consequently armed eleven galleys, which he placed under the command of the patriarch of Aquileia. The instructions to the admiral expressly prohibited him from compromising the safety of the flotilla; thus the prudent mariner contented himself with making a voyage to the island of Rhodes, which was one of the dependencies of the Holy See.

This ridiculous expedition made a great noise in Europe; the legates pretended that it had exhausted the resources of the apostolic treasury, and demanded from the kings a second levy of dimes, offering to divide with them the profits of this new impost. Such a proposition could not be but agreeable to the oppressors of the people; thus Henry of Castile, Christian of Denmark, the king of France, the emperor of Germany, and the other monarchs who then reigned, hastened to admit the collectors of Calixtus within their kingdoms. The king of Arragon alone refused to authorise the exactions of the Roman court.

This prince still pursued his plans of vengeance against Calixtus, and before marching on Rome, he made a cruel war on the small republics, whom he wished to detach from the cause of his enemy. But the Borgias did not give him time to execute his evil designs, and he died of poison before the walls of Genoa, which he was besieging.

As soon as his death was known at Rome, the pope issued a bull, which declared the Holy See to be the absolute disposer of the

crown of Naples, so that the will of Alphonso, which gave this kingdom to his natural son Ferdinand, should be declared null, as trespassing on divine and human laws. He terminated this singular decree by giving the investiture of the Neapolitan kingdom to Peter Borgia, his nephew, whom he had already created duke of Spoleto, prohibiting Ferdinand to take the title of king, under penalty of excommunication. Instead of obeying his holiness, the new king of Naples prepared to levy an army, and march on Rome to depose his enemy, and was preceded by a violent manifesto, in which he thus expressed him-

self:—"I respect the dignity of pope, but I despise the person of Calixtus; I fear neither his anathemas, poisons, nor arms; I hold the kingdom of Naples by the kindness of my father, the consent of the lords, that of the cities and people, and I will keep it."

A furious war appeared to be imminent, when the death of the pontiff fortunately changed the course of events. On the 6th of August, 1458, Calixtus yielded to an attack of the gout, and left his immense wealth to his infamous nephews, Peter Borgia and Roderigo his brother, who afterwards used them to purchase the tiara.

PIUS THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1458.]

Election of Pius the Second—History of Æneas Sylvius before his pontificate—He orders a levy of dimes, under pretence of a war against the Turks—Gives the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand—Council of Mantua—Quarrel of the holy father with the French—He calls the celebrated Scanderberg to his assistance against the French—Decree of the pope against appeals to councils—Differences with the kings of Europe concerning the collation of benefices—Embassies to the sovereigns—Abolition of the pragmatic sanction in France—Letter of the pope to Mohammed the Second—Letter of Louis the Eleventh to the holy father—Knaveries of Louis the Eleventh and Pius the Second—Cowardly retraction of the holy father—Death of Pius.

As soon as the funeral of the pope was over, twenty-one cardinals entered into conclave in the palace of St. Peter; but, before commencing the ballot, they swore, that he among them who should obtain the papacy, should not grant, without the consent of a majority of the sacred college, the right to elevate to cathedral or collegiate churches, or to confer monasteries, or other benefices, on any prince or prelate, of whatsoever condition or quality they were, imperial, royal, ducal, archiepiscopal or abbatial; that he should revoke the bulls before made on this subject; amongst others, that of Nicholas the Fifth, in favour of the duke of Savoy. This done, the intrigues commenced, and after a struggle of twelve days, Æneas Sylvius finished by carrying it over his rivals, and was proclaimed pope on the 27th of August, 1458.

Bessarion, who was one of those most hostile to Æneas Sylvius, and who feared the consequences of a sacerdotal vengeance, endeavoured to allay the storm by addressing to him a congratulatory discourse. "Holy father," he said, "we all feel sincere joy at your exaltation; if we at first opposed your election, it was for the sake of your health, and a desire to allow you to avoid the fatigue which accompanies the supreme dignity. It appeared to us that, in the midst of the perils in which the church was, there was needed on the throne of the apostle an active, young, and vigorous priest, more capable of sustaining the fatigues of camps, than of presiding in councils. Your infirmities alone prevented us

from giving you our votes; since it has pleased the Holy Spirit to grant you the tiara, we hope it will give you at the same time the strength necessary to support its weight, and we beseech you to lay, on our interest for your personal welfare, the fault which we have committed in sustaining any other candidate than you." Æneas replied to this speech:—"You judge me too favourably, my brothers, since you only reproach me with corporeal infirmities; I consider myself unworthy of the honour which has been conferred upon me, and were I not fearful of offending the Holy Spirit, which has manifested its will by uniting upon me the voices of two-thirds of the sacred college, I would refuse the sovereign power of the church; but since God has given me the tiara, I accept it; be not disquieted; I know the purity of your intentions, and be assured I will treat you according to your merits." These words, which might have a double meaning, did not entirely reassure the cardinals of the opposite party; they were, however, obliged to be contented.

According to the historian of the conclaves, the joy which the election of Æneas Sylvius caused, was so great at Rome, that the people, who were divided into two camps, and were fighting in the streets on the very evening of the election, laid aside their arms as if by enchantment. "The apostolic city," he adds, "resembled, some hours before, a place abandoned to pillage; it suddenly took the aspect of a festival. Instead of blood, it was wine which was flowing through the streets; tables

were spread in the public squares; the clashings of swords, and cries of war, were replaced by the sound of musical instruments; the whole population went to dancing. This enthusiasm was not confined to Rome; the other Italian cities, and Sienna in particular, of which Æneas was bishop, manifested a joy approaching to madness."

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was a Tuscan by birth, and the son of an unfortunate outlaw, who gained his living by the sweat of his brow. It is related, that Victoria Porteguerra, his mother, being large of him, had a dream, in which her child appeared with his head covered with a mitre. As it was then the fashion to place a paper bonnet on the head of the clergy when they conducted them to execution, she argued from it that her son would be the disgrace and dishonour of his family. The disorders of his early youth did but confirm the opinions of his mother; for Æneas abandoned himself, when still a child, to the vilest practices, and became a minion of all the priests of the neighbourhood.

That which should have ruined him, was the cause of his elevation; among his corrupters was an abbot who conceived a great affection for him, and took him into his convent. He there devoted himself to study, and elevated himself by his genius, into the rank of the most learned men of the age. The cardinal Dominic Capranico afterwards attached him to his service, and took him with him to the council of Basle, at which he filled the post of secretary for ten entire years, with remarkable skill and courage. All the energetic measures undertaken against the popes were brought forward by him, who did not then foresee that he would one day occupy the chair of St. Peter, and would have to defend that execrable theocracy which he now attacked so vigorously. After the dissolution of the council of Basle, Pope Felix the Fifth took him for his secretary, and when he abdicated, Frederick the Third offered him the same post about his person; the emperor afterwards made him his intimate counsellor, honoured him with the poetic crown, and confided several embassies to him. Finally, Nicholas the Fifth promoted him to the see of Sienna, and Calixtus gave him a cardinal's hat.

His advent to the pontifical throne was received in different ways by the courts of Europe. France, Scotland, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, with the cities of Venice and Florence, disapproved of his election. On the other hand, the emperor of Germany, the dukes of Milan and Modena, and Ferdinand of Sicily, testified their satisfaction, and sent ambassadors to Rome to congratulate the new pontiff.

Pius the Second commenced the exercise of his authority, by selling the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to the bastard of King Alphonso, to the prejudice of René of Anjou, and his son John, duke of Calabria, receiving therefor six hundred thousand crowns of gold, and the grant of the dutchy of Amalfi to Antonio Piccolomini, his nephew, to whom

Ferdinand gave one of his sisters in marriage, and the intendancy-general of justice in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. After having established the fortune of his nephew on a solid basis, he commenced walking in the footsteps of his predecessors, to fill the apostolical treasury, which had been already emptied by the Borgias on the death of their uncle. The pretext which he employed for ransacking the people, was again the announcement of a crusade against the Turks. He convened a general council at Mantua, for the 1st of June, 1469, and invited all the kings to be present at it, and especially Charles the Seventh, whom he called the defender of the Christian religion. His bulls of convocation went to the Christian princes by skilful legates, who knew how to obtain from them authority to levy tenths on the people submitted to their sway.

All these preliminaries being finished, his holiness left Rome on the 1st of February, leaving the spiritual government of the city to the cardinal of Cusa, and the temporal command to the prince Colonna, with a council of cardinals, auditors of rote, and advocates to form the apostolic court, as if he had been present, and that matters should not suffer from his absence. He even made a decree prohibiting the sacred college from assembling any where but at Rome, if God should take his life during his journey; he then started for Mantua, where he found assembled already, ambassadors, prelates, princes, and kings.

His holiness opened the council in a long speech, in which he exposed pathetically the fall of the Christian religion in the east; then made a long enumeration of the provinces which the infidels had taken from the Christians, and finished by this address:—"If the public calamities do not touch your souls, princes and kings, dread, at least, the evils which threaten you personally; think of guarding by a holy league from the opprobrium, servitude, and death with which each of you is menaced in his isolation. Do not forget that you have to combat a formidable enemy, whose audacity is exalted by numerous victories. Each of you is too feeble to contend singly against him; but if you will unite your strength you will overthrow him, for God will bless the swords of the Christians. Recall the glorious exploits of the faithful in Syria; let the courage of the ancient knights animate you; abandon your wives, your children; fear not to give your treasures, and to shed your blood to assure the triumph of the faith! Shame to the cowards and the indolents who refuse to fight. Princes, who among you presents himself as the chief of this holy war, to raise up the cross and cast down the crescent, to re-establish in the east Christ dethroned by the prophet? Let him advance . . ." and as all remained silent he continued: "You are then all cowards! I myself will lead the crusaders; I will take the sacred standard in one hand, Christ in the other, and I will place myself at the head of the legions. If heaven does not grant me

victory, my blood shall appease the wrath of the God of armies."

Loud applause resounded through the council and drowned the voice of the warlike pontiff. "We accept you as our leader," they exclaimed on all sides, "let us march against the infidel." For a moment Pius feared lest he had passed the end he proposed to attain, and would find himself obliged to go on the crusade. Fortunately for him, those who had applauded his words with so much enthusiasm, were not disposed to follow him in such an enterprise, and restricted themselves on all sides to treat of the levy of new tenths. Some eastern sovereigns, who were strangers to the trickery of the court of Rome, alone regarded the thing as serious. David, emperor of Trebizond, Uzun Hassan, king of Armenia, and George, who called himself king of Persia, engaged to furnish cavalry and infantry, and a well equipped fleet for the crusade.

After the public session, the ambassadors of Charles the Seventh demanded a private audience, which was granted to them at once. The bailiff of Rouen reminded his holiness of the services which the kings of France had rendered to his predecessors; he complained bitterly that he had forgotten that the brother of St. Louis had formerly received the investiture of the kingdom of Naples from the court of Rome, and that consequently he was not permitted to sell it to the bastard of Alphonso; he finished his remonstrances by threatening Pius with the vengeance of the king, if he did not revoke his former decision. The pope replied to this, that he had acted with the advice of his cardinals, and that he could not, without consulting them, annul a deliberation of the sacred college; then, to conceal the embarrassment in which he was, for good excuses for his conduct, he feigned to be taken with a fit of coughing, and dismissed the ambassadors. The bailiff of Rouen was not the dupe of this trick; as soon as the holy father had left the hall of audience, he spread injurious reports concerning him in the presence of his officers, and swore vengeance on the traitor who had sold his conscience to the enemies of France.

These threats were immediately transmitted to Pius, who, on his side, determined to create embarrassments for Charles the Seventh, to prevent his hurting him. He abolished the pragmatic sanction, which was observed in the kingdom, and required the French to furnish an army of a hundred thousand men to combat the infidels. Thanks to the energetic opposition of the bailiff of Rouen, who showed that it was impossible for the king of France to raise so large a number of troops, when he was at war with Great Britain, the holy father was compelled to relax from his pretensions, and be content with a tax of six hundred thousand florins of gold for the expenses of the crusade. The bailiff of Rouen could not reduce this sum; in vain did he observe to the cardinals that France was ruined, and that for six years the Holy See had not ceased to levy tithes on its provinces;

all his protests were useless, and as his harangue was taking the tone of a menace, Pius interrupted him shortly, and declared to him that he knew how to reduce a rebellious kingdom to obedience, which found resources to carry on war with Christians, and which was incapable of making the least sacrifice to avenge religion. "Dread my wrath," added he, "for if I wish it, in a month Genoa, Modena, Florence, and even Naples, will rise against the French and drive them out of Italy."

To realise this prophecy, the pontiff called into Italy the celebrated king of Albania, George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, under pretext of bringing back the Neapolitans, who were in full revolt against King Ferdinand, to their duty, who had driven him from his capital, ranged themselves with the party of the duke of Anjou, at the head of which was found all the Neapolitan nobility, and even his brother-in-law, Marcian, duke of Sanguessa, and Antonio Caldora, prince of Tarentum. Scanderberg, obedient to the orders of his holiness, disembarked at Ragusa, and went by forced marches to Barletta, to the aid of King Ferdinand, who was closely blockaded in that place. On the approach of this redoubtable foe, the French raised the siege and encamped under the walls of Nocera; the king of Albania pursued the fugitives, overtook them in a vast plain, and brought them to action at the foot of Mount Segian. There took place a terrible battle between the Albanians and the troops of René of Anjou; the latter was cut to pieces, and the hopes of the Angevin party for ever annihilated. All the cities of the kingdom of Naples, which still held for the French, immediately submitted, and Ferdinand returned in triumph to his capital.

Pius the Second, wishing to profit by the preponderance which this victory gave him in Italy, to affirm his sway over the people, decreed that popes were above all the princes of the earth, and that their omnipotence extended even over councils, which could in no case judge or depose the supreme chief of the church.

"There has crept in among us," said the holy father in his bull, "an execrable abuse, that of appealing from the judgments and actions of the Roman pontiff to general councils. Those who approve of such measures, forget, or wish to be ignorant, that the vicar of Christ alone, has power to bind and loose in heaven and earth, and that during his life, he can, at his pleasure, dispose of thrones, riches, the liberty and lives of men."

"Desirous then of removing from the church the dangerous poison of those rebellious opinions, with the advice and consent of our venerable brethren the cardinals, in the name of our infallible authority, we condemn appeals to councils, we reprove them as useless, erroneous, and dangerous, and we order that in future, all shall be prohibited from appealing from our see or from citing a pope before an assembly of prelates. If any one, after the

publication of this bull, shall contravene our decrees, be he king, prince, bishop, or mere layman, we declare him excommunicated until death. The same censures shall be equally incurred by universities and colleges."

When they were informed in France of this edict, they thought that the holy father had no other intention than to use it as a pretext to lay an interdict upon the kingdom.—The council of the king immediately instructed John Dauvet, advocate-general of the parliament, to draw up a protest against the encroachments of the court of Rome; and to summon Pius to revoke his bull concerning appeals, as subversive of the ancient canons and the pragmatic sanction, and in case he persisted in his detestable doctrines, to threaten him with the convocation of a general council.

Some days after the promulgation of this ordinance, Pius determined to dissolve the synod of Mantua, but before doing so, he resumed in a long discourse the negotiations for the crusade, with the different people of Christendom, and demanded new subsidies to bring the war against the infidel to a successful issue.

"Know, my brethren," he said, in the close of his discourse, "that the emperor of Germany promises an army of forty-two thousand men; the duke of Burgundy six thousand veteran soldiers; the clergy of Italy, always excepting that of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, engages to give us the tenth of its possessions; the laymen have imposed a thirtieth on their revenues; the Jews a twentieth; the city of Ragusa alone gives two galleys; the Isle of Rhodes furnishes four, and we hope even to see rallying to our holy enterprise France, Castile, Portugal, Arragon, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, and Bohemia, who have refused us until now succours in men and money. Thus then, my brethren, go in peace to your homes, recount the great things which have been done in this sacred council, and above all do not forget to expedite to our apostolic chamber the tithes for the crusade."

From Mantua his holiness went to Sienna, where he received a solemn embassy from the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and one from several cities of the Peloponnesus, which offered to submit to him if he would furnish them with garrisons against the Turks.

Elevated by all his successes, the pope supposed that nothing could resist him, and gave free scope to his ambition. At first he appointed to the bishoprics of Castile and Portugal, Italian prelates, his creatures, without even consulting the sovereigns of those countries; and as they wished to remonstrate, he excommunicated them and went on. He then started for Rome, escorted by an army of banditti recruited in Upper Italy, and whom he wished to use to restore to their reason the inhabitants of the holy city, who had proclaimed the republic, and dragged his standard in the mud.

He had no difficulty in overcoming a popu-

lation destitute of any provisions. After eight days of open siege, he forced one of the gates of Rome, and installed himself in the Vatican; he then proceeded to a massacre of the insurgents. By his orders the pupils of the schools and a prodigious number of citizens were bound hand and foot in his presence, and pitilessly murdered; all their possessions were confiscated to the Holy See, and their families exiled. Among these martyrs to liberty was Tiburcius, a son of the generous Massian, one of those whom Nicholas the Fifth had hung at the gate of the capital, with the tribune Porcario.

These executions over Rome became calm, and reposed in the silence of death from its passed agitations. The holy father continued his course of infamies; he excommunicated the duke of Austria and Sigismund Malatesta; the first, because he had imprisoned the cardinal of Cusa, who wished to levy dimes without his authority; and the latter, because he had formerly refused to pay a tax to the Roman church. He employed the same rigorous means against Dichter, the metropolitan of Mayence, who was unwilling to pay the annates of his archbishopric. But the bulls produced no effect; the three excommunicated princes did not open the strings of their purse, and appealed from the anathemas of the pope to a future council.

Pius having failed on this side, renewed his efforts on France, and solicited, through the cardinal D'Alby, from Louis the Eleventh, who had succeeded Charles the Seventh, the abolition of the pragmatic sanction. The bishop of Balue, who was then all-powerful with the monarch, opposed the adoption of this measure, and represented to the nuncio, in energetic terms, that it was disgraceful to his holiness to seek to overthrow the work of his own hands, since the pragmatic sanction was but an expression of the sentiments which animated the council of Basle, and which Pius the Second had brought forward, sustained and defended against Eugenius the Fourth. His indignation led him even to say, that if the pope dared to renew this subject, he would cause him to be declared a schismatic, and would unveil to the gaze of Christendom, "that the papacy transforms the most holy prelates into knavish, avaricious, cruel, and implacable tyrants."

Despairing of conquering by arguments the opposition of Balue, the wary cardinal determined to bribe him, and offered him a large sum with a cardinal's hat. The bishop, who loved money and honours, immediately changed his tone; from being the defender of the pragmatic sanction he became one of its bitterest detractors. He represented to Louis the Eleventh, that after having profoundly studied the question, he had discovered that he could not give the name of law to the regulations decreed by an irregular assembly; he threatened the bigot king with excommunication by the Holy See, and extracted from him a promise of revocation. But when he presented it to the parliament

of Paris to be registered, the attorney general, Saint Romain, opposed it there, and declared he would lose his life before he would suffer a treason which was to destroy the kingdom to be consummated. The university of Paris also addressed remonstrances to Louis, and besought him not to authorise the abolition of decrees which were in conformity with the pure constitutions of the church. Unfortunately, all was useless; the cardinal D'Alby affirmed to the king that the revocation of the pragmatic sanction would not at all prejudice the liberties of the Gallic church, that the pontiff would constantly maintain a legate at Paris, to confer the grants and benefices, without the French being compelled to send money to Rome.

Louis the Eleventh, at last convinced by these reasons, and enticed by the promise of being sustained by the Holy See, in reconquering the throne of Naples for the duke of Anjou, signed the ordinance, which placed the clergy of France, body and soul, under the jurisdiction of the court of Rome. It is true, that in recompense, the bishop of Balue received a cardinal's hat, and the king a sword blessed on Easter eve. This was all the mean monarch received from the pope, for the latter had never intended to ratify the engagement made by his legate concerning the crown of Naples. On his side, Louis took no pains to cause the orders against the pragmatic sanction to be executed, which was in reality observed during the whole course of his reign.

Thus it was evident that these two despots played the knave with each other, and mutually sought to deceive the people. What chiefly contributed to unmask the court of Rome, and to enlighten Christians concerning the Machiavelian policy of the pontiff, was the publication of a letter which he had addressed to Mohammed the Second. In relating this fact, the historian Duplessis exclaims, "Never was the execrable ambition of priests more clearly revealed than in this epistle, in which a pope, who maintains that he is the vicar of God on earth, offers to a Mussulman to recognise him as emperor of the east and west, if he would send an army to annihilate his enemies." Behold the very text of the holy father: "Mahomet, if thou wert baptized, we would invoke the aid of thy terrible sword against those who dispute our patrimony. And as our predecessors Stephen, Adrian, and Leo called to their aid Pepin and Charlemagne, and crowned them emperors to recompense them for having exterminated the enemies of the church, so we would make thee the greatest king in the world to pay thy services." How can we avoid being indignant in seeing a pope propose to a Mussulman to sell him baptism, and offer him the imperial crown as the price of his apostasy.

Whilst the holy father was undertaking the conversion of Mohammed the Second, he was pressing the levy of dimes for the crusade, and wished to oblige France to furnish him ten thousand men, or an equivalent in silver.

But he encountered an active opposition at the court of Louis the Eleventh, who did not pardon him for maintaining Ferdinand on the throne of Naples; the king wrote to him a very disrespectful letter: "I have abolished the pragmatic sanction," he said, "I have sworn entire obedience to you; I have sustained you against those who wished to convene a council to depose you; all this in the hopes of obtaining your protection for my family. I have now discovered my fault, and learned how to judge you; I have, moreover, resolved to break openly with your see, and recall my ambassadors from Rome. As for the money you ask, it is safe in our treasury; go your way and seek it elsewhere."

This missive of Louis the Eleventh reached Rome at the very time when the envoy of Scanderberg brought a copy of a treaty which their master had concluded with the Turks. His holiness caused the treaty to be ratified by the sacred college, and to avoid having this step interpreted by the faithful into a renunciation of the crusade, which would have badly hurt the levy of the dimes, he assembled, in public consistory, the cardinals, principal citizens of Rome, and ambassadors of all Europe, and in the presence of an immense crowd, collected to the solemnity, he declared that an ardent zeal animated him for the defence of religion: "In order to arrest the Turks," he exclaimed, "I have determined, notwithstanding my great age, and my infirmities, to embark with my cardinals; I will go myself to besiege Constantinople, but I want money to equip a fleet; to organise an army; I must buy provisions, arms, clothing; I must have something to maintain my own poor household, my monks, my cardinals. Bring in then your money, my dear sons; let an holy emulation seize all of you; approach our throne and let each one deposit his offering." He closed his address by fulminating a decree against those who refused to pay tithes for the war.

This ceremony produced a fatal result for his holiness. The excitement brought on a violent fever, and so increased his fits of gout, that the physicians advised that he should be taken to Sienna for the benefit of the waters, though it was in winter. Before leaving Rome he wished to behave like a true chief of the church, and published the following recantation:—"We were wrong in combating pontifical infallibility at the council of Basle; we were then but a man, and we erred as all men do; we sinned through seduction, like St. Paul; and we persecuted the church of God from ignorance. We will now imitate the blessed Augustin, who, in his old age, retracted the opinions of his youth. We confess that our writings are heretical, because they opposed the supreme power of the Holy See; now that we are pope, we recognise the chair of St. Peter to be the first throne in the world, and that it is only required to place the tiara on the forehead of a man, to render him infallible, even though he had been before a perjurer, robber, sodomite, murderer, and

marked with the seal of the beast. By the mere fact of the exaltation of a pope, a great miracle is accomplished; the Holy Spirit illuminates him, he becomes pure and great like God; he is God himself! Despise then my dialogues, my letters, my tracts; reject them as the works of a man, and believe on the contrary this bull, which emanates from the vicar of Christ; reject Æneas Sylvius, and glorify Pius the Second."

The sufferings of the holy father, instead, however, of diminishing, increased in intensity, and they were compelled to renounce the hopes of saving him. He himself soon perceived the approach of death, and called his cardinals around his bed, to exhort them to give him a successor who was truly animated with the pontifical spirit; he then demanded extreme unction. Laurent Roverella, bishop of Ferrara, represented to him that the church authorised this sacrament to be administered only once, and that, having already received it at Basle, when he was attacked by the plague, he was exposing himself to eternal damnation; but the dying man replied, "I wish it." "Well then be damned, holy father," replied Laurent, and administered it to him. He died some hours afterwards, on the 14th of August, 1464.

Platinus affirms that the pontiff was an implacable foe, and that he united insatiable cupidity and avarice to his immoderate love of

power. Mezeraï says of him:—"Never did man labour more to reduce the power of the pontiffs than Æneas Sylvius, and never did pope endeavour to stretch them further beyond law and reason than Pius the Second."

Dupin gives a detailed notice of the numerous writings of this pope. We will be contented with repeating the titles of his principal works; among which are the History of the Bohemians, from their origin to the year 1458; Memoirs of the Sessions of the famous council of Basle, from the suspension of Eugenius to the election of Felix the Fifth; a poem on the Passion of Christ; treatises on Cosmography, Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Topography of Germany; some very scandalous productions on women, minions, and the different kinds of love. In his last works the holy father tells some very animated adventures, of which he is the hero. There are besides four hundred and thirty-two letters, of which the most remarkable are treatises on matters of theology; the one hundred and thirtieth is a dialogue between heretics on the Catholic communion; the one hundred and eighty-eighth treats at length on the pope and the officers of his court; several are discourses on the comparative excellence of Christianity and Islamism; two panegyrics on Alphonso of Arragon; a treatise on the Roman empire, and several volumes of erotic poetry are attributed to him.

PAUL THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1464.]

Election of Paul the Second—His history before his pontificate—He refuses to keep his oath to the members of the sacred college—He seizes the dimes destined for the crusade against the Turks—Becomes odious to the Romans—Rupture between him and King Ferdinand—Affairs of Hungary, Bohemia, and Castile—Public games at Rome—War of the Florentines—The emperor comes to Rome—The historian Platinus condemned to the torture of the heated chamber—Quarrel between the pope and Louis the Eleventh—Quarrel between him and the king of Poland—His death.

AFTER the death of Pius the Second, the cardinals went to Rome, and assembled in the Vatican, to the number of twenty. Peter Barbo, a Venetian, cardinal of St. Mark, having received two-thirds of the suffrages, was proclaimed sovereign pontiff. Before, however, clothing him with the cape, and submitting him to the proof of the pierced chair, the cardinals exacted an oath from him that he should continue the collection of dimes, and divide the profits with them; they made him promise not to elevate to the cardinalate young men under thirty years of age; not to give the hat to any of his relatives, and never to surpass the number of twenty-four cardinals. They made him swear to submit the promotions and depositions of prelates to the sanction of the sacred college; not to alienate

any part of the patrimonies of the church, or the revenues of the Holy See; to permit the ecclesiastics of the pontifical court liberty to make their wills; not to make war or peace with princes or republics, without the approval of the cardinals; to cause the governors of places and castles, to swear to place them in the power of the sacred college, when the Holy See should be vacated; that important places should not be governed by his relatives; that the army of the church should never be commanded by his family, and that in his bulls, made without the approval of the college, he should not place these words:—"By the advice of my brothers." They also imposed, on him the condition of reading this same constitution every month in full consistory, to preserve a recollection of it; and

they demanded that his holiness should grant them in advance, authority to assemble twice a year, in order to see if all the articles of the engagement had been strictly observed.

All these conventions having been accepted and signed by the new pontiff, the first deacon opened the window of the conclave, and showing the cross to the people, announced the election of Peter Barbo, cardinal of St. Mark. As was usual, they asked the holy father what name he would take; at first he chose that of Formosus, but on its being pointed out to him, that the Romans might accuse him of puerile vanity, in taking a name which, in the vulgar tongue, signified "the handsome," he decided on that of Paul the Second.

Peter Barbo was the son of Polyxene Condelmère, the sister of Pope Eugenius the Fourth. He had entered upon a commercial career; when he was apprised of the exaltation of his uncle, he changed his vocation at once, and applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures, under the direction of skilful professors. Eugenius the Fourth elevated him successively to the archdeaconate of Bologna, the bishopric of Servia, the post of apostolic prothonotary, and finally to the cardinalate. Under Nicholas the Fifth he had enjoyed great credit. It is related that he was gifted with the singular faculty of shedding tears, when he wished to persuade his audience to adopt some political measure, which is the sublime of hypocrisy. Pius the Second named him, in derision, "our Lady of Pity." He had a mania of thinking himself a physician, and his principal occupation was to prepare salves and pills, which he sent to his friends when they were sick.

As soon as he was consecrated sovereign pontiff, he wished, in contempt of his oath, to govern despotically, without even counselling with his cardinals; he conferred the principal dignities and benefices of the church on his creatures, and framed several laws, which he presented in form to the sacred college to be ratified; but he forewarned them that he would immediately depose those who refused to obey him. Almost all subscribed to the wishes of the holy father without making any observation; but John de Cavajal, a Spanish cardinal, resisted him boldly, called him a traitor, perjurer, and simoniac, and stood so firm, that a kind of outbreak took place in the consistory. Paul, comprehending the necessity of dissimulating until his authority was more confirmed, feigned to yield to the representations of the cardinals, and endeavoured to bring back the malcontents by loading them with favours. He granted to them the privileges of wearing mitres of silk, like those of the popes; he permitted them to cover their horses with scarlet housings, instead of the violet trappings they had before used, and immediately appointed a commission of three of them to lay taxes on the kingdoms, still under the pretext of a war against the Turks. In vain did the ambassadors of the powers wish to oppose this arbitrary measure; their complaints were not listened to, and all that

was permitted them was, to levy on each of the provinces of the different kingdoms, the amount of the respective sums they were to pay to the Holy See. These forced contributions served to increase the luxury of the Roman court, and to bring about concord between the pope and his cardinals.

Paul then received an embassy from the king of Naples, who besought his holiness to bless, through a legate, the marriage of his son with Hippolyte, the daughter of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan. As the pope dreaded the consequences of this alliance, which threatened to render Ferdinand the absolute master of Italy, he used pretexts of relationship between the betrothed, and pronounced against the marriage. The ambassadors then adroitly added, that they were instructed to inform the Holy See, that Mohammed the Second had offered their master one of his daughters, with a dowry of eight hundred thousand crowns of gold, as a bride for his son; that he only required, as a condition for this union, the promise of aiding him in conquering Venice, but that Ferdinand had not been dazzled by this brilliant offer, and had been unwilling to give a definite reply until he knew the opinion of the court of Rome.

Placed in the alternative of seeing Ferdinand contract an alliance with the enemy of the Christian name, or with an Italian prince, he decided on that which appeared to him to be the least formidable; he quieted his scruples in regard to the propinquity, and consented to the marriage of the son of the king of Naples with the princess Hippolyte. He, however, refused to bless their union, or to have it consecrated by a legate, and contented himself with giving the golden rose to the young spouses when they passed through Rome.

At about the same period, the arms of Ferdinand experienced several reverses in Apulia, where the Angevin party still maintained itself under the leading of the duke of Lorraine; but the king took his revenge, and, assisted by the troops of the duke of Milan, gained a great victory over them near the city of Troy. This rout forced the lords of the Angevin party, and the duke of Lorraine himself, to retire to the island of Ischia, from whence they passed over into France. Paul, who had contributed his part to the expulsion of the enemies of the king of Naples, claimed, in his turn, from his ally, the assistance of an army to exterminate the sons of the count Evasus, who were laying waste the ecclesiastical states. Ferdinand granted him at once the succour which he asked for, and, thanks to the activity of the Neapolitan generals, his holiness found himself freed, in less than fifteen days, from a family who had struggled against the three popes, Eugenius, Nicholas, and Calixtus, and had never been conquered.

Ferdinand, who justly attributed to himself so unhopd for a success, demanded, as a recompense for this important service, that the court of Rome should free him from arrears

even than the Jews; finally, they were so demoralised, that there was no serious opposition on their part, to hinder Roderick Borgia from accomplishing the work of destruction of the privileges and liberties of the Spanish church.

After having used King Henry to strengthen the rule of the Holy See in Castile, the legate turned against him, and declared in favour of his sister Isabella and Ferdinand of Arragon, who sought to dethrone him; he also entered into secret treaties with the duke of Burgundy, and Edward of England, and sold to those two princes the protection of the Holy See, to the detriment of Castile and France. All his tricks and knaveries having been discovered, Henry drove him in disgrace from Madrid. But what did Roderick Borgia care for the disgrace of an insult? He left with the honours of war, and arranged with Ferdinand the Catholic, the basis of a constitution which subjugated the Spaniards to the execrable tyranny of the court of Rome.

Some years afterwards, the Cardinal Medina Celi continued the work of the court of Rome, and increased the already so powerful authority of the inquisition. At his instigation the greedy Ferdinand, become king of Arragon and Seville by the death of the weak Henry, granted permanency to the odious tribunal, and accomplished the most revolting iniquity of that age, the extermination of the Jews of his kingdom. These laborious men were then in possession of every branch of industry, simply from their religion, which gives glory to labour; whilst the Spaniards, slothful and idle, addicted to a contemplative life, or the profession of arms, had become, almost all of them, debtors to the Israelites. Bad faith on one part, and fanaticism on the other, determined Ferdinand the Catholic to place the Jews without the protection of the laws, and in less than eight days, more than ten thousand of these unfortunates were pitilessly massacred by the soldiers of the king. This butchery only increased the rage of the implacable tyrant; and, as he dared not pursue, single handed, the execution of his sanguinary plans, from the fear of exciting the people against him, he established a supreme tribunal at Seville, which took the name of the Holy Office, and appointed Thomas of Torquemada, the prior of the Dominicans, to preside over it as Grand Inquisitor General.

It was computed that there were in the kingdom of this gracious monarch, more than one hundred and fifty thousand Jewish families, or almost a million and a half of individuals of that nation. Torquemada undertook to convert them all, or to purge the soil of Spain of them, and he kept his word. The familiars of the holy office seconded him so well, and understood so perfectly how to apply racks, boots, wheels, fangs, and all the instruments of torture, that the Jews left Arragon in bands, and came to seek protection in the territories of the duke of Medina, Sidonia, the marquis of Cadiz, the count of Arcos, and some other lords. Their flight could not, however, save them from the pursuit of the

dreaded inquisition, for Torquemada had ordered the governors of all the cities to lay strong hands on the emigrants, and send them back to Seville, under penalty of excommunication, which was punctually done, so that these unfortunates were sent back by force into Arragon and Castile, thrown by thousands into the dungeons of the inquisition, and submitted to frightful tortures.

The prisons of the holy office were filled and emptied at least eleven times in nine months; but the smell of wasting flesh, and the sight of palpitating limbs, instead of softening these tigers with a human face, rendered them more ferocious. As soon as they found that the number of their victims was diminishing, they anxiously sought out new guilty, and for this purpose, Ferdinand the Catholic, published a decree, by which his majesty enjoined on heretics who had fled the kingdom, to give themselves up voluntarily as prisoners to the holy office, solemnly promising them, on the body of Christ, to set them at liberty on this condition, and to restore their property to them. A great number of these unfortunates, full of confidence in these promises, came to deliver themselves up to their executioners, and they learned, when too late, that men should never believe the oaths of kings. They were all burned alive.

This method of re-peopling the dungeons of the inquisition was, however, soon exhausted; and as no more victims presented themselves, Torquemada had recourse to informers. In the space of six months more than nineteen thousand heretics were denounced to the inquisitors, and judged by that terrible tribunal. At last, the number of those condemned to be burned became so great, that Torquemada, to get through his work more quickly, caused four immense hollow statues to be erected in the place where the executions took place, in which the sufferers were shut up. On the day of the executions a pyre was constructed around these statues, and the victims died, consumed in frightful agony. These acts the priests called *auto-da-fe*, or acts of faith!!!

These first exploits of the inquisitors increased enormously the treasures of Ferdinand the Catholic, and determined him to give a regular action to the tribunals of the inquisition. He consequently created a royal council of the inquisition, which was called the supreme council. Over this Torquemada presided, and he added four ecclesiastics as counsellors to him; these last had no deliberative voice but in civil questions; religious matters were entirely submitted to the will of the grand inquisitor.

Sixtus the Fourth granted bulls authorising the establishment of this institution, and permitted Torquemada to convene a council of all the inquisitors of Spain, who decreed the horrible inquisitorial code. This monument of sacerdotal ferocity was divided into twenty-eight principal articles. The three first concerned the rules to be followed in the installation of tribunals, and the different modes of proceeding to obtain denunciations. The

fourth article formally interdicted the judges from granting definite absolutions, even when the accused were converted, so that they might be compelled to purchase indulgences from the court of Rome. By the sixth article it was specified, that the new Christian, though reconciled to God, was deprived of every honourable employment, and was prohibited from wearing gold, silver, or pearls on his garments, silk and fine linen; the court of Rome alone could sell freedom from those penalties. The seventh and eighth articles imposed pecuniary punishment on the accused who made a voluntary confession, and declared their property confiscated for the benefit of the king. The following articles, were concerning penalties against the accused who were convicted of heresies, and the lightest was perpetual detention in their frightful dungeons. The twelfth and thirteenth authorised the inquisitors to condemn, as false penitents, the new converts, whose repentance they considered feigned. The fourteenth provided that the accused who persisted in maintaining his innocence, should be condemned as an obstinate heretic, and should be put to different tortures, whose violence was to be increased until he avowed his heresy, and then as soon as he had admitted his guilt, he was to be mounted on the *quemedaro*, which was the scaffold on which were the four statutes destined for the condemned. Thus, in any way, innocent or guilty, he could not escape these terrible inquisitors.

Two articles were devoted to the forms of proceeding; the judges were prohibited from communicating to the accused the testimony brought against them, and also from confronting them with their accusers; they were only to interrogate them and receive their confessions, whilst they were put to the torture. The nineteenth and twentieth articles condemned as heretics, all accused who did not present themselves before the sacred office, after having been warned; and they provided, that if it were proved by writing or testimony, that any one already dead had been attached of heresy, his dead body should be exhumed, judged, condemned, and burned, and his property be confiscated, half for the advantage of the prince, half for that of the inquisitors. The four last articles were in relation to the proceedings which the inquisitors should observe between themselves and towards their subordinates.

In all past ages, among the most barbarous people, never had the fanaticism nor cruelty of priests immolated so many victims, and no atrocities, whose record has been left us by the historians of antiquity, could approach the horrid punishments invented by the holy inquisition or the pontiffs of Rome.

Whilst these things were taking place in Spain, the cardinal Bessarion was still deliberating at Rome, whether or not he should go to the court of Louis the Eleventh, whose knavery inspired him with just fears. At last he decided to go, on account of a letter which he received from the king, who invited him to hasten his arrival to his court, and pro-

mised to receive him as if he were the pontiff himself.

"But it did not turn out that things should happen so," says Brantome, "that long and magisterial personage who bore the title of metropolitan of Nice and the name of Bessarion, committed the error of going to the duke of Burgundy, before going to the court of Louis the Eleventh; so that when he appeared before our gracious monarch, the latter took him by his long beard, saying to him:—'Reverend sir, I am astonished that Charles the Bold did not shave you, for he knows that I do not admire the beards of the Capuchins,' and without saying any more, he turned his back on him and refused to grant him an audience, and even receive the despatches of the holy father. Bessarion was so mortified, that he fell sick of a violent fever, of which he died on his return to Rome."

The legation to Germany was no more successful. The people, tired of paying tithes for a pretended crusade against the Turks, which was in reality but an apostolical crusade against their money, refused, in most of the cities, to receive the delegates of the Holy See. In England they also opposed the levy of Peter's pence, and the bishops were the most opposed to the exactions of the court of Rome. Stillington, bishop of Bath, even confined in a prison the prothonotary Prosper, who wished to proceed and levy tithes on the churches of his diocese. His holiness was more successful in Scotland than Great Britain, thanks to the protection which his collectors received from Graan, the new bishop of St. Andrew's. Thus, in gratitude for his services, he was appointed primate of the kingdom, with the title of perpetual legate. This new mark of favour increased the zeal of that prelate for the court of Rome, and he placed himself at the head of the exactors, to regulate the collection of the impost for the crusade. A general cry of indignation rose from all parts of the kingdom, and James the Third found himself compelled to suspend him from his functions. Graan, careless of the orders of his sovereign, immediately went to Edinburg, and produced before the assembly bulls, by virtue of which Sixtus the Fourth authorised him to levy dimes on Scotland, and to anathematise all those who should oppose the exercise of the discretionary authority of the legate.

James, fearful of exciting troubles, feigned to submit to the orders of the pontiff, and permitted the metropolitan of Saint Andrew's to pillage his subjects. But it was not for a long time. The king, furious at having no share in these dilapidations, resolved to supplant the prelate with the holy father, and sent ambassadors to Rome to obtain, by paying a large sum, apostolic bulls and authority to permit him to seize the body of the legate, to despoil him of his archbishopric, to confiscate his property, and even to behead him. As the sums offered by James the Third were large, and much surpassed those which the primate promised him, his holiness gave the required authority, and the unfortunate metropolitan was

plunged into a dungeon, where he died miserably.

Henry of Sponda remarks, that this was a fortunate matter for the crown of Scotland; for after that time, thanks to the power which had been conceded by the pope, James the Third could appoint to the bishoprics and abbays of his kingdom, and give them to his favourites. Notwithstanding the extreme skill he displayed in extorting money from the faithful, the holy father was always poor, in consequence of the prodigalities of his bastards and sisters, who swallowed up the dimes, the receipts from indulgences, the sales of benefices, and even the taxes for absolutions. Sixtus, finding his resources at an end, determined to exhume a decree of Paul the Second, which reduced the period which separated the jubilees to twenty-five years, and which that abominable pope had promulgated in the hopes of deriving enormous advantages from it for his own account. As death had overtaken him in the interval, he had laboured for his successor. The latter made it an object of a new decree, and fixed the periods of the jubilee, definitely, for each quarter of a century.

Circulars were consequently addressed to all the sovereigns of Europe, to announce to them that this remunerative solemnity would be celebrated at Rome in the year 1475, on which they were entering; and superstition was still so great at that period, that notwithstanding the wars which desolated France, England, Hungary, Spain, and Poland, a large number of pilgrims from these different countries came to the holy city to make their devotions at the tomb of the apostles, and to gain the indulgences promised by the pope. Those whose engagements kept them at home were ransacked by legions of monks, who bore the title of collectors of the Holy See.

All the Christian kings and princes sent rich presents and solemn embassies to Rome to merit absolution for their sins. Ferdinand, king of Naples, the king of Bosnia and his wife, as well as Charlotte, queen of Cyprus, came to the court of the pontiff, wearing the robes of pilgrims, the first to demand pardon for their crimes, the others to do penance for their amours. Louis the Fourteenth himself, notwithstanding his hatred for the Holy See, sent to purchase indulgences and relics at Rome; but as soon as the year of jubilee was expired he recommenced the war against his holiness, and published a decree in which it was said, that by virtue of the canons of the council of Constance, which recognised in kings the right of convening national councils, he enjoined on the French prelates who were without the kingdom, to return at once to their respective sees, and prepare to come to the synod which he convened six months hence, to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of his dominions. He moreover ordered the priests who came from Rome to submit to the inspection of his officers on the frontiers, bulls and other papers of which they were the bearers, to avoid the introduction of any apostolic bulls which might be prejudicial to the liberties of

the Gallican church; finally, he prohibited, under threats of the most grievous penalties, the regular and secular clergy from assisting at any assembly without the kingdom, unless by a formal authority, and one written by his own hand.

Italy was then travelling with ideas of emancipation which were propagated by bold men, who, not despairing of the safety of the people, wished to overthrow tyranny. Among this number were three young Milanese, Olgiati, Lampugnani, and Visconti, who bravely killed with their daggers Galeas Sforza, the oppressor of their country, in open day and in the midst of a solemn festival. "He was a cruel tyrant, that Galeas Sforza," says an Italian chronicle, "if we are to judge him by one of his favourite diversions, which was to inter his victims alive, with their heads above the earth, and to prolong their agony by feeding them with human excrements." Fortunately, there were three young men who devoted themselves for the safety of all, and freed the earth from this monster."

They thus executed their sublime plan:—On the day after Easter, in the year 1478, Galeas left his palace to go to the church of St. Ambrose, to perform his devotions; he assisted at the mass between the ambassador of Ferrara and him of Mantua. In the midst of the ceremony, John Andrew Lampugnani approached, with his two friends, pushed through the crowd of courtiers who surrounded the prince, stating that he had an urgent despatch to present to him. When he had approached him, he put his left hand to his cap, placed his knee on the ground as if he had a request to present to him, and at the same time with his right hand struck him in the belly upward with a dagger he had concealed in his sleeve; Olgiati, struck him in the throat and breast; Visconti in the middle of his shoulder and the middle of his back; and all this was done so quickly, that Sforza fell into the arms of the two ambassadors who were at his side, before they noticed what was passing. But the courtiers, who had time to recover from their first surprize, soon perceived that the duke had been assassinated. Some fled; others drew their swords, and pursued the conspirators. Lampugnani, in endeavouring to escape from the church, was unfortunately entangled in a group of women who were on their knees. Their dresses caught in his spurs; he fell, and was overtaken by one of the squires of Galeas, who killed him on the spot. Visconti was arrested a little farther off, and slain at once by the guards. Olgiati alone escaped; but his flight only retarded the horrible punishment which the satellites of Louis Sforza, the brother of the tyrant, were preparing for him.

This courageous youth has left us a touching relation of that frightful drama, of which he is at once the historian and the hero. "I dared not go to my father's," said he, "to avoid compromising him, but I went to the house of a friend. Unfortunately, on the morning of the day on which I had fixed to endeavour to gain my liberty, I heard the

cries of the soldiers who were dragging the body of Lampugnani in the mud, and who were approaching my retreat. I then discovered that I had been sold; I had not, however, strength to fly; the horror with which I was seized chilled my blood in my veins, and deprived me of the faculty of seeing and hearing." Here stops the recital of Olgiate. "The soldiers," adds the chronicle, "those natural enemies of the people, seized the daring apostle of liberty and dragged him by his hair to the palace of the inquisitors, loading him with blows and insults."

Olgiate was condemned to be tortured with hot pincers and cut to pieces while still alive. In the midst of these atrocious torments the priests, who performed the duties of executioners, exhorted him to repent and ask pardon from God for his crime.

"Never," he replied, "ye props of tyranny; I do not repent; if God had given me ten lives instead of one, I would have disposed of them in the same manner, though I should have perished ten times in the same torments." When they were tearing off the skin of his neck and person, he uttered a cry of pain. "Dost thou then implore mercy," asked one of the priests. "No," replied the martyr, "I only ask that thou shouldst leave this miserable body strength enough that I may exclaim on the scaffold 'Death to kings—long live liberty.'"

Thus perished Olgiate, aged twenty-two years, a victim to his love for his country! May his noble action find imitators, and may the fate of Galeas cause despots to tremble on their thrones.

As Louis the Eleventh found it was to his interest to foment the disorders in Italy, he did not hesitate to encourage the rebellions; thus he sent Philip de Comines with a body of troops to aid the Florentines, who were in open revolt against the Holy See; he even informed his holiness through Guy d'Arpagon, viscount de Lautre, his ambassador, that he must raise the excommunication against the Florentines, and convene a general council, unless he wished to go to war with France. On the refusal of Sixtus to comply with these demands, the ambassador declared, in the presence of the whole Roman court, that Louis the Eleventh was about to assemble to re-establish officially the pragmatic sanction, and he enjoined on the French cardinals, as well as the metropolitans, to return at once to their country.

Ferdinand endeavoured to interfere between Sixtus the Fourth and the most serene republic, but the intractable pontiff was unwilling to grant any but humiliating conditions to Florence, and his efforts to stop the war were useless. Whilst Italy was on fire, and the people were murdering each other to sustain the quarrels of the pope and subjugate a flourishing republic for his infamous nephew, Sixtus the Fourth was continuing the course of his spoliations. Thus he sold the bishopric of Arragon to Ferdinand, and gave the government of that church to a bastard of six

years of age, the son of the king of Naples and a Spanish prostitute; he also sold a dispensation of marriage to the old king of Portugal, Alphonso the Fifth, to enable him to espouse his near relative, the princess Joanna, and almost immediately after expediting this sacrilegious bull, which authorised an incest, he revoked it, because Ferdinand of Naples gave him double the sum to prevent the alliance. Finally, in accordance with the testimony of a cotemporaneous historian, it was proved that he wished to treat with the Turks to sell them Italy, but that Mohammed the Second, having rejected his offer, he was compelled to make peace with the Florentines, who had already gained several advantages over the troops of the Holy See.

The Mussulmen had not, however, renounced their plan of seizing on Lower Italy, and though forced to raise the siege of Rhodes, they had attacked Otranto, which had fallen into their power after an energetic resistance. From that city the pacha Achmet could make incursions with impunity on the coast of the Adriatic, and even pushed them as far as the church of Our Lady of Loretto, whose immense wealth was an object of desire to this miscreant. Naples, Venice, Florence, and Rome, at last united their troops to repulse this dreaded foe, and to drive him from Italy; they had not much difficulty in effecting their object, for at the very moment when the confederates were about to march, they learned that Mohammed the Second was dead, and that the Mussulmen had abandoned Otranto to take part in the bloody dissensions between the sons of that caliph.

His holiness took advantage of this respite to renew the intestine wars of Italy; he fulminated terrible anathemas against the Venetians and Florentines, and ordered the Italian princes to take the cross against these two republics, under the pretext that they were becoming too powerful, and threatened to destroy the equilibrium, which was the guarantee of the existence of each principality: "During these wars of extermination," says Varillas, "the nephews of the pontiff seized on numerous domains, and it only remained for Jerome de Riario, in order to achieve the conquest of Florence, to set foot in Umbria, from whence it was easy to extend himself into Romagna and Tuscany, when fortunately money began to fail the holy father. To procure it he put up at auction the offices of the chancellery, and of the apostolic court, augmented the number of employments, and created five colleges to expedite the affairs of the datary's office. As he found no buyers of these offices, he doubled the old imposts, imposed new, and decreed an extraordinary levy of dimes, under pretence of a crusade against the Turks."

All these means, which had heretofore succeeded so well, produced but little money, and after three years of burnings, pillages, and massacres, he was compelled to sue for peace from Florence, and renounce the hope of placing a crown on the head of his bastard.

It affected him so violently that he sickened, and died on the 13th of August, 1484.

A very singular act, which preceded the death of Sixtus, by only a few days, is related by an historian. "The pope was apprised one morning, that two soldiers were engaged in mortal combat without the gates of Rome. He caused them to be arrested and led to the square of St. Peter, there to fight out their quarrel in his sight. When he appeared on the balcony, they drew their swords, knelt to receive his blessing, and commenced an embittered struggle. Sixtus regarded them and applauded whenever a good blow was struck; it terminated in their both falling, one killed dead on the spot, the other mortally wounded."

Some Catholic authors have affirmed that Sixtus the Fourth showed himself a generous protector of letters, because he enriched the library of the Vatican with the precious and rare manuscripts which the Greek fugitives sold him at a low price. "The better to appreciate," says Bayle, "the protection he afforded to writers, it is enough to relate, that the poor Theodore de Gaza, who had passed all his life in translating the Zoology of Aristotle, presented to him a copy enriched with golden ornaments, and adorned with precious stones. Sixtus received it, and asked him what price he named for it; the author having done so, he sent it to him without adding a penny or a maille, (a very small coin.) Theodore de Gaza

cast the money of the holy father into the Tiber, and perished of hunger."

If the pontiff did not exhibit himself as the most generous towards men of letters by way of compensation, he showed himself the ardent protector of the courtezans of Rome, and Cornelius Agrippa relates very gravely, that his holiness founded several noble lupanars, which were under his protection, and in which each girl was taxed a golden Julius a week. "This impost brought in more than twenty thousand ducats a year," adds the historian; "prostitutes were placed in these resorts of depravity by the prelates of the apostolic court, who levied a certain tax upon their products, and it was a custom so universally practised at that period, that I have heard bishops in counting up their revenues say, I have two benefices which are worth to me three thousand ducats a year, a cure which brings me in five hundred, a priory which is worth to me three hundred, and five prostitutes in the pope's lupanars which bring me in two hundred and fifty."

But that which surpasses all belief, is a fact related in every history of the times; the infamous pontiff permitted Peter, a cardinal and patriarch of Constantinople, Jerome his brother, and the cardinal of St. Lucia, to exercise horrible iniquities during the months of June, July, and August, and with his own hand wrote at the bottom of the request presented to him; "Be it, as is desired."

INNOCENT THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1484.]

Troubles at Rome after the death of the pope—Election of Innocent the Eighth—His origin—Beginning of his pontificate—He renews the robbery for the crusade against the Turks—War between the Holy See and the king of Naples—He lances a bull of excommunication against Ferdinand—Affairs of England—The pope concludes peace with Venice—He causes Bucolini to be assassinated—Persecutions of the Vaudois—The pope excommunicates Ferdinand of Sicily a second time—Opposition of the parliament of Paris to the levy of the dimes—Treaty between the pope and Sultan Bajazet—The prince Zizim, the brother of Bajazet, takes refuge at the pontifical court—Innocent enters into negotiations with the sultan, and engages to poison Zizim—Peace between the courts of Rome and Naples—Death of Innocent.

THE historian of the conclave relates very remarkable particulars concerning the death of Sixtus the Fourth. He maintains, that his dead body became so black that it could not be regarded without horror, and that it spread an insupportable odour through the church of St. Peter, in which it was exposed, so that no one, priest or monk, was willing to remain to pray near the body.

As soon as the news of his death was known, the people rushed in a mass to the palace of Jerome de Riario, to wreak on his bastard the hatred they entertained for him; but Jerome had already fled from the holy city, with his jewels and all the wealth that

he could carry off. His magnificent residence was pillaged; the prophery columns and marble statues, which were so many masterpieces of statuary, were broken up with hammers; they even rooted up the fine trees which shaded his splendid gardens. They then went to his chateau of the Jubilee, so named, because it had been bought with the offerings of the pilgrims at the last jubilee; all his farm-houses were ravaged and given to the flames, and the granaries which belonged to him were entirely emptied, and the grain they contained distributed to the poor. These acts of justice terminated, tranquillity was restored to the city and the cardinals could form a conclave.

The cardinals of St. Mark obtained sixteen of the twenty-six votes on the very evening they assembled. The cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds offered to procure for him three voices more, if he would give him a palace he possessed near the castle of San Angelo; not having been able to conclude the bargain, the latter conceived a violent dislike towards him, and caballed during the night with the vice chancellor in favour of Cibo, cardinal of Melfe. They awoke in succession the prelates who had retired to their cells; they proposed to Savelli to buy his vote, giving him for it the castle of Monticelli, and the promise of the legation of Bologna; they offered to Colonna the chateau of Ceperani, with the legation of the patrimony of St. Peter, a rental of twenty-five thousand ducats, and a benefice worth seven thousand ducats more; they signed an engagement in full form with the cardinal of Ursini, for the chateau of Serterre, and a treaty which assured to him the legation of the March of Ancona, as well as the titles of intendant general of the palace and treasurer of the Holy See; they promised to Martinusius, the seat of Capanica and the bishopric of Avignon; they surrendered to the son of the king of Arragon, in full fee, the city of Pontecorvo; they granted to the cardinal of Parma the enjoyment of the palace of St. Lawrence in Lucina, with the revenues attached to it; they promised the cardinal of Milan, to appoint him archpriest of St. John's of the Lateran, and to give him the legation of Avignon; and finally, the cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds, reserved for himself the domains of Farno, with five adjoining territories, and the rank of generalissimo of the armies of the Holy See. In this way the cardinal of Melfe received a majority of the suffrages, and was proclaimed pope, by the name of Innocent the Eighth.

John Baptist Cibo was born at Genoa, of Grecian parents, who had placed him, when very young, in the service of the king of Sicily. As the young Cibo was very handsome, the people of Alphonso had initiated him early into debauchery. He afterwards passed into the service of the cardinal, Philip Calendrin, who made him his minion, and thanks to the aid of this new protector, he had elevated himself, little by little, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities.

Innocent the Eighth had sixteen bastards when he reached the sovereign pontificate. After the example of his predecessor, his first care, as soon as he was installed in the Vatican, was to provide his lineage with benefices, bishoprics, and principalities; to some he gave duchies and counties; to others whole provinces; he even wished to seize on a part of Abruzzza, a dependency of the kingdom of Naples, for his bastard, Francis. This inconceivable arrogance of the Holy See, irritated Ferdinand, who at first protested in respectful terms against it; but when the pope replied insolently to him through his ambassadors, that a sovereign had always a right to dispose of his dominions, notwithstanding the wishes

of his feudatory, the king of Naples levied troops, and declared that he would forcibly repulse the encroachments of the Holy See. In fact, he attacked all the lords suspected of being in correspondence with the court of Rome, and prohibited his subjects from paying the tribute to which he had assented on his investiture of the kingdom.

As the pontiff needed large sums to carry on this war, he thought to procure them by following the route marked out by his predecessor. He multiplied the ecclesiastical employments, and adjudged them to the highest bidder. He added twenty-six secretaries to those whom Sixtus had already created, and fifty-two sealers of bulls. He also collected tithes for a crusade against the Turks; and his numerous legates once more laid contributions on Jews and Christians; on the one for a thirtieth part of their possessions, and on the other for a twentieth.

They protested in France against the exactions of the legates of the Holy See, and the states-general having assembled at Tours, John of Retz, a canon of Notre Dame, in Paris, besought King Charles the Eighth, the successor of Louis the Eleventh, in the name of the clergy, to have mercy on the Gallican church, and to protect it against the attacks of the Roman vultures. The third estate also protested against the enormous transportation of silver, which the legates of the Holy See were sending out of the kingdom, and addressed energetic representations to him concerning it. But the prayers of the people, and the representations of the prelates, were alike useless. Charles, who had already planned the conquest of Italy, and who wished to use the holy father as an ally, listened in preference to the representations of the pontifical court, in regard to the refusal of the magistrates of Provence, to pay tithes for the crusade. This good understanding was, however, of short duration; and the treaty of peace which the pope concluded with the king of Naples, cooled the diplomatic intimacy between Charles and Innocent, although his holiness had specified in the treaty, that he reserved the right to furnish provisions to the French, and to give them a free passage whenever they desired to recover the kingdom of Naples.

This disgraceful peace, agreed to by Ferdinand only to gain time, and to recover from the defeats he had experienced, increased even the implacable hatred he bore the pope, and he sought every method of hurling him from the pontifical throne. For this purpose his agents sowed divisions in Rome, employed by turns gold, promises, and threats, to induce the cardinals to join his party, and, spreading through Italy writings which unveiled all the turpitude of the holy father, had even allied himself secretly with the Florentines, the duke of Milan, and several princes, who were hostile to Innocent. At length, when he judged himself to be in a position to retake the offensive, he declared sharply to the pope, that he had never intended to fulfil the terms

of the treaty concluded with the apostolic court, and chased off the Roman collectors whom he found in his kingdom. Innocent immediately lanced a bull of excommunication against him, deposed him from the throne as a bastard and usurper, and gave the crown of Naples to the king of France, as the sole legitimate sovereign. Ferdinand, to sustain himself in his quarrel with the pope, had become reconciled to the grandees of his kingdom, and had even set the count and countess of Montford at liberty. Still more, he had sowed the seeds of rebellion in the states of the pope, so that his enemy, having full occupation at Rome, could not direct all his forces against Campania. Moreover, at his instigation, his son-in-law, Mathias, king of Hungary, sent to summon his holiness to revoke the unjust censures which he had pronounced against Ferdinand; and on his refusal to obey, Mathias immediately arrested, as guilty of the crime of lese-majesty, such of the prelates of his kingdom as were suspected of favouring the policy of the court of Rome.

Whilst the holy father was labouring to overthrow the king of Naples as an usurper, through a contradiction not surprising to those who know the tortuous policy of the court of Rome, he was confirming the earl of Richmond in possession of that throne, which that prince, the conqueror of Richard the Third, had assumed to himself by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward the Fourth. Presents and gold decided the pope to legitimise this usurpation, and to authorise a marriage regarded as incestuous by the church, on account of the connection of the parties. His holiness declared, that by the plenitude of his apostolic power, he made regular every thing which could be attained of irregularity in the new dynasty, and that he legitimised all the children born or to be born of this union. He enjoined on all the citizens of Great Britain to obey their new sovereign, under penalty of anathema, and blessed those who aided it against its enemies.

After having despatched the bulls solicited by the ambassadors of Henry the Seventh, the holy father recommenced the war against Ferdinand, in order to secure a part of the estates of that prince for his bastard Francis. To attain his end more readily, he first sought to restore peace to Upper Italy, by making himself an offensive and defensive alliance with the Venetians for twenty-five years, and he also brought about an arrangement between Venice and the duke of Austria. He was less successful in his negotiations with a leader of adventurers, named Bucolini. This lord, after having ravaged a part of Romagna, at the head of some banditti, had established himself in the city of Osimo, an important place in the March of Ancona, from whence he made frequent incursions on the Roman states. The holy father knew that Bucolini was allied with Bajazet, and had promised that sultan, to subjugate for him the shore of the Adriatic, and even to conquer Italy, if he would disembark ten thousand Turks on the shores of

Romagna, a plan which seriously disquieted the court of Rome. In order to prevent its being realised, Innocent determined to invest the retreat of this bandit, and sent the general, James Trivuleus, and the cardinal Julian, to attack Osimo with twelve thousand horse, with whom Louis Sforza and the cardinal of Balue, had united eight thousand foot. But the skill and courage of the garrison triumphed over the assailants, and after a siege of seven months, the generals of the pope were obliged to raise it in disgrace. Innocent, who was never in any difficulty as to the means, wrote to his lieutenants, that if they were unable to conquer his enemy, they must buy him, for he knew how to get back the money they should give as soon as the banditti were out of the place.

Conferences then took place between the besiegers and Bucolini; the bishop of Arezzo offered him seven thousand crowns of gold to surrender Osimo, and break off his treaty with Bajazet. He imprudently agreed to the terms, left the city, disbanded his soldiers, and went to Milan with the money of the holy father. Two days after his arrival, he was found hung to the casement of his window; it was rumoured that he had himself finished his days, but the truth was, that during the night, a prostitute, aided by some sbirri, had strangled him, to recover for his holiness the seven thousand crowns of gold he had given him.

Innocent united to his other vices a naturally sanguinary disposition, and a ferocity which appeared in the briefs he addressed to the bishop of Brescia and the inquisitor of Lombardy, in order to engage them to persecute the heretics, and to publish a crusade against the Vaudois of the valley of the Loire. Perrin thus relates this persecution:—

“Albert, archdeacon of Cremona, having been sent into France by Innocent the Eighth, to exterminate the Vaudois, obtained authority from the king, to proceed against them without any judicial forms, and solely with the assistance of James de Lapalu, lieutenant of the king, and the counsellor Maitre Jean Rabot. These three wretches, the legate, the lieutenant of the king, and the counsellor, went to the valley of the Loire, at the head of a band of fierce soldiers, to exterminate the inhabitants, but they found no one; on their approach, the unhappy heretics had fled with their children into the mountains which crown this fertile valley, and had concealed themselves in the depths of the numerous natural caverns which are found on their tops. The archdeacon and his two acolytes then pursued them as if they had been chasing a fox, and every time they discovered a subterranean cavern in which the unfortunate Vaudois were concealed, they closed the entrance with heaps of straw or dry wood and set it on fire. In this manner these unfortunates were suffocated by the smoke; or if they endeavoured to escape from the caverns which were to become their tombs, they were received with blows from the pikes of the soldiers, and driven back into the flames.

"The terror which this punishment inspired became so great, that most of the Vaudois, who had so far escaped the researches of the envoys of the pope, murdered themselves, or cast themselves into the abysses of the mountains, to avoid being wasted alive. When the executioners had no wood with which to stifle their victims in this horrible hunt, they contented themselves with closing up the entrances to the caverns with rocks, or with walling up the cisterns; so that afterwards, after the departure of the legate, when they made excavations in the mountains, they found more than eight hundred dead bodies of young children, stifled in their cradles or in the arms of their mothers, dead like them from fire or famine. The executioners did their work so well, that of the six thousand Vaudois who peopled this fertile valley, there remained but six hundred to weep over the death of their brethren. All the property of these unfortunates was divided between Jacques de Lapalu, the archdeacon of Cremona, and Maître Jean Rabot; each of them also received tokens of the munificence of the sovereign, and the legate obtained the dignity of bishop, as a reward for having fulfilled his duties with vigour and energy."

Though occupied with persecuting the heretics, his holiness none the less continued his war against the king of Naples, and, the more easy to accomplish his end, had organised a vast conspiracy in the dominions of Ferdinand. Unfortunately for the pope, a traitor revealed the plot, and all the Neapolitan prelates, who had entered into the conspiracy, were massacred at a festival to which the prince had invited them. Ferdinand ordered the dead bodies to be cast into the sea, to conceal their death, and in order to prevent a revolt of the people, his agents gave out that they were only prisoners in a fortress. At first, on the news of this arrest, the pope demanded loudly from the prince, that the ecclesiastics should be set at liberty, and on his refusal to obey his injunctions, he excommunicated him a second time; then when he discovered the whole truth, and was assured of the massacre of the bishops of his party, he no longer restrained his violence; he called down all the curses of heaven on the head of the usurper, published a crusade against him, and invited Charles the Eighth to hasten his coming into Italy, to avenge him on his implacable foe.

As the king of France was still at war with the emperor Maximilian, and found it impossible to dispose of his troops to second the plans of the Holy See, Innocent, who under other circumstances would have encouraged the division between these two princes, interposed between them and caused them to come to a suspension of hostilities. The holy father also solicited the aid of the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella, but unsuccessfully. These two sovereigns said that their wars with the Moors would not permit them to weaken their armies. Innocent was no more successful in the extraordinary levy of dimes which he had ordered in France; the parlia-

ment of Paris courageously opposed the collection of this impost, and represented firmly to the king, that it was odious and impolitic to permit the Roman clergy to seize on all the wealth of France to carry it into Italy. The sovereign was compelled to listen to these remonstrances; the money went no more to Rome, but the people gained nothing by it; Charles continued to levy the tithes, and appropriated them to his own use, in order, as he said, ironically, to show his deference for the parliament, which was unwilling that the money should leave the kingdom.

The affairs of the holy father were taking a very bad turn, and he was already devising means to reconcile himself with the king of Naples, when an event occurred which made the balance preponderate in his favour, and increased considerably his influence in Europe. As we have seen, after the death of Mohammed the Second, his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim, disputed for the throne of the caliphs, and caused rivers of blood to flow; Zizim had been at last defeated, and forced to take refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rhodes, and then to France. Afterwards, the grand master of Rhodes, who was sold to the court of Rome, persuaded him he would be in greater safety in Italy than in the dominions of Charles the Eighth, and he determined to place himself under the protection of Innocent. He came to the apostolic city accompanied by the grand prior of the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He was presented to holiness at a public consistory, where, according to custom, the grand master of the ceremonies informed him through an interpreter, that he must salute the pontiff by kissing his feet. This the Mussulman prince refused to do, swearing by the beard of Mahomet that he would not touch such a dirty baboon. The dragoman did not judge it prudent to translate the oath of Zizim; he merely announced that the young prince demanded to be excused from the humiliating ceremonial of kissing the feet. Innocent waived this form, and his joy at having the Mussulman prince in his power was so great, that he promised him all he asked, and even engaged, by a solemn oath, to re-instate him on the throne of Constantinople.

Innocent well understood all the advantage he could draw from his prisoner; he at first used him to extort from Bajazet an annual tribute, by threatening him to raise the west in behalf of his brother, and compelled him to conclude a treaty, by which the Sublime Porte was obliged to furnish him with troops whenever he required them. He still, however, made use of the crusade against the Turks to extort new subsidies from the people, and whilst his emissaries were negotiating with the sultan to sell him peace, he was sending legates to all the courts of Europe, commissioned to announce to kings and republics the convocation of a general council at Rome, for the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin, in the year 1489.

Embassadors came together from all parts,

and every kingdom, every province, every city of any importance, was represented by its deputies or bishops. It was decreed in this synod, that all Christians should, in accordance with their resources, contribute money, arms or provisions for the expenses of the war against the infidels, and that the holy father should receive full authority to levy annates or tithes, to make collections, to sell indulgences, dispensations and privileges, so far as he judged it necessary for the interests of the crusade. Innocent did not fail to make full use of the authority of the council, and he reaped so rich a harvest in France, Germany, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and England, that he was obliged to add several rooms to the buildings of the apostolic treasury to hold the tons of gold and silver sent in by his collectors. Never had the preaching of a crusade been so productive, and that was owing to the presence of the prince Zizim at Rome, which gave an appearance of truth to the plans of the holy father. To increase his happiness, his negotiations in the east were as successful as his preachings in the west, and the sultan Bajazet, who feared lest he might execute his threats, determined to pay him the tribute which he demanded, and as a proof of his friendship, sent him rich presents in gold, silver, and precious stones; his ambassadors were also accompanied by thirty beautiful Circassian slaves, whom he generously presented to the pope and his cardinals. The ambassadors of the sultan were received with distinction by the officers of the Holy See, who went to meet them a mile without the walls of the city.

Besides this tribute, and these magnificent presents, Bajazet gave to the holy father a hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold to defray the table expenses of Zizim. Some days afterwards his holiness received an embassy from the sultan of Egypt, who sent to offer to ransom Zizim for four hundred thousand ducats, and to surrender the city of Jerusalem in full to the Christians; he took moreover a solemn pledge to surrender to the pope all the conquests he might make from Bajazet, even Constantinople itself. The intention of the sultan was to place Zizim at the head of his troops, and dethrone the sultan, who was his most formidable foe. Innocent accepted the money of the Egyptians, promised to send the young prince to Cairo as soon as he could do so conveniently, and dismissed them.

Although these negotiations had been kept secret, something of them still transpired. The chief of the Turkish embassy discovered that his holiness had promised to set Zizim at liberty on the payment of an enormous ransom. He then determined to outbid the Egyptians, and offered the pope six hundred thou-

sand crowns of gold to permit him to poison the brother of the sultan. Authors say that Innocent was capable of committing any crime for money; he did not, then, reject this odious proposal. He took the six hundred thousand crowns, and gave the required permission, exacting, however, that he should furnish the means to be used in the execution of the plot. It was told his holiness that an officer of the palace, named Christopher Macrin, already gained over to the cause of Bajazet, had promised to mix poison in the water used by the prince at table. "Innocent," says Raynaldi, "approved of every thing. The ambassador caused him to send poison to the assassin on the appointed day. But the holy father, who derived large sums from the existence of his prisoner, had no intention of depriving himself of them. In the evening Christopher Macrin was arrested by the guards of the pope and at once put to the torture. The unfortunate man avowed his crime, and was condemned to be torn by hot pincers, and to be quartered on the public square. After the punishment his members were nailed to the gates of the city. This great rascality," adds the historian, "broke off the negotiations, and the next day the ambassadors embarked for Constantinople, publishing every where that the pope was an unblushing robber."

On his side Innocent published every where, that their anger arose from his having refused the alliance of Bajazet. His legates propagated this story every where, and it served to stimulate the levy of the tenths. The cares and pains which the holy father took to increase his treasures did not, however, absorb all his attention, and did not prevent him from pursuing his plans against the kingdom of Naples. His new returns permitted him to assemble a formidable army, and resume the offensive. In this extremity Ferdinand discovered that his best plan was to submit to the pope, and surrender to him the domains which he wished to erect into a principality for his bastard. The king of Arragon consented to be the mediator between him and the Holy See, and peace was concluded at Rome in the month of February, 1491.

Thus did the infamous Innocent triumph over his foe, and the oldest of his bastards was recognised as a prince. But divine justice had marked out the termination of his crimes, and he died on the 25th of July, 1491, from an attack of apoplexy. Stephen Infesura maintains, that the holy father in his last sickness attempted to reanimate the sources of life by means of a frightful beverage, composed by a Jewish physician with the blood of three young boys of ten years old, who were murdered for the purpose. Onuphre and Ciaconus relate the same fact, which they place at an earlier period.

ALEXANDER THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1491.]

Picture of the Saturnalia of the Roman court.—History of the cardinal Borgia—His life as a student, advocate, and soldier—His debaucheries with a Spanish lady and her two daughters—He continues his relations with Rosa Vanozza, the youngest of the daughters of his mistress—He is called to Rome by his uncle Calixtus the Third—He places Rosa Vanozza and her five children at Venice—Hypocrisy of the cardinal Roderick Borgia—Letters to his mistress—She comes to Rome—Immorality of the cardinals—Borgia buys the papacy—Magnificent feasts at his coronation—He casts aside the mask, and exhibits his enormities in open day—He accumulates riches and dignities on the heads of his bastards—His quarrels with the petty princes of Italy—He compels the king of Naples to give his daughter in marriage to his son Godfrey—He continues the levy of the tenths under the pretence of a crusade against the Turks—Division of the East and West Indies between the Spaniards and Portuguese—Horrible incest of the holy father, his daughter Lucretia, and her two brothers, Francis and Cæsar Borgia—Madame Lucretia marries John Sforza, lord of Pesaro—History of the beautiful Wilhelmina, one of the concubines of the holy father—Orgies and debauchery of the pontifical family—Lucretia, in the costume of a bacchante, presides over a council of cardinals, and seats herself in the chair of St. Peter—Singular deliberations in this assembly—Diversion of Madame Lucretia—Bajazet offers his holiness an enormous sum to poison his brother—Charles the Eighth offers him a large ransom for Zizim—His holiness finds means to get the money from both: he surrenders Zizim to the king of France, receives the promised ransom, and eight days afterwards the Musulman prince dies from poison—Cæsar Borgia a cardinal—His odious character—Treason of the pope toward Charles the Eighth.—Simonies, robbery, murder, and poisoning committed by the pontiff and his son—Francis Borgia male prince of Beneventum—His brother Cæsar assassinates him from jealousy—Alexander heaps his execrable love on Cæsar, and gives him authority to quit the ecclesiastical state—A hunt at Ostia—Cæsar governs the church—His cruelty—He employs himself in killing men for pastime—Assassination of the archbishop of Cosenza—Alexander wishes to cast ambassadors who come to remonstrate with him, out of the windows of the Vatican—History of Jerome Savanarole—Cæsar Borgia at the court of France—A thunderbolt falls on the chamber of the pope—Perfidies, treasons, and crimes of Cæsar Borgia—Scandalous journey of the pontifical family—Third marriage of Lucretia—The orgies which took place on this occasion—His holiness authorises, by a bull, Peter Mendoza to take his own son for a Ganyমেদে—Alexander and Cæsar Borgia form a plan to murder two rich cardinals, in order to inherit their wealth—They are caught in their own snare, and are themselves poisoned—death of the infamous Alexander the Sixth.

WE have reached a period in the history of the Roman pontiffs, which may be regarded as that in which intelligence commenced replacing ignorance in the See of St. Peter; and we must also say, that it is the one in which the corruption of the clergy reached a height which it had not before attained. Before the reign of Alexander the Sixth, the chiefs of the clergy were already neglectful of the care of their flock; but after the time of that pope we shall see them abandoning entirely religious discussions to cast themselves into political struggles, and turn their attention to strategy, finance, the organization of armies, fortifications, and other worldly sciences, which alone could maintain them on the dishonoured chair of St. Peter. For themselves, there exists but one God; it is gold; its worship, debauchery and murder. They have no longer belief or religion; it matters little to them whether a people believe in the Bible, the Evangelists, or the Koran. They despoil all, be they Jews, Christians, or Turks; they no longer condemn heretics to the scaffold from fanaticism, but from avarice. They massacre, indifferently, the rich whose fortunes they covet, and the poor whose energy

they fear. We are, finally, entering upon a period in which the theocracy reached the apogee of its power, and in which, far from concealing its perfidies, corruption, and cruelties in the dark, it exposes them to the light of day, and even glories in them.

The pope, who best comprehended this new phase of the pontificate, is beyond all contradiction the successor of Innocent the Eighth, the execrable Roderick Borgia. He was descended, on his mother's side, from the Spanish family of Borgia, which had already occupied the pontifical throne in the person of Calixtus the Third. Some authors maintain that he was the offspring of an incestuous commerce between the pontiff and his sister Joanna, who was married to a certain Godfrey Lenzuolo of Valencia; and that his holiness, wishing to bequeath to him his name, obliged his brother-in-law to abandon his own name, and take that of Borgia.

From his infancy Roderick was the subject of assiduous care, and was confided to skilful masters, who developed his intellect, and made a remarkable advocate of him. Unfortunately, on becoming a man, he took a turn entirely opposed to every thing good, and

employed his admirable talents in defending immoral and scandalous causes. Soon his profession even became insupportable to him, because it compelled him to place a certain restriction on his morals; and he threw himself into the career of arms, being made an officer of a free company, that he might the more readily abandon himself to his taste for debauchery.

It is supposed that it was at this time he entered into a liason with a remarkable beautiful Spanish lady, who was a widow, with two daughters. After having seduced the mother, he corrupted her children, and initiated them into his horrid pleasures; then, when his mistress died, he freed himself from the eldest of the daughters by placing her in a convent, and kept near him the handsomest and the youngest, named Rosa Vanozza. He had five children by her, Francis, Cæsar, Lucretia, Godfrey, and another who died when young.

Roderick scandalised Spain with his debaucheries for almost seven years, when he heard of the elevation of his uncle Calixtus to the throne of Saint Peter. Seeing at once the immense fortune which this event promised him, he hastened to send a letter of congratulation, in which he besought his holiness to preserve his affection for him. Calixtus replied to his nephew, that he must come at once to Rome, where an important post in the government of the church awaited him, and with his message he sent him a brief, which gave him a benefice that brought him an annual revenue of twelve thousand crowns. This sum, joined to an annual revenue of thirty thousand ducats, which he derived from the property of the family, permitted him to maintain the establishment of a prince. He did not hesitate to obey his uncle's orders; but, as he was unwilling to be separated entirely from his dear Vanozza and his children, and as he understood the necessity there was for his concealing his intrigues in the new part he was about to play, he determined to send them to Venice, where he hoped to be enabled to visit them sometimes without exciting suspicions.

He went alone to Rome, installed himself in a magnificent palace, and became one of the most assiduous courtiers of the holy father, which gave rise to strange rumours in regard to the nature of their relations. The rigidity of morals, however, which he affected, and the mask of hypocrisy which he wore, imposed on the mass, and he even acquired the reputation of an holy person, in despite of his enemies, or rather of those who had penetrated his real character. He was endowed with an eloquence so charming, and urged his doctrines with such skill, that he captivated the minds of those most hostile to him, and had no great difficulty in becoming master of the will of Calixtus. Whilst concealing his ambitious plans beneath the appearance of humility, he was appointed archbishop of Valencia, vice chancellor of the church, and finally, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas, "in

carcere Tulliano," with a pension of twenty-eight thousand crowns of gold; this, with the profits of his metropolitan see, and his place as vice chancellor, rendered his fortune one of the largest in Rome.

From this moment Roderick, the debauchee student of Valencia, the advocate of robbers and assassins, the pillaging and incendiary soldier, the incestuous lover of Rosa Vanozza, thought seriously of making his way to the apostolic throne. From this time he affected the life of a veritable anchorite; he never appeared in public, but with his hands crossed on his breast and his eyes bent to the ground; his language became unctuous and serious; he visited churches, hospitals, and the dwellings of the poor, scattering every where abundant alms, and giving out that at his death the unfortunate should be his heirs; and, finally, he exhibited such profound contempt for wealth, and so great a love for religion and morality, that the Roman people, accustomed for so many ages to be deceived by the priests, allowed themselves to be deceived by his hypocrisy, and proclaimed him a Solomon for wisdom, a Job for patience, and a Moses for the publication of the law of God.

He showed great indefatigability in the duties of his office; he was never absent from consistories or audiences, he conformed always with the sentiments of others, and sought every means to call out their good qualities. By turns grave, light, serious, and playful, he was the charm of the meetings at the Vatican, and created for himself partisans among the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the Italian lords who frequented the court of the holy father. Never did a man know better than he how to conceal his passions beneath an impenetrable mask, nor show more constancy and tenacity in his plans than he.

Whilst he was playing adroitly with the credulity of men, he was carrying on a correspondence with his mistress, which has come down to us, and in which he gave his reasons for the farce he was playing at Rome. "Rosa, my well beloved, imitate my example; remain chaste until it shall become in my power to reseek thee, and mingle our love in infinite pleasures. Let no other mouth profane thy charms, no other hand raise those veils which conceal my sovereign good; a little more patience, and he who is called my uncle will bequeath me the chair of St. Peter as a heritage. In the mean time take great pains with the education of our children, for they are destined to govern people and kings."

Notwithstanding the profound judgment of Roderick, his provisions were not realised on the death of Calixtus; his youth, and perhaps even the rigidity which he affected in his morals, prevented the suffrages from being given to him, and Pius the Second obtained the tiara. During this pontificate he exercised no influence over the government of the church, and applied himself solely to increasing the immense wealth which his uncle had left him, and on which he seized. Pius the

Second died ; Paul the Second succeeded him, then came Sixtus the Fourth. During this last reign he bought the rich abbey of Subiaco, and the legation of Arragon and Castile. But he was at the end of his efforts, and being unable longer to endure the constraint he had imposed upon himself, he returned to his course of life, as a captain of adventurers, and committed so many murders and rapes, that Henry the Feeble, king of Castile, drove him out of Spain.

On his return to Rome, having nothing more to conceal, he brought Rosa Vanozza and his five children to him ; only, to keep up appearances, he gave them a palace in a retired quarter, and his mistress took the title of the countess Ferdinand, of Castile, from the name of his intendant, who passed for her husband. Every night, under the pretext of visiting this gentleman, his countryman, the cardinal went to the residence of his mistress, where he passed, they said, whole nights in his orgies with Vanozza, and, eternal shame, with his daughter Lucretia.

Sixtus the Fourth died, Innocent the Eighth succeeded him, without any change in the infamous conduct of Roderick Borgia ; it is true that his debaucheries were unnoticed in the midst of the Saturnalia of the pontifical court. Rome had become an immense brothel, in which were fifty thousand prostitutes ; the streets and lanes were peopled with cut-throats and assassins, the roads were infested by banditti, so that on the death of Innocent, when the cardinals wished to assemble in conclave, they were obliged first to place soldiers in their palaces, and to plant cannon in the avenues to them, to preserve their sumptuous residences from pillage. As soon as the conclave was formed, they guarded with horse and foot soldiers the suburbs adjoining the Vatican, and closed all the approaches to it with enormous beams.

These precautions being taken, they proceeded to the election of a pope ; the bishop of Pampeluna was at first proposed as a candidate, but Roderick, who had already bought the suffrages of several cardinals, protracted matters and arranged them so as to assure himself of a majority of the votes. To some he gave palaces, to others castles, land, and money ; the cardinal Orsino sold his vote for the castles of Monticelli and Sariani ; Ascanius Sforza exacted the vice chancellorship of the church ; the cardinal of Colonna demanded, for his vote, the rich abbey of St. Benedict, as well as the domains and right of patronage for himself and family for ever ; the cardinal of St. Angelo claimed the bishopric of Porto, and the tower which was a dependency on it, with a cellar full of wine. The cardinal of Parma received the city of Nepi ; Savelli received the government of Citta Castellana, and of the church of St. Mary the Greater ; a monk of Venice who had obtained the cardinalate, sold his vote for five thousand ducats of gold and the promise of passing a night with Lucretia, the daughter of Borgia, to which he assented. Having thus bought up the sacred

college he was proclaimed pope by the name of Alexander the Sixth.

"At last," exclaimed he, "I am pope, the vicar of Christ on earth."

"Yes, holy father," replied Sforza, "you are so most canonically, and we hope by your election to have given repose to the church, and joy to Christendom, as you have been chosen by the Holy Spirit as the worthiest of all your brethren."

Roderick replied, "Though the burden with which we are loaded is heavy, we hope that God will grant to us, as to St. Peter, the strength to bear it gloriously. We have no doubt of the aid we shall derive from the concurrence of your abilities, and especially from your obedience, which we trust will be such, that we shall never be compelled to remind you, that the flock of Christ should be blindly submissive to the prince of the apostles."

He then clothed himself in his pontifical ornaments, and seized the tiara with so much eagerness, that the cardinal de Medicis could not avoid saying to Lorenzo :—

"I fear, my brother, that we are surrendered to the most voracious wolf in the world ; and he will doubtless devour us, if we do not hinder it by prompt flight."

As soon as the ceremonies of the enthronement and of the pierced chair were over, the new pontiff gave his blessing to the clergy, and entered his palace in triumph. All the streets on the route were hung with rich tapestry and strewed with flowers, the public places were dressed with banners, and the stupid crowd rent the air with acclamations. The delight of the Romans was shared by the different courts of Europe, and all the Christian princes sent solemn embassies to the pope, to congratulate him on his exaltation.

Ferdinand of Naples was the only one who foresaw the infamies of this reign, and who abstained from any act of deference towards Alexander the Sixth. He unfortunately predicted what came to pass, for Roderick Borgia, having become pope, no longer placed any restraint upon his passions. He trampled under foot all laws, human and divine, he unveiled the mysteries of his monstrous amours, he audaciously installed in the Vatican his mistress, his daughter Lucretia, and his other children, and showed himself to be avaricious, knavish, implacable, debauched, cruel, or rather fierce, for Paul Langius affirms, that he turned Rome into a slaughter-house. What had he to fear ? Had he not been proclaimed supreme father of the faithful, king of kings, vicar of God on earth, the infallible pontiff ?

The ruling passion in the mind of Alexander the Sixth, was an unmeasured ambition for the elevation of his bastards. He was scarcely seated on the pontifical throne, when he loaded them with riches and honours. Francis, the eldest, was created duke of Candia and prince of Beneventum ; Cæsar, his second son, who was, next to Lucretia, the object of his most tender care, was made a cardinal and archbishop of Valencia, in Spain. But this distri-

bution of titles and benefices was only the beginning of an immense plan which he had formed. His ambition coveted for his bastards the sovereignty of Naples, Venice, Florence, all Italy; thus he dreamed of but victories and conquests, and these thoughts had determined him to take the name of Alexander, which recalled the greatest conqueror of antiquity.

Italy, that magnificent country, so bounteously provided for by Heaven, though degenerate and shorn of its ancient splendour, was still the constant subject of desire to the sovereigns of Europe, who multiplied unceasingly its troubles and intestine divisions. It is true, that the situation of the country assisted in marvellously prolonging these incessant struggles and civil wars, which arose on all sides, at the least encroachment on the self-love of the small princes or the Italian republics. The necessity of maintaining the respective independence of each state, was the result of a refined policy, which entwined Italy and bent its people beneath an insupportable yoke. Venice was distinguished among all the cities for its oligarchical government, a mixture of nobles and merchants; its Council of Ten had carried the art of deceiving the people, and of using men for the advantage and well-being of a privileged caste, so that neither before nor since, has any one surpassed them in the art of duping mankind; and to characterise this period, it is enough to say, that Machiavel, that abominable preceptor of tyrants, flourished in it.

This most serene republic had, like the holy father, ambitious views and plans to realise; its attention was turned unceasingly towards Romagna, of which it already possessed a large part, and towards the dutchy of Milan, a fief of the empire, then ruled by the weak John Galeas, under the tutelage of his uncle, the ambitious Louis Sforza; it dreamed of wresting from him the states of Parma, Placenza, and Genoa, then dependencies of the Milanese; and even without avowing it, it foresaw the moment in which the republic of Florence, tired of obeying the Medici, would wish to reunite with Venice. On the other hand, the kingdom of Naples, which alone, was sufficiently important to exercise a salutary influence over the other states, was placed in a most critical position in consequence of the national hatred towards the king. Thus was Italy threatened with ruin on all sides, and Venice, the sovereign of the Adriatic, hoped soon to ornament its diadem with the flowers of other crowns; Rome even did not give it umbrage, and it regarded with calmness the successors of the apostles in the apostolic city, and their processions of minions, bastards, and courtisans.

The papacy, however, was to teach the Venetians, so proud of their greatness, that God sports with the combinations of men, and that which appeared to lead infallibly to the ruin of the popes, that double character of king and priest which they have united in their persons, became, in the hands of Alexander the Sixth, a powerful lever, which he

used to break down the formidable edifice of that republic.

Roderick Borgia, gradually, and without even having need of recourse to temporal arms or spiritual thunders, but simply by his prudent and Machiavelian course, triumphed over Venice, and re-established the preponderance of the Holy See in Italy. We must admit, also, that this was difficult to accomplish, for the long sojourn of the popes at Avignon, the multiplied attempts at revolt by the Roman people, the grants obtained from emperors and pontiffs by the vicar barons of the Holy See, had considerably diminished the domains of the church and the revenues of the apostolic treasury. Alexander at once applied all his care to restore the integrity of the pontifical states. He then determined to overthrow the authority of the neighbouring petty princes, among whom were the Bentivogli of Bologna, the Malatesta of Rimini, the Manfredi of Faenza, the Colonna of Ostia, the Montefeltri of Urbino, and, finally, the Vitelli, Savelli, and several others who owned rich provinces.

Before, however, engaging in contest against all these families, the pope was desirous of obtaining strong assistance by contracting alliances with powerful princes. He first addressed himself to Ferdinand, king of Naples, and taking advantage of the alarm, which the armaments of the king of France, who was preparing to invade his kingdom, caused him, he offered him the aid of an army, on condition that his son Alphonso, duke of Calabria, should give his daughter in marriage to the youngest of the bastards of the holy father, with a dowry in the kingdom of Naples.—His proposition having been rejected in insulting terms, Alexander turned his views in another direction, and formed a defensive league with the tutor of John Galeas, duke of Milan, and the most serene republic. It was a difficult matter to conclude an alliance between Rome and Venice; thanks, however, to Alexander's skill in diplomacy, the difficulties were overcome, and the treaty was signed between the republic, the court of Rome, and the dutchy of Milan.

Alphonso of Calabria and Peter de Medicis, alarmed at the consequences of a league, which threatened the political existence of the other states, sought to break it; for this purpose they received joyfully proposals from Fabricio Colonna, Prosper his brother, and the cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds, avowed enemies to the pontiff, who engaged to deliver Rome with the assistance of the party of the Guelphs and the Ursini, if the army of Alphonso could in three days present itself before the walls of the holy city.

The old king, Ferdinand, with his prudent foresight, had opposed this plan, and desired to make peace with Alexander on any terms; unfortunately death overtook him at the moment when he was renewing negotiations with the pope. His holiness would, doubtless, have easily arranged a new treaty, since the opposing interests of the contracting parties had

already induced grave discussions between the court of Rome and the Venetians. Afterwards, when the new king of Naples had been informed that France had entered into the league, he was desirous of repairing the fault he had committed, and re-opened the negotiations commenced by his father with the court of Rome. The conditions were, however, no longer the same, and his pride, which had before revolted at the idea of giving the hand of his young daughter, Donna Dancha, to Godfrey Borgia, was obliged to bend before the exigencies of his position, and he sent to give his consent to the proposed marriage, to bestow the principality of Squillace and the countship of Cariati on the young couple, to make a rich gift in benefices to Caesar, and a pension of five thousand ducats to Francis, duke of Candia, with the promise of one of the first posts in the kingdom and the command of his armies. These offers of the king were accepted by his holiness, who demanded in advance ten thousand ducats, of which he had pressing need.

Public feasts and rejoicings took place at Rome, on account of the marriage of Godfrey Borgia, and the holy father displayed such magnificence in the matter that he entirely emptied the treasury of the church. He then had recourse to the expedients which popes and kings usually employ to refill their coffers; he increased the imposts and oppressed the unfortunate people; he then tried a new publication of a crusade, and however improbable it may appear, after having been robbed by the popes for forty years, under the pretence of wars against the Turks which never took place, the stupid people still brought enormous sums to the Vatican, and nourished the licentious displays of the bastards of Alexander and his cherished Lucretia.

It was at this time, in the year 1492, that an extraordinary event occurred; the discovery of a new continent by the celebrated Christopher Columbus, and at about the same period the Portuguese, Vasco de Gama, prosecuted the discoveries of Henry the Navigator, of Cavellas, and of Bartholomew Diaz, doubled the cape of Good Hope, passed to India through the Mozambique channel, and changed entirely the route and form of the commerce of the world.

The Portuguese had followed the Spaniards to the continent discovered by Columbus, and were disputing with them by arms for this rich prey. As their interest, however, induced them not to make too much noise about their quarrel, the king of Portugal, John the Second, and Ferdinand the Catholic, agreed to refer the settlement of the boundaries of their new empires to the pope.

Alexander the Sixth consented to act as the mediator of peace between the two countries; he traced a line which passed from pole to pole through the Azores, or Western islands, and decreed, by virtue of his universal omnipotence, that all the countries which were beyond this line, that is, the West Indies, or America, should belong to the king of

Spain, and those on this side, that is, the East Indies and the shores of Africa, to the king of Portugal. His holiness imposed no other condition on this magnificent gift than the immediate payment of a large sum of money, and an engagement by the Spaniards and Portuguese to convert, willingly, or by force, the inhabitants to Christianity. Sixty years after the publication of this bull, the execrable Spanish missionaries had murdered fifteen millions of victims in the new world, in obedience to the orders of the pope.

As soon as Alexander had repaired his treasury with the profits of the crusade, he was engaged in concluding a marriage between his daughter and John Sforza, lord of Pesaro, and as she had been affianced from her infancy to an Arragonese gentleman, by virtue of his apostolic power he freed her from her oath.

"At this marriage took place," says Stephen Infessura, "fetes and orgies worthy of Madame Lucretia. In the evening his holiness, the cardinal Borgia, the duke of Candia, some courtiers, and several noble ladies supped together, at which play actors and female dancers appeared, who represented obscene plays, to the great joy of the guests." (The recital of the after transactions are not proper to be translated.)

Alexander had consented to the marriage of his daughter because he was then ruled by a new passion for a young girl called the beautiful Wilhelmina, the sister of Alexander Farnese, whom this wretch had prostituted to him to purchase his pardon for a crime he had committed. The Farnese afterwards obtained a cardinal's hat, and we shall see him, in his turn, filling the apostolic chair, by the name of Paul the Third. Such is the origin of the great Farnese family; with which the first sovereign families of Europe have allied themselves.

Madame Lucretia, after her marriage, refused to go with the lord of Pesaro to his principality, and lived as before in the palace of the Vatican. "She no longer quitted the apartments of the holy father, by day or by night," adds Burchard, the master of ceremonies to Alexander, who registered carefully, hour by hour, all that occurred at the pontifical court.

Alexander granted to his cherished daughter, not only all that she asked, but even gave her the superintendence of the government of the church. She was present when the letters were opened and business despatched; she convoked the sacred college, and frequently, at the close of orgies, she presided over the council of the cardinals in the costume of a bacchante, with naked bosom, and her body, scarcely covered by a muslin robe. In this condition she deliberated on subjects of licentiousness, and was not ashamed to give and receive, before them, caresses so immodest, that Burchard himself, habituated as he was to so many of such things, exclaims, in recording it, "Horror! ignominy! disgrace!"

Mussulman ambassadors soon after arrived

Rome, commissioned by the sultan Bajazet to make overtures to the holy father to have the prince Zizim poisoned. The following was the letter of the Ottoman emperor:

"The sultan Bajazet, by the grace of God, the greatest king and caliph of the two continents of Asia and Europe, to the excellent lord Alexander, father of all Christians, by the gifts of Providence, and most worthy pontiff of the Roman church, reverence, kindness, and sincerity.

"I have, my lord, until now, ~~payed~~ with exactness to your holiness forty thousand ducats a year, for the support of my brother Zizim; but, as Innocent the Eighth, your predecessor, as I have been informed, whilst he was receiving large sums from me to guard that ambitious prince, was also listening to the proposals of the sultan of Egypt, and accepting his money to set Zizim at liberty, I am led to fear, lest one day your successor may furnish troops to my brother, to enable him to dispute my throne.

"Your envoys are well apprised of my apprehensions, and have advised me to address myself directly to you, to procure for my mind the tranquillity I so much need, and to put an end to the cause of my alarm. They have even induced me to hope that you would listen favourably to my propositions.

"I then pledge myself to give you three hundred thousand ducats, several cities, and the shirt of Jesus Christ, if your holiness will remove Zizim from the world in any way you may judge best. A signal service will thus be rendered to the prisoner himself, for according to the prophet, he should prefer death to servitude, and you, most illustrious lord, will not commit a crime, since, by your religion, Christians are ordered to exterminate heretics and infidels."

No authentic document containing the pontiff's reply remains, only Comines affirms that he accepted the offer of the caliph, and what appears to confirm this opinion is the knowledge afterwards acquired of a secret treaty between the courts of Rome and Constantinople, by which Bajazet engaged to furnish to the Holy See six thousand veteran cavalry, and as many infantry, to combat the French, who were preparing to invade the kingdom of Naples.

Charles the Eighth did not delay to enter Italy at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, assisted by an artillery force of a hundred and forty field pieces, and his progress was so rapid, that he had already conquered Lombardy before Alexander could obtain the means to resist him. In this extremity the holy father endeavoured to bring into play the arts of diplomacy, and sent ambassadors to the king of France, to enjoin on him to stop his march. Charles, however, undisturbed by the prohibition of the pope, continued his route towards Rome, whither his deputies had already preceded him, commissioned to demand from his holiness the investiture of the kingdom of Naples for their master.

Not only did Alexander reply that he would

never accede to their proposal, and would oppose with all his power the passage of the French through his states, but when the chief of the embassy represented to him, that Charles, being the ally of Maximilian, could deprive him of his tiara, either by force, or by having him judged by a council as a simoniacal, adulterous, incestuous, robbing, and murdering pope, he was still unwilling to yield, and even spoke in reviling terms of Charles, in the presence of the minister of the king of Naples, of Lopez, his datary, and of the prince of Anhalt, the delegate of the empire. He had the boldness to accuse the king of France of having formed the ambitious project of placing the imperial crown on his own brow, and of overthrowing Maximilian from his throne. "As for myself," added he, "even were Charles to place a drawn sword at my throat, I would still oppose his execrable ambition. And you, prince of Anhalt," said he, addressing the ambassador of Germany, "it is your duty to inform your master of the designs of France, that in his capacity of protector of the church, he may join other Christian princes in defending our see, and preserving the rights of the empire, and the liberty of all Italy."

As was to be anticipated, his courage failed before the danger, and when the king of France presented himself on the borders of the ecclesiastical states, the pope dared not dispute his entrance. Finally, when he was beneath the walls of Rome, his holiness sent to him his master of ceremonies, his apostolical secretary, and the dean of the rota, to receive his orders. Charles caused the gates to be opened immediately, and entered the city armed at all points, with lances in rest, ensigns displayed, and trumpets sounding, escorted by his troops, who marched in close columns, followed by his formidable artillery.

His quarter masters billeted the troops, his prevosts placed sentinels in all the quarters, fixed the rounds and the patroles, erected scaffolds and racks, and published the ordinances of the prince to the sound of the trumpet, as if he had been in Paris. Though absolute master in Rome, the king had not yet seen Alexander, who had shut himself up, with his family, in the castle of San Angelo. A great number of prelates, among whom were Ascanius Sforza, vice chancellor of the church, the cardinals Julian de la Rovera, Gurch, St. Severin, Savelli, and Colonna, proposed to the king to judge and depose the pope, if he refused to submit. Twice even had the artillery been turned against the castle of San Angelo, to alarm him and conquer his obstinacy; but, says Comines, the prince refused to come to extremities. At length the pope yielded to the urgency of his son, Cæsar Borgia, who represented to him how imminent was the danger of the ruin of their family, and consented to grant an audience to Charles the Eighth. The first interview commenced in this singular manner:—Alexander, to avoid embracing the king, as ceremony required, feigned to faint, and fell back on the

sofa; Charles, on his side, took a seat near a window, until they had brought the holy father to by the use of salts. The conference then commenced, and they came to the following arrangements:—Alexander agreed to live in peace with his cardinals, to pay them the rights due them, to place in possession of the king the cities of Viterba, Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto; not to confer any legation without his permission, to give cardinal's hats to two of Charles' captains, and to surrender the prince Zizim to him. His holiness, moreover, granted to him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and even granted to him the cardinal Borgia, his son, as a hostage for the execution of his promises. Charles then took the oath of obedience to the pope, and paid the ransom of Zizim; that done, he left Rome with all his troops, and went towards Naples. Eight days afterwards, when he was scarcely out of the territories of the church, the unfortunate Zizim yielded up his last breath. The pope had kept his promises religiously; he had engaged to give up his prisoner to Charles the Eighth, which he had done, having only poisoned him beforehand. In this way he obtained the ransom which was already paid by France, and the three hundred thousand ducats which had been offered him by the sultan of Constantinople.

On the next day, Cæsar Borgia, in defiance of his oath to remain with Charles, escaped from the French camp in disguise and returned to Rome, where the pope received him with the most extravagant demonstrations of love. Cæsar was the object of Alexander's preference, and he truly deserved it from the similitude of his character to that of the holy father. Like him, destitute of shame or modesty, he abandoned himself to all the licenses of his passions; like him, obstinate in his plans, implacable in his revenge, he erected crime into a political system, and recoiled before no atrocity; like him, ambitious and egotistical, he bent every thing to his selfishness, sacrificed every thing to his interest; morality and religion were in his hands but instruments, which he used for the success of his plans, and which he trampled under foot when they became useless to him. These two men, so well made for each other, had not, however, agreed upon one point; Alexander was desirous of bequeathing the papacy to his son, and Cæsar coveted an imperial crown, and all Italy for a kingdom. Cæsar was a prince of the church, and he would have given all his ecclesiastical honours for one of the secular titles with which his elder brother, the duke of Candia, was so abundantly provided. It was on this account that the cardinal had conceived a secret hatred against his brother, whose results we are to see.

This flight of Cæsar Borgia, and the poisoning of Zizim, greatly enraged Charles the Eighth, and he swore vengeance against the pontifical family. As his interests did not permit him to return at once to Rome, he put off the punishment of the pope to another

time, and marched rapidly on Naples. The cowardly Alphonso fled into Sicily on his approach, abdicating in favour of his son Ferdinand, to whom he left the defence of the capital. Naples, notwithstanding the efforts of the young prince, was carried by assault, and the rest of the kingdom was conquered with such marvellous facility, that Alexander said, that the French had made war with wooden spurs, and had chalked out their quarters, meaning thereby, that they would not long remain masters of Naples. He could, moreover, the better prophesy about it, since he had taken measures to make it true, by forming a formidable league among all the Christian powers against the king of France. The republic of Venice and the duke of Milan, had entered into the confederacy; Ferdinand the Catholic, Henry the Seventh, king of England, the archduke Philip and his son Maximilian, had also rallied to the support of the holy father.

Charles soon discovered the danger which menaced him, and to allay the storm, he wished to alarm his enemies by a daring blow. Leaving then a part of his troops in his new kingdom, under the command of the duke of Montpensier, whom he had created viceroy of Naples, he marched on Rome with nine thousand picked soldiers, to chastise the pope. The latter had been advised of his movement, and had fled with his family to Orvieto. The king remained but three days in the holy city, and went rapidly into Tuscany, and from thence to the duchy of Parma, where forty thousand of the confederates had assembled to dispute the passage.

Alexander, on his side, had returned to Rome as soon as he was informed of the departure of Charles, and as he considered himself strong enough, thanks to his allies, to dictate laws to him, he sent ambassadors instructed to inform him, that the conventions before agreed upon by them, were erased and annulled, on account of their having been imposed by force; he also ordered him to leave Italy immediately with all his troops, and to recall the garrisons which he had left in Apulia and Calabria, under penalty of being cited to appear before the pontifical justice, to hear himself excommunicated, interdicted, and deposed. The commissioners of the pontiff met Charles at Turin, on the very day of the victory of Fornova, in which ten thousand French had crushed an army of forty thousand men. The prince was still all covered with blood and dust when the legates came to summon him to go to Rome to render an account of his conduct to the sovereign pontiff. This was adding sarcasm to a hateful perfidy. "I will accept the invitation of the holy father," replied Charles to the deputies, "and I hope that he will await me, that I may have the honour of kissing his feet, of which I was deprived when I last passed through Rome."

This reply of the monarch showed the ambassadors that they could not return too quickly, if they did not wish to be treated as enemies. Notwithstanding his victory, Charles

was obliged to return to France, and the kingdom of Naples had passed under the sway of Ferdinand the Second, in less time than it had taken the French to conquer it. Alexander, freed from his dreaded foe, turned all his thoughts to the accomplishments of his plans for the elevation of his family, and employed by turns treason, simony, force, and assassination, which form the usual train of popes and kings. At first, under the pretext that the Roman barons had betrayed their oaths of fidelity, by submitting to the French, he declared them deprived of all authority, and instructed the duke of Candia, whom he had appointed general of the church, to attack them, one after another in their fortresses, and to seize on their domains. The greater part, seeing the uselessness of resistance, surrendered, and were cowardly murdered; the Orsini alone disputed Romagna foot by foot.

His holiness was, at the same time, occupied in repairing the wretched state of his finances, and proceeded in it, with his second son, the cardinal Cæsar, in such a way as to exhibit how great was the genius of the Borgia, since they surpassed all the predecessors of Alexander in inventing a new mode of refilling the treasury of the Vatican. They published a law, declaring the Holy See the heir of the members of the sacred college; they then sold the cardinalship to the richest Romans, and then poisoned them to become their heirs. Alexander also carried on a large trade in crucifixes, relics, and indulgences, which brought him in considerable sums; he also sold, through his datary, Jean Baptiste Ferrara, the cardinal of Modena, ecclesiastical dignities, employments, and benefices, without troubling himself whether they were vacant or not; only in the latter case, poison or the dagger were employed on the prelate who refused to yield his place to him who had bought it. In his turn, Jean Baptiste Ferrara, the minister of iniquity, the instrument of pontifical despotism, received the chastisement of his crimes, and was poisoned by Cæsar Borgia, who coveted the immense wealth he had amassed in the exercise of his office.

Whilst his holiness and his son were making or breaking cardinals as their policy or their interest required, the duke of Candia was carrying on the war against the Orsini in Romagna, razing castles, destroying fortresses, pillaging towns, and forcing the people to submit to the Holy See. His atrocities, however, ended in exasperating the people; the citizens armed every where, and he was forced to retreat.

Alexander then called to his aid Gonzalvo de Cordova, who was in Italy with a formidable army, destined for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples; but instead of fighting the Orsini, the Spanish general treated with them, and constrained the holy father to ratify his engagements. To avenge himself for what he called treason, the pope was demigod of ridding himself of Gonzalvo de Cordova, and instructed him to drive the French from Ostia, in the hopes that he would there

find his death. In fact, the enemy was so strongly entrenched in this position, that it appeared to be impossible to dislodge him; in less, however, than a month, after incredible efforts and prodigies of valour, the Spaniards rendered themselves masters of Ostia, and Gonzalvo returned to Rome to beseech the holy father to permit him to put an end to the war in Naples, and fulfil the wishes of King Ferdinand the Catholic. Alexander, who could not pardon the new glory he had acquired, refused his demand, and broke out into gross abuse of Ferdinand and Isabella, whom he said, were indebted to him for large sums, which he had lent them to bring their conspiracy against the foolish king of Castile to a successful issue. "Thus then, pope of Satan," replied Gonzalvo, "thou refusest to obey the sovereigns whose subject thou wert, before thou occupiedest the pontifical throne, through their protection? Tremble, senseless old man, lest they take a shining vengeance on this insolent tone." This done, the Spanish general retired quickly from the audience chamber, rejoined his army and marched on Naples.

Shortly after, news of the entire expulsion of the French from Italy, and of the death of King Ferdinand, was received at Rome.—By this event, the crown of Naples of right, reverted to an uncle of that prince, named Frederick, who hastened to send ambassadors to the court of Rome, to solicit the investiture of that kingdom. Before deciding the question regarding this crown, the pontiff, who had constantly in view the elevation of his family, exacted, that the consistory should make a decree investing the duke of Candia with the principality of Beneventum, and placing him in possession of a tribute of an hundred thousand crowns of gold, which the kings of Castile and Portugal paid yearly to the Holy See. Garcia Las, the Spanish ambassador, opposed this measure energetically, and protested, in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, against the encroachments of the pontiff, and what surprised the cardinals most was, to see the protest of Spain supported by Cardinal Valentine. Notwithstanding their united efforts, however, the decree was made, and Francis, the eldest son of the pope, obtained the principality of Beneventum, with the countships of Terracina and Ponte Corvo.

On this occasion, the duke of Candia came to Rome, to receive the investiture of his new estates, and entered the holy city mounted on a magnificent horse, glittering with gold and precious stones, and surrounded by an escort of rich lords, barons, and princes, as if he had himself been emperor or pope. All these honours awakened the jealous fury of Cæsar Borgia, and Lucretia having been imprudent enough to extend her incestuous caresses to Francis, without appearing to pay any attention to her other brother, the death of the new prince of Beneventum was resolved upon; one night, after leaving the house of Rosa Vanozza, where he had supped, he was attacked by four men in masks, pierced with

nine blows of a dagger, and his dead body thrown into the Tiber.

On the next day, the cardinal Cæsar Borgia started for Naples, where he was commissioned to crown Frederick of Arragon. This precipitous departure, and the disappearance of Francis, caused him to be accused of fratricide. "But the pope sought to dispel it, says Burchard, and sent us to seek his son in all the brothels of the city."

Some days afterwards, the dead body of Francis was found in the Tiber, by some fishermen. Alexander at first thought that the enemies of his family had assassinated him, and not knowing on whom to lay it, he put to the torture several notables of Rome, chosen by hazard, and did not stop until he became certain that the crime had been committed by his cherished son. "Then, says Burchard, he burst into tears, and consoled himself in the arms of Madame Lucretia, one of the causes of the murder."

When Cæsar Borgia supposed that no more was thought at Rome of the murder of the duke of Candia, he returned from Naples, and presented himself before his holiness, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred in his absence. Alexander received him with the same demonstrations of tenderness as before, and at his request consented to free him from his ecclesiastical vows, that he might enter upon a career more conformable to his tastes and habits. Thus Cæsar Borgia, by authority of the pope, found himself the heir of the titles and principalities which he so long envied his brother, and from a cardinal became a soldier.

To celebrate his reconciliation with his father, Cæsar was desirous of giving him the diversion of a hunting party, and both started for Ostia, accompanied by courtiers, prostitutes, minions, and jugglers, and escorted by five hundred horse and six hundred foot soldiers, which placed them beyond the reach of an attempt at abduction. "They passed four whole days," says Tomasso Thomasi, "in the woods of Ostia, taking pleasure in surpassing in debauchery and licentiousness, all that the most depraved imagination could invent, after which they returned to that Rome which they had rendered a cavern of brigands, a sanctuary of iniquity. It would be impossible," adds the historian, "to relate all the murders, rapes, and incests which were daily committed at the court of the pope, and scarcely would the life of a man be long enough to allow him to transcribe the names of the victims who were stabbed, poisoned, or cast alive into the Tiber."

In the midst of all these abominations, the cardinals prostrated themselves before Alexander the Sixth, and applauded the incests of the father and his children; but what finished the degradation of this court, is the concert of praise and flattery with which they hailed the arrival of Cæsar when he appeared in the consistory. It is true, that the terror which this monster inspired, added much to the marks of submission which were

lavished on him, for each one knew that Cæsar Borgia, either from avarice or cruelty, was constantly thinking of lowering their heads.

"It was so great a pleasure for him to see blood flow," says Burchard, "that following the example of the emperor Commodus, he exercised himself with killing, in order to keep up his tiger rage. One day he enclosed the square of St. Peter with palisades, and ordered his guards to bring into the enclosure prisoners of war, men, women, and children; he then commenced a horrid contest with these unfortunate persons, they bound with cords, he armed at all points, mounted on a fierce courser; he shot some, hacked others with blows of his sabre, trampled some under his horse's feet, and in less than half an hour he caracoled alone in a sea of blood, and in the midst of dead bodies, whilst his holiness and Madame Lucretia were taking their pastime in a balcony, by assisting at this horrid scene." These details are not the most frightful which the master of ceremonies has transmitted to us; there are others which we are forced to suppress, on account of their monstrous character.

Some time after, Ferdinand and Isabella addressed energetic protests to the court of Rome, on account of a permission which the pope had granted to the heiress of the crown of Portugal, to leave the convent in which she was, and marry a son of the foolish king, John the Second; this authority compromised seriously the interests of the king of Castile, who had pretensions on this kingdom.

As Cæsar Borgia was desirous of contracting an alliance with Charlotte, the daughter of Frederick, king of Naples, the near relative of Ferdinand, he was fearful lest that prince would oppose some obstacle to his plan, in order to avenge himself on his father for having raised up a dangerous competitor for the throne of Portugal; he determined to escape this inconvenience by casting the blame on another. This determination taken, his holiness assembled the consistory, and in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, accused the secretary of the briefs, Florida, archbishop of Cosenza, with having traitorously forged a dispensation for the heiress of Portugal, and with having sent it to her at her entreaty. He ordered his guards to arrest him, and proceeded at once to his examination.

The unfortunate prelate appeared at first annihilated, and could scarcely articulate some words in his defence; he gradually recovered from the blow that he had been struck, protested his innocence, and related, in accents of truth, the minute orders which had been given him in this matter. Alexander did not give him a long time to pursue his justification; at a sign from the pope, four sbirri cast themselves upon Florida, bound him, and hurried him to the castle of San Angelo. This unfortunate man was plunged into a dungeon, despoiled of his garments, his feet naked and immured to his knees. They left him only a wooden crucifix, a breviary, a Bible, two pounds of bread, a small cask of

conquered, the duke of Valentinois came to Rome, to receive its investiture at the hands of the sovereign pontiff, and to accomplish a new crime, which he was meditating with his father. Since his alliance with the house of France, Cæsar thought of urging on Louis the Twelfth to a war against the kingdom of Naples, so that he might, under cover of the general disturbance, conquer one by one the small republics of Italy; but the marriage of Lucretia was an obstacle to their plans, which it was necessary to remove. As the Borgia were never embarrassed about ridding themselves of an enemy or a friend, they agreed that his holiness should write to the prince to come to Rome, to assist at the festival of the jubilee, and that he should be murdered in the Vatican. The thing took place thus: on the evening of his arrival, at the moment when he was entering the palace of the holy father alone, assassins fell upon him, struck him with five blows of their daggers, and escaped, thinking they had slain him. He, being of a vigorous frame, had still strength enough left to drag himself into the interior of the apartments, and call for aid. His holiness, warned by the noise, of what was occurring, hastened to the wounded man, and caused to be administered to him all the care which his state demanded. "The physicians," adds Burchard, "who received all the lamentations of the pope as serious, took so much pains with the wounded man, that they saved his life; and Alphonso was now convalescing, when one night masked men entered his palace and strangled him."

Alexander was then occupied with granting an audience to the ambassadors of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, who had orders to ask, for their prince, authority for a divorce from Beatrice of Arragon, daughter of the old Ferdinand of Naples; also to the deputies of the king of Portugal, who came to beseech his holiness to grant a dispensation to the king to allow him to marry the sister of his first wife. As both supported their requests by rich presents and sums of money, the pope granted to the king of Hungary authority to repudiate his lawful wife; and to the king of Portugal, permission to contract an incestuous marriage. When the sitting was over, Alexander returned to his palace, and went, as was his custom, towards the apartment of the duke of Valentinois, who was absent; he found there three prelates, who were waiting for his son. Whilst the pontiff was discussing with them as to the means of increasing the product of the jubilee, a storm suddenly arose, a thunderbolt entered the room, knocked down the ceiling, and killed the three bishops; the pope alone survived the catastrophe, the beam and rafter having formed a kind of dais above his head; he, however, received violent contusions, and was drawn out expiring from the midst of the ruins.

Notwithstanding the severity of his wounds, Alexander was soon in a state to retake the government of affairs, and to celebrate his convalescence, he published a new crusade

against the Turks, and imposed a tax of a tenth of their revenues on all Christendom. To appreciate the incredible sums which he wrested from the fanatical devotees, it is only necessary to state, that in the territory of Venice alone, these taxes yielded him seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds weight of gold. This wealth, added to that which the jubilee had produced, placed Cæsar Borgia in a position to equip new troops and continue the war. In order, however, to reach his end sooner, he called the imbecile Louis the Twelfth into Italy, who, at his instigation, became subservient to the policy of the pontiff, and formed an offensive and defensive league with Ferdinand the Catholic, for the division of the kingdom of Naples.

In less than four years, the confederated armies conquered the states of Frederick, and in the same time, Cæsar Borgia reduced, beneath his sway, the principality of Piombino, which belonged to James of Appiano, as well as the duchy of Urbino, and the city of Camerino; the lords of these two last cities were strangled, as were their children; it was the fate which the duke of Valentinois reserved for those whose spoils he coveted; neither age nor beauty found favour in his eyes; the favour he granted to young women, was to use them in his debauches for a few days, and then to throw them into the Tiber. Alexander and his son marched steadily to their end, which was the subjugation of Italy. Implacable in their policy, casting down all obstacles, ridding themselves of all their enemies, employing, by turns, the sword and poison, as circumstances demanded, forming alliances with the powerful to annihilate the weak, and then crushing the powerful, it appeared as if nothing could resist them, and as if the whole universe must, in the end, become submissive to their sway.

Moreover, all princes obeyed a species of fascination which Cæsar Borgia exercised, and came themselves to hand to him their fortunes and lives; thus, under the pretext of a league against Florence, he enjoined on the sovereign lords of Italy, to join their troops to those of the pope, which were already increased by a body of six thousand horse, which Louis the Twelfth had furnished him; and with the assistance of this army, he commenced by summoning John Bentivoglio, who had been one of his allies, to surrender Bologna to him. This mode of proceeding showed the other princes what they had to expect from the pontiff and his bastard; they therefore wished to break the league at once, and unite against the common enemy. Guidibaldo retired to the city of Urbino; John of Varano threw himself into Camerino; the Orsini, the Vitelli, the lords of Perouse, Fermo, Sinigaglia, Siena, who all followed the trade of condottieri, formed a single army of all their bands, and engaged, by oath, to defend themselves against the Borgia. But it was too late for such a plan to succeed; the pope and his son, who had preserved agents and spies among them, sowed dissension in the hostile camp.

They frightened some, bought off others, and in less than two months afterwards the league broke up, and the condottieri remained in the service of the Holy See. With their assistance, Cæsar constrained Guidibaldo and John of Varano again to fly from their estates; he carried Sinigaglia, which belonged to Francis Marie de la Rovere, by assault, and on the day of the victory, he caused the condottieri, of whom he had no longer need, to be arrested in his camp. By his orders Vitellozzo Vitelli, the lord of Citadi Castello, Oliverotto, the lord of Fermo, Paul Orsini, the duke of Gravina, and Francis of Todi, were murdered or hung.

The pope, on his side, proceeded with like executions at Rome against the children or relatives of these families, in order that none among them might undertake to avenge the death of their brethren or fathers, and no one lay claim to their domains. Only two condottieri remained alive, John Paul Baglioni and Pandolphus Petrucci, who, more prudent than their colleagues, had refused to unite with the party of Cæsar; they abandoned the cities of Perouse and Sienna, in which they had taken refuge, and all Romagna submitted to the bastard of the pope. His holiness at once left Rome with his courtiers, minions, and mistresses, to visit the new conquests of Cæsar, whom he seriously thought of declaring king. Every where on his way, he spread largesses, gave feasts, and sought to excite enthusiasm by all the means in his power. In the island of Elba, he even wished to take part in the diversions of the people, and brought the handsomest girls into his palace to execute the dances of the country. "These reunions," says the historian Gordon, "could not fail, with a Borgia, to degenerate into orgies, so that licentiousness was soon carried to its utmost limits, and at supper they did not hesitate to eat flesh, though it was in Lent, only his holiness baptised the poultry and game by the names of turbot and sturgeon."

Alexander then returned to Rome with the duke of Valentinois, in order to concert with him upon the final steps to be taken before proclaiming him king of Romagna, of the March, and of Umbria. A measure of policy of this kind required powerful allies, and as their financial resources were exhausted, they resolved first to fill their treasury, and to levy new troops, to be ready for any event. His holiness also desired to establish his other children, before striking the great blow, in order that he might not be occupied with any thing but his dear son. He gave the government of Spoleto to Lucretia, and the duchy of Sermona to a bastard, called Robert of Arragon, whom he had by his incests with his daughter; he gave the duchy of Nepi to another of his bastards, named John Borgia; and, finally, he proceeded to the third marriage of Lucretia with Alphonso of Este, the son of Hercules of Ferrara.

"This union was celebrated," says Burchard, "by Saturnalia which had never yet been equalled. His holiness supped with his cardinals and the great dignitaries of his court,

each having by his side two courtezans, who had no other dress than muslin robes and garlands of flowers. When the repast was over, the courtezans, to the number of fifty, performed lascivious dances, at first alone, then with the cardinals, finally, at a signal from Madame Lucretia, their robes fell off, and the dances continued amid great applause from the holy father." (The remaining proceedings will not bear translation. The original, from Burchard, is to be found in Gordon.)

It is impossible to deny the authenticity of these facts, which are all related at length by the master of ceremonies of Alexander the Sixth, the historian Burchard, who placed them hour after hour in the journal which he has left us of the actions of the holy father. It is to this author we are indebted for our knowledge of a very singular dispensation, granted by the pope to Peter Mendoza, the cardinal of Valencia, who asked for permission from his holiness to take one of his bastards, named Zanet, as his minion. "He must be a good prince," said Alexander the Sixth, on this occasion, "and we cannot in conscience refuse to our subjects an authority which we have so often taken to ourselves."

After the marriage of Lucretia, the pontiff was occupied in raising the money for the coronation of Cæsar; it was not an easy thing, for all his resources were beginning to dry up; the sale of benefices, privileges, and employments no longer produced any thing. Crusades against the Turks were of no avail; the people no longer wished to buy absolutions nor indulgences; there was but one thing to do, poison the rich ecclesiastics of the pontifical court, in order to inherit their wealth. This plan was also difficult, for the prelates for a long time past had been suspicious of the diners of the Vatican. The pope discovered that most of the cardinals found pretexts for not accepting his invitation, if he proposed to them to dine at his palace. He then made a change, and besought the cardinal Corneto to lend him his villa for a grand festival, which he wished to give his friends, requesting him to prepare the repast, merely reserving the expense for him. The thing succeeded marvellously, and the invitations were all accepted.

On the morning of the day selected for the feast, Alexander sent his steward to the villa of the cardinal Corneto to arrange the service; he sent by him, at the same time, two bottles of a perfumed wine, called in Italy the wine of the Borgia; he recommended to him most expressly to lay them aside, that he might take them more readily when he gave him a signal to pour them out for the guests to drink. No one failed the pope's call, and when his holiness arrived at the villa with his son, he could already calculate what the dinner, he had generously offered, was to bring him in. It was in the month of August and very warm; Alexander and Cæsar, who had come on foot, complained of fatigue, and asked for some refreshment. A domestic went to the pantry, and as the steward was absent, he

took up a bottle of wine and offered some to his holiness to drink. Alexander, as was his custom, emptied his glass at one draught; Cæsar poured some water into the wine and also drank a whole glass. Scarcely had they set down their glasses, when both felt pains in their bowels; they were poisoned! The domestic had served to them the wine which the steward had set aside. The holy father was soon seized with frightful convulsions, and they were obliged to carry him to the palace, where he died during the night, the physicians being unable to find any remedy to relieve his sufferings. This event took place on the 18th of August, 1503. Alexander was seventy-two years old, and had reigned eleven.

As for Cæsar Borgia, whether the poison mixed with the water had lost part of its force, or whether the vigour of his constitution was greater than the strength of the malady, he escaped death, and entirely recovered in ten months. In the midst, however, of the horrid suffering caused by the violent remedies which were administered to him to make him reject the poison, he preserved his wonderful presence of mind. By his orders messengers passed constantly from his chamber to that of the holy father, to bring him information of the condition of the sick man, and as soon as he learned that Alexander was dead, he immediately gave orders to Micholetto, the captain of his guards, to close the gates of the Vatican; he then caused the keys of the apostolic treasury to be taken by force from the cardinal treasurer, and appropriated to himself the gold, silver, and precious stones which were in it.

On the next day, when the death of the pontiff was known, cries of gladness and transports of joy resounded through Rome. Every one wished to contemplate the dead body of him, who, for eleven years, had caused the most powerful lords to tremble; the church of St. Peter, in which his dead body was placed, was soon invaded by an innumerable crowd. "The sight of that dead body," says Raphael Volatenan, "black, deformed, prodigiously swol-

len, and exhaling an infectious odour, was a disgusting spectacle; black froth covered his lips and nostrils; his mouth was unnaturally open, and his tongue, swollen by the poison, hung down upon his chin. Thus there was not found any devotee or fanatic to kiss his feet or hands, as was the custom."

Towards six o'clock in the evening the infection in the church was such, that the cardinal charged with the care of the funeral, was obliged to give orders to bury the pope. No priest, cardinal, or officer was willing to assist at the burial ceremony, and the dead body was abandoned to the carpenters and porters, who placed it in a coffin which was too short, and into which they forced it by pressing in the feet, and striking it with a hammer. After this horrible scene of profanation they cast it into a tomb which had been prepared for it on the left of the high altar.

Thus terminated the abominable reign of Alexander the Sixth, the last pontiff of the fifteenth century.

Alexander the Sixth is one of those popes whom the adorers of the Roman purple, and of pontifical infallibility, dare not justify, at least as regards their turpitudes; they say, however, that the reign of Roderick Borgia was one of the happiest for the church, since Providence permitted neither schism nor heresies to appear during it. And if God has willed, they add, that there should sometimes appear on the venerated chair of the apostle incestuous, sodomite, and murdering popes, it is to show men that the preservation of Catholicism does not depend on the vices or the virtues of its ministers; a conclusion well worthy of those shameful priests, who seek to cover their irregularities by contemptible sophisms. We, who deduct rigorous consequences from the truth of history, we will say, that an institution like that of the papacy, is a monstrosity in religion, precisely because it gives to wicked men an exorbitant power, which permits them to employ, for their passions, the greatest sublimity in the heart of men, the love of the Divinity.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

PIUS THE THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD POPE.

Disorders in Rome and Italy—The cardinals assemble in conclave—Election of Pius the Third—His holiness takes part against the French—His death.

THE sixteenth century is unquestionably one of the most remarkable, from the importance of the events, and at the same time the most baneful for the Catholic church, on account of the developments brought out by the religious reformation. All questions in morals,

doctrine, and worship, are boldly treated by Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle, and Calvin.—The powerful language of these great men shakes to its foundation the pontifical edifice, so laboriously constructed during fifteen centuries; numerous followers embrace the new

doctrines with enthusiasm, and after sixteen hundred years of slavery, the people awaken, and dare to proclaim the intellectual emancipation of the human race.

Rome, it is true, will not contemplate this strife with indifference; it will strengthen the arms of fanatics, it will cause torrents of blood to flow, it will kindle the stakes of the terrible inquisition, it will prepare its racks and instruments of torture; monks and priests will sharpen their daggers, kings will arm cohorts of assassins, popes will erect gibbets and scaffolds; all the oppressors of the people, will, finally, unite to annihilate the hydra with a thousand heads which is to devour them—Reform.

Thousands of victims will perish in the flames, others will be engulfed in the floods, others will expire under the torture; whole people will be annihilated in Germany, Spain, Flanders, and France, and notwithstanding the massacres and butcheries of the cruel Francis the First, the sanguinary Philip the Second, the ferocious Pius the Fifth, and the execrable Charles the Ninth, who, in emulation of each other, and like tigers thirsting for blood and carnage, will dispute in horrid strife the glory of exterminating an entire race, the reformation will go on triumphantly, and will come out victorious from the calcined bones of its martyrs.

During this period, the people, tired of being laid under contributions by depraved priests, will, finally, break the yoke of the papacy, and separate themselves from the Roman church, with such violence, that popes, drawn on by the progress of events, will be forced to abdicate religious omnipotence, in order to become monarchs; from priests they will become kings, and will defend their political existence by force of arms.

After the death of the execrable Alexander the Sixth, his son Cæsar Borgia was careful to fortify the approaches to the Vatican with soldiers and banditti, who were devoted to him, to secure himself from the vengeance of his enemies, the Colonna and Orsini, who still had numerous partizans in Rome. His foresight was of admirable use to him, for the latter had no sooner heard of the death of the pope and the illness of his son, than they hastened, at the head of numerous troops, to fall on the holy city. All the petty Italian princes who had been despoiled of their estates by the Borgias, followed their example. The

duke of Urbino reconquered his cities; Francis Marie de la Rovera re-entered his immense domains; the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Citadi Castello, and Piombino did the same. Baglioni, Louis of Orsini, the count Petigliano, and Albiano freed Prouse, and drove the troops of Cæsar from the neighbouring country; Malatesta was less successful than his friends, and the states of Rimini remained beneath the rule of Borgia.

In this general conflict the cardinals who were present in Rome, to the number of thirty-seven, perceived the necessity of exhibiting vigour, in order to arrest the disorders; they then levied troops, drove the Colonna and Orsini from the city, and even constrained the duke of Valentinois to leave the Vatican and go to the castle of San Angelo; they then formed a conclave to choose a pope. The members of the sacred college were divided into three parties, equally powerful; the French sustained the cardinal of Amboise, their countryman; Gonzalvo of Cordova, wished to impose on them a Spaniard, the cardinal Bernardin Carvajal; finally, Julian de la Rovera, the richest of the cardinals, intrigued on his account for the papacy. After a struggle of thirty-five days, a fourth party arose which succeeded over the other three, and the cardinal of Sienna, Francis Piccolimini, was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, by the name of Pius the Third.

According to the abbot of Bellegarde, the life of this pope was exemplary, and his morals were irreproachable; his new dignity inspired in him no sentiments of pride, and did not alter his habitual conduct; he only did wrong in expressing a desire to labour for the reform of the church, and especially of the Roman ecclesiastics, whose irregularities were a constant subject of scandal for all Europe; he was very wrong to expose his plans of reform in an assembly of cardinals, and to declare that he had resolved to banish licentiousness and debauchery from his court; he was desirous of pursuing at once energetic measures, proportionate to the greatness of the evil.

On the evening of the same day, after dinner, Pius the Third felt in his entrails an unknown disease, and notwithstanding the most active remedies, he expired in the most frightful convulsions. This event took place on Tuesday the 13th of October, 1503, twenty-six days after his elevation to the pontifical throne.

JULIUS THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1503.]

Exaltation of Julius the Second—Character of this pontiff—Embassies from sovereigns to the new pope—His holiness permits the prince of Wales to espouse the widow of his brother—League formed by the holy father against the Venetians—He makes great preparations for war—He retakes Perouse and Bologna—Knavery of the holy father—He excommunicates the Venetians—He forces the most serene republic to submit to the Holy See—Louis the Twelfth is deceived by the pope—Agreement between Julius the Second and the Venetians—The pontiff declares war on the duke of Ferrara—He besieges Mirandola, and mounts himself to the assault, with a casque on his head and a sword by his side—He grants the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand the Catholic—Maximilian thinks of uniting, in his own person, the spiritual authority of the popes to the temporal power of the emperors—The Bolognese break the statue of the holy father—Assassination of the cardinal of Pavia—The cardinals convoke a council at Pisa to depose Julius the Second—The pope calls the king of Spain to his aid—Letter from the cardinals at Pisa to those at Rome—Julius lays the kingdom of France under interdict—Intrigues of the pope—Council of the Lateran—His holiness wishes to publish a crusade against the Spaniards—His death.

As soon as the funeral of the virtuous Pius was over, the cardinals were employed in making a new pope, and the same parties who had intrigued before the election of Piccolomini, rallied to obtain a triumph for their candidate, only instead of three factions, there were five. Cæsar Borgia, who had recovered his strength, took part in the elections, and on their side, the Orsini moved to nominate a pontiff of their choice. But the cardinal Julian de la Rovera intrigued so skilfully, and knew so well how to use money, threats, and promises, that he declared himself pope before the cardinals had assembled in the Vatican, having, as he said with effrontery, bought all the voices of the sacred college; and he was, indeed, proclaimed chief of the church, by the name of Julius the Second, a few hours after the conclave met. On the following day, he was submitted to the proof of the pierced chair, and was immediately after seated on the chair of St. Peter, as the vicar of God, infallible pontiff, and sovereign father of the faithful.

Varillas says that, Julian de la Rovera, in order to bring Cæsar Borgia into his support, had declared to him that he was his true father, and showed him forged letters from Rosa Vanozza, confirming this singular statement; that he pledged himself to treat him as a son, should he reach the papacy, and had finally promised him the post of grand standard bearer of the church, and generalissimo of the troops of the Holy See. Either the duke of Valentinois was convinced of the truth of the assertions of the cardinal de la Rovera, and was desirous of aiding his father, or was seduced by the hope of possessing the highest dignities of the court of Rome, since he ordered the prelates of his faction to vote for the cardinal de la Rovera. The latter had also gained to his side the cardinal Ascanugo, by pledging himself to re-establish the Sforza in Milan, and the cardinal Carvajal by promising him to place the kingdom of Naples beneath the

sway of Ferdinand the Catholic; as to the other electors, his holiness, adds the historian, had bought them cheap.

If we are to credit Erasmus and Hadrian, the new pope had been a sailor, like his uncle Sixtus the Fourth; and Bandel affirms that he boasted having traversed the sea in the barque of a fisherman; not, like St. Peter, to catch fish, but as a pirate, to carry off young girls, whom he sold to the Turks, or to pillage merchant vessels.

Of a turbulent, audacious, and vindictive character, Julian de la Rovera was only known at Rome for his implacable hatred, his incredible duplicity, and his thirst for rule, so that his election was regarded as a public calamity. What mattered, however, to this priest, the love, or the hatred of men? He was pope and could employ, for the success of his plans, all the spiritual and temporal arms of the church, that is to say, fanaticism, knavery, treason, the sword, and fire.

As soon as the news of the elevation of Julius the Second to the pontifical chair was known in Europe, the sovereigns of the different kingdoms hastened to send ambassadors to congratulate him. The kings of England and Spain demanded from him, at the same time, a dispensation for the marriage of the prince of Wales, afterwards Henry the Eighth, with Catharine of Arragon, the widow of Prince Arthur. His holiness, who was very desirous of obtaining the support of these two monarchs, declared, in defiance of the canons, that a woman could marry two brothers successively; and without paying any regard to the opinions of the cardinals, which were opposed to his, he published a bull of dispensation, on the 26th of December, 1503. He was then engaged in putting his plans for encroachments in execution, and began by summoning his pretended son, Cæsar Borgia, to surrender to him the places and castles which he possessed in Romagna. As the duke of Valentinois hesitated to obey, he caused him

to be arrested in his palace, and did not set him at liberty until he had surrendered his fortress to the Holy See.

Cæsar, discovering that his reign was over, left Rome and went to demand aid and succour from Gonsalvo of Cordova; but that general, as perfidious as his master, Ferdinand the Catholic, betrayed him, and instead of sending him into France, as he had engaged to do, at the moment when Cæsar was embarking for Marseilles, caused him to be arrested, and sent him to Spain, where he was confined, by the orders of the pope, in the castle of Medina del Campo. He succeeded in escaping, after a captivity of two years, and went to the court of John d'Albret, king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, who was then carrying on war against the Castilians; he wished to take part in it, and perished miserably, from a shot from an arquebuss, before the small city of Viane. Such was the sad end of him who had been on the point of placing an emperor's diadem upon his brow, and who had held in his hands the fate of the whole world. Of what avail was so much deceit, so many assassinations and crimes? to receive his death-blow upon a foreign soil, as a mercenary soldier!

Julius the Second was unwilling to follow the example of Alexander the Sixth, and proscribed the great families of Rome, but on the other hand sought to attach them to his party, and with this view married his daughter Felicia to Jourdain des Ursini, and gave to Antonio Colonna another of his daughters, named Lucretia. He did not think it necessary to use the same mode with the petty princes of Romagna; he first summoned the Bentivogli to restore Bologna to him, and on their refusal, declared them anathematised, authorised the faithful to pillage their property, to ravage their lands, and even to murder them, promising plenary indulgences, and the remission of the greatest crimes, to any one who should kill a member of that family. He then claimed the possession of the different provinces on which Alexander the Sixth had seized, and commanded the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Piombino, Citadi Castello, and the other princes who had been restored to their domains on the death of Roderick Borgia, to hand over to him at once the cities and fortresses which belonged to them. All of them refused to obey him; they proved that their territories had been canonically separated from the ecclesiastical states by the cardinals of Alexander himself, and that they were only bound to pay an annual tribute to the church. Venice especially resisted; the most serene republic informed the pope, that it would not restore a single one of the towns it had conquered, nor pay a single Julius of gold by way of tribute.

The holy father perceived that the spiritual arm was powerless, before so formidable an opposition, and he determined to call the sovereigns of Europe to his aid, and employ their arms to subjugate the Venetians. As several of these princes had treaties with the republic,

he was fearful lest they should hesitate to violate their oaths, he therefore excommunicated the Venetians, and declared all engagements, contracted with them, null; he interdicted fire and water to Loredan, their doge, to the senate, the council of ten, and the people; he loaded them with curses, and denounced them to the wrath of other people as guilty of lese-papacy, as pagans, as gangrened members of the church; he authorised all the faithful to seize their property by land or sea, and to sell their wives and daughters. In his bull he enjoined on the Venetians to restore to him on a fixed day the cities of Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, Cerbio, and their dependencies, under penalty of interdict. Instead of obeying, the senate of Venice took energetic measures to prevent the bearers of bulls from entering the territory of the republic, and at the same time appealed from the violence of the pope to God, and a future general council. Julius immediately launched an interdict on Venice, urged on the armaments of his allies, and prepared for war, a thing which he loved much, adds William Budé, who, in his works, constantly calls the pontiff, a sanguinary leader of gladiators.

His holiness opened the campaign in person, and marched on Perouse, the residence of Baglioni, the weakest of his enemies; although this city was defended by a numerous garrison and strong walls, it was obliged to capitulate to superior forces; Baglioni surrendered the keys of his cities, promised to comply with all the demands of the court of Rome, and gave his two children as hostages for the execution of his engagements. Julius then marched on Bologna with his casque on his head and his lance in rest; Bentivoglio dared not resist him, and opened the gates of his city at the first summons; the pope ordered him to retire at once into the duchy of Milan, and on the day after his departure, he entered Bologna in triumph; he then employed his time in changing the form of the established government, and replacing the magistrates by his creatures. "After these easy conquests," says the historiographer of Louis the Twelfth, "the holy father, fierce in his harness, thought himself redoubtable as Tamerlane, and was desirous of carrying on war against all the powers; and this bully of sixty years old, to whom the labours of war were as becoming as the dance to a monk, declared against the French, who were still redoubtable enemies, notwithstanding the reverses they had experienced in Italy."

Julius the Second, in his presumption thought himself superior to the emperor and king of France, from the force of his genius, as well as the greatness of his dignity; thus he did not hesitate to declare, that he wished to lead them to the whipping post, and after having destroyed them one after the other, to drive them for ever from Italy. It is true that these princes deserved this disgraceful treatment, for their submission to the pope, and that they had contributed to exalt his pride by their own cowardice. Though having an

equal hatred to Germany and France, his holiness was most embittered against the latter country, doubtless from gratitude for the generous hospitality which it had for six years granted to him. Not only did he appear to have entirely forgotten the favours which the imbecile Louis the Twelfth had heaped on him; but he even pushed his ingratitude so far as to speak of his benefactor in outrageous terms, and to say that he had vowed an implacable hatred against him, and should never be content until he had hurled him from the throne.

An important opportunity soon occurred to allow the pope to put his threats in execution, and he did not let it escape. Genoa had risen against the despotism of its nobles, and the people were at strife with the aristocracy. Julius at once sent agents, who changed the sedition into a revolt, and Genoa, which had been a French possession since 1499, when Louis the Twelfth had conquered the Milanese, declared itself a free city, drove the French officers from the posts they held in the name of the king, appointed eight tribunes, and conferred the executive power on Paul de Novo, a dyer, a bold and resolute man, who hated kings.

Louis the Twelfth hastened, at the head of an army, to repress the revolt of his new subjects, which was not difficult to do, in consequence of their abandonment by the pope. This invasion, however, could not but give umbrage to Julius, and as he feared lest the king might determine to chastise the real author of the troubles in Genoa, he sent adroit agents to Maximilian, who skilfully excited his distrust, and taught him that Louis was an ambitious man, who wished to subdue Italy, in order to elevate to the throne of St. Peter, the cardinal d'Amboise, who was in return to bestow the imperial crown on him.

Maximilian fell into the snare, and assembled a diet at Constance, to raise formidable armaments against Louis the Twelfth. The latter, who could, with his troops, have easily executed the intentions which Julius attributed to him, feared so much to irritate the pope and emperor, that he at once disbanded his army. Notwithstanding this measure, or precisely on account of it, the emperor, none the less, hastened his preparations for war; and when he had assembled an army of thirty thousand men, he announced his intention of entering Italy, and of coming to Rome to be consecrated by the pope. He consequently demanded a passage for himself and his troops through the territory of Venice, offering, besides, to the most serene republic, to form an offensive league with it against France.

The Venetians, who feared lest this great display of force should be directed against themselves, rejected the proposals of Maximilian, and replied to his delegates, that they would form defensive alliances, but not offensive; and that if the emperor did not really intend to be crowned by Julius the Second, it was useless for him to be accompanied by an army of thirty thousand men.

This reply of the Venetians was dictated in part by the care of their own preservation, and partly by France, which had informed them that its armies would pass the Alps at once, if Maximilian entered the territories of the republic. Venice thus found herself so situated as to be unable to shun the war, and the holy father awaited with confidence, the consequences of the difficult position in which his enemies were placed. It came to pass that Maximilian, wishing to force the passage, fell, with ensigns displayed, on the valley of the Trente, where he was met by Bartholomew Alviano, the general of the republic, who cut in pieces his advance guard of six thousand men, and forced him to sign a truce for a year.

Julius the Second, seeing his hopes of conquering these fierce republicans, and of recovering the cities which they had seized, vanishing, determined to strike a great blow. He laid aside for a time his hatred against the kings, and formed a league among the princes and states whom he judged it to be the most easy to deceive, to crush the republic of Venice. Most naturally the proud Maximilian, the unskilful Louis the Twelfth, the kings of Arragon and Hungary, the duke of Ferrara, the marquis of Ferrara, and the marquis of Florence took part in this confederacy, known in history as the league of Cambray, from the city in which it was made. In execution of this treaty the French invaded the territories of the republic on the side of Lombardy, the Germans and Spaniards by the valley of the Trente; the troops of the holy father, commanded by Julius in person, followed up the shores of the Adriatic, took the citadel of Ravenna by assault, and put the garrison to the sword.

Louis the Twelfth, who had under him the marshals Chaumont and Trivulzio, the duke of Bourbon, La Trimouille, and the Count Dunois, gained over the Venetians the celebrated victory of Agnadello, which endangered all the possessions of the republic on terra firma. The doge then determined on the only course which remained for him before so powerful a coalition, that of buying off the pope, by restoring to him the cities which he claimed for his see.

As soon as he had obtained their restoration from Venice, he ceased to take part in the confederacy, and freed the Venetians from the censures pronounced against them; nay, he even espoused their cause against his own allies. He declared the league of Cambray impious and sacrilegious, and fulminated anathemas against Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, who refused to break with the French. He declared him to be a rebellious son, a child of iniquity and perdition, and as such deprived of all his dignities. He freed his subjects from the oath of fidelity they had taken to him, and ordered the sentence to be posted up in all parts of the world; he then sent an armed force to seize on his estates, and threatened the French with his most terrible anathemas, if they dared to aid him.

Louis the Twelfth, always weak and pusillanimous, obeyed the pope, retook the road to France, and had even the distinguished cowardice to conclude a treaty with the court of Rome, by which his majesty recognised himself as bound to defend the Holy See against all its enemies. He moreover conceded to Julius the right to nominate to all the vacant bishoprics in his kingdom.

All these acts of submission could only augment the audacity of the sovereign pontiff, and his bitterness against the king. His holiness named, to govern the dioceses, prelates who were sold to him, and who were ready to betray the prince at his first command. "Then," says Mezeray, "the pope incited the Swiss against Louis the Twelfth, through means of Mathew Schinor, a fiery orator, whose harangues agitated this rustic people as the wind does the waves. He also inflamed the ambition of the young Henry the Eighth of England, by offering to him the investiture of the kingdom of Louis the Twelfth; and, finally, he intrigued with the courts of Castile and Germany, to induce them to enter into a league against France." His efforts with these two princes failed. Ferdinand dared not openly take the part of the pontiff, and the emperor, who had reconquered his former domains by the assistance of the French, refused to break with Louis the Twelfth; he was, besides, sufficiently occupied with his own affairs, in consequence of a defeat he had suffered beneath the walls of Padua, and the necessity he was under of reorganising his army, which had been cut to pieces by the Venetians. Notwithstanding these two checks, his holiness did not entirely abandon the plan he had formed of a league against Louis the Twelfth, such as he had made against the Venetians; he only regarded the execution of it as delayed.

We are really astonished at this enmity of Julius the Second towards France, and can only explain it from the hatred he bore to the cardinal d'Amboise, his competitor, whom he had threatened to have deposed as simoniacal, a poisoner, adulterer, incestuous person, and a sodomite; but, after the death of that prelate, his resentment appeared to be still more violent, and the pope, having nothing more to fear from this redoubtable rival, set no bounds to his warlike fury. Although it was mid winter, he took the command of his armies, which had commenced operations against the duke of Ferrara. He conducted in person the siege of Mirandola, pressed on the works, excited the zeal of the soldiery, by the promise of the sack of the city, doffed his cuirass, and visited the batteries, armed from head to foot, with his sword by his side, without troubling himself about the scandal which his conduct would give rise to. After having made a breach in the walls with his artillery, he gave the signal for a general assault, and himself mounted the ramparts, in order to enjoy the spectacle of violated females, murdered old men and children; in fine, of all the horrors which usually take place in cities carried by storm.

Whilst his holiness was directing in person the operations against the allies of France, he was continuing his intrigues in Germany and Spain, to excite these powers against Louis the Twelfth; and knowing how badly Ferdinand the Catholic desired the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, he proposed to grant it to him on the conditions which had been consented to by the Arragonese, only adding to the treaty, that the king of Castile should keep three hundred armed men at the disposal of the Holy See, to serve the church on the first requisition made for them by the sovereign pontiff. The intention of Julius was to employ these troops at once against the French in the war of Ferrara, and to bring about a rupture between Louis the Twelfth and Ferdinand the Fifth. The wary Castilian appeared to fall into the snare; he signed the treaty and accepted the investiture. The holy father immediately claimed the promised aid of the three hundred men-at-arms, and informed the prince that he would bestow on him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples on his return from the army, which he had no intention of doing. Ferdinand immediately sent Fabricius Colonna with the troops which the pope demanded, as far as the frontiers of the states of the church; but there they halted, and the general informed his holiness that he had orders to go no farther, until he had proclaimed Ferdinand, king of Naples. The pope, thus placed between two enemies equally redoubtable, having on one side the French, who were pursuing their conquests in the north of Italy, and on the other the Spaniards, who threatened to invade the south, found himself caught in his own trap, and was obliged to subscribe to the wishes of the Castilian.

Louis the Twelfth finally discovered that he was the sport of the court of Rome, and threatened to avenge himself forcibly, if the decree investing Ferdinand with the kingdom of Naples was not at once revoked. His threats and his anger only excited derision, and instead of replying to his reclamations, Julius the Second summoned him to restore the cities on which he had seized; he fulminated a terrible anathema against him, placed France under interdict, and gave it to him who could seize it; he also excommunicated all the princes who sustained the party of the king, and gave all their lands and lordships to the first occupant. An envoy of the duke of Savoy, who wished to make some representations to the holy father on this subject, was arrested as a spy, put to the torture, and thrown into the infected dungeons of the castle of San Angelo, notwithstanding the energetic protests of the duke.

The unskilful Louis being no longer able to deceive himself regarding the hostile sentiments of the pope, and not daring yet to take up arms against the Holy See, convened a national synod in the city of Tours, to authorise him to repulse the attacks of Julius the Second. Not only did the French bishops decide that the king would do right in repressing the insolence of the pope, but they even

besought him to undertake the defence of the petty princes who were oppressed by the court of Rome, and cited Julius the Second to appear before a national council at Pisa, to be deposed from the pontificate. It resulted that nine cardinals, and among them the Spanish cardinal of Sainte Croix, immediately left the court of the sovereign pontiff to join the French bishops, and co-operate with them in the reform of the church. The cardinal of Sainte Croix, with the assent of Ferdinand, even caused letters of convocation to be put up in the cities of Parma, Placenza, Modena, Bologna, and Rimini. But, whilst the king of Spain was writing to the king of France, that he was ready to sustain the enterprise of the prelates opposed to the infamous Julius the Second, he was secretly protesting at Rome of his good intentions towards his holiness, and was even demanding the deposition of the cardinals who had separated from the apostolic see.

Skilful as was this policy of Spain, it only half succeeded; Louis the Twelfth having discovered what was plotting against him, detached himself from Ferdinand and proposed to the emperor to form an offensive and defensive alliance with him. Maximilian listened with the more willingness to the overtures of France in regard to the deposition of Julius the Second, as a letter addressed to his daughter, Margaret of Austria, who advised him to marry again, shows: "We do not think that at our age, one should contract a new alliance, unless for political reasons," he wrote to this princess; "and in the position of affairs, it would tend to destroy our plans of ambition, which are to unite on our own head the double crown of emperors and popes. Already has our secretary, the bishop of Gurck, started for Rome, to propose to Julius the Second, to choose between our enmity and our admission to a share in the papacy, so that after his death, we should be assured of possessing the chair of St. Peter alone. Be then warned my dear Margaret, that you will be forced to adore us on both knees, which will be very strange; this idea already excites our hilarity. It will be so, however, for the people and nobles of Rome, who have an equal hatred for the French, the Spaniards, and the Venetians, are leagued together to the number of upwards of twenty thousand, and have informed us that they would choose a pope of German origin, as soon as Julius the Second left the Holy See vacant; this cannot be long, his holiness being covered with pustules and ulcers, in consequence of his debaucheries. I have consequently made overtures to the Italian cardinals, and their suffrages will cost me about two or three hundred thousand ducats. Ferdinand the Fifth also affirms to us that his ambassadors have orders to assist our election. Written with his own hand, by your good father Maximilian, the future pontiff."

Whilst the emperor was intriguing to reach the papacy, Julius the second was still neglecting his trade of pope for that of an adventurer; he abandoned his palace of the Vatican,

leaving to Michael Angelo the care of directing the work on the new church of St. Peter, whose foundations were already rising above the soil of the ancient steps, and retaking the casque and sword, went with a small escort to the city of Modena, where the pontifical troops were encamped. His holiness had already reached Bologna, when the marshal Chaumont, whom France had sent to the aid of the duke of Ferrara, and who was himself in the environs of the place, was advised by Bentivoglio, of what was occurring, and came, during the night, to surround Bologna with his cavalry. On the next morning, the consternation among the pontifical household was great, and their alarm was the better founded, since, on the one hand, it was impossible to leave the city without falling into the hands of the French; and on the other, the Bolognese, who had never been devoted to the Holy See, appeared ready to revolt, and were already talking of giving up the pope to the marshal de Chaumont.

In this extremity, the cardinals united with the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors, in beseeching Julius to treat with the French. At this overture, the pontiff fell into a violent rage, he rent his garments, blasphemed the name of God, tore the tiara from his head, and trampling it under foot exclaimed, "Perish then, with this powerless emblem, a religion of falsehood and knavery, and with it be crushed the abominable supporters who counsel cowardice to their pope. As for you," said he, turning towards the Venetian ambassador, "where are the re-inforcements you promised me in the name of your republic? I will wait for them until to-morrow, and if they do not come, then I will treat with these execrable Frenchmen; but it will be only for the purpose of burning Venice, and with your city, all the merchants who rule it. As for you," said he, turning towards the ambassador of Spain, "who have sported with me so unworthily, by causing me to grant the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, in exchange for troops, which your infamous sovereign will never send me, I will have you hung to-morrow at day-break." Then seizing his cross with both his hands, he fell on them and drove them from his presence, striking them redoubled blows.

When, however, his rage was appeased, perceiving that his violence did not remove the dangers which threatened him, he called together the magistrates of Bologna, and the chiefs of the trades; he represented to them that he had trusted to their loyalty and fidelity in coming into their city, and besought them to take up arms in his defence, promising them the remission of all imposts. His urgency did not change the dispositions of the inhabitants, and matters remained in the same state during a whole day. Towards night, news was received of the approach of the Spaniards; the threat of the gallows had produced its effect. The ambassador of Ferdinand had sent an express to Fabricius Colonna, who decided on advancing. The marshal

de Chaumont retreated before the Spaniards and yielded the field of battle.

Julius the Second, thus delivered from the French, immediately uttered invectives against Louis the Twelfth; he spoke of nothing but sieges and ranged battles, and though he suffered much from ulcers, which were eating him up, he wished to go to Ferrara to bombard that place. He assisted at the first labours of the siege, but was soon obliged to return to Bologna, the physicians having declared that the disease had reached its last stages, and that his holiness had but a few days to live.

The cardinals immediately commenced their intrigues for the papacy, and caballed with effrontery in the very chamber of the dying man. They were, however, soon brought to repentance, for Julius, who was endowed with a very vigorous constitution, returned to life. His first care was to assemble the cardinals in public consistory; he heaped threats and outrages on them; he called them thieves, sodomites, simoniacs; he accused them of selling their honour, their conscience, and even their bodies; and, finally, closed the session by making a decree concerning the election of popes, in which his holiness declared as of right null, every nomination tainted with simony, whether on the part of the chosen or of the electors, proclaiming as heretical, and punishable by the punishment of fire, pontiffs who should be promoted by such means, as well as all who had concurred in their election.

As soon as the pope had recovered enough strength to sustain the movement of a litter, he determined to recommence hostilities against the duke, and started to rejoin his troops. The chevalier Bayard, who was then carrying on the war in Italy, having been advised of the march of the pope, resolved to seize him, and laid an ambuscade of an hundred men-at-arms in the environs of the small town of St. Felix, through which he knew his holiness must pass, to reach his camp. Unfortunately on that day, about an hour after the departure of the escort, there fell a heavy rain, which obliged the pontiff to turn back to seek for shelter. Bayard, who was unmasked by this movement, discovered himself and fell upon the cardinals; as he was at a considerable distance off, Julius had time to leave his litter and mount a powerful horse, on which he escaped from his enemies. The cardinals imitated his example, and Bayard could only seize some old bishops who were in litters, some domestics who were on foot, and the baggage mules.

Whilst the French were carrying on a rough war with his holiness, they were negotiating with the king of Spain to induce him to unite with Louis the Twelfth and Maximilian, who had convened a council at Pisa to depose the pope. But Ferdinand, who found his interests in these interminable discords, contented himself with playing the part of mediator, and after numerous debates, he proposed to assemble a congress at Man-

tua, to treat of an accommodation among all the powers. Julius the Second went to Ravenna to supervise the deliberations of that assembly, and endeavoured to gain the representatives of the princes to his side. He even wrote on this subject to the venerable bishop of Gurck, a delegate from the emperor, to come to him, in order to deliberate with him on the means of pacifying Italy. The prelate accepted the invitation of his holiness; but when he saw that the pontiff's only object was to buy his conscience with a cardinal's hat, he immediately returned to Mantua. As Ferdinand had foreseen, the meeting of the ministers of the great powers produced no result, and the war recommenced with more fury than before. Trivulzio, who had succeeded the marshal de Chaumont in the command of the army of Italy, opened the campaign by seizing in succession Concordia and Bologna; in this last city was a bronze statue of Julius the Second, one of the master-pieces of Michael Angelo. The proud pontiff was represented as standing in a warlike attitude, with his right hand raised towards heaven, as if invoking Christ in favour of the people, whom he came to punish. A very curious anecdote is related of it: "The cardinals," says the chronicle, "having informed his holiness, that the inhabitants only trembled when they regarded this terrible statue, and asked if it raised its arm to bless or curse them;" Julius replied to them, "It is for either, as the Bolognese shall be submissive or rebellious." As soon as the French entered the city, the people broke up this statue; the metal was bought by Alphonso of Este, who made a piece of artillery out of it, which he called the Julian.

The marshal Trivulzio could, beyond all doubt, have seized on all Romagna, if he had pushed on the war; unfortunately, he was prevented by Louis the Twelfth, who was alarmed at his victories over the pope, and wished to await the decision of the council which had been convened at Pisa.

Julius the Second remained still shut up in Ravenna, and was much disquieted at the turn which affairs were taking. To increase the evil, division broke out in his own family; the duke of Urbin, who was at once his nephew and his bastard, accused the cardinal of Pavia, the minion of his holiness, of having sold Bologna to the French; the latter in his turn accused him, before the other cardinals, of having endeavoured to supplant him in the good graces of the pontiff, whilst, at the same time, he was keeping up an understanding with the duke of Ferrara, whose niece he had espoused, in order to obtain a protector after the death of the pope. The duke of Urbin, furious at seeing his intrigues unmasked, conceived a violent hatred against the cardinal, and on the day succeeding the discussion, stabbed him in the street. Julius the Second was so afflicted by the death of his minion, that being unable to avenge him on his own son, he resolved to leave the city which had witnessed his assassination, and return to

Rome, notwithstanding the dangers he must incur.

Two days after his return to the holy city, he convened a council in the palace of the Lateran, to oppose the synod of Pisa, whither he had been cited to hear his deposition. In his letters of convocation his holiness laid it down as a law, that the privilege of forming general assemblies of ecclesiastics pertained to the pope exclusively; he concluded as follows: "It is on this account, in the plenitude of our infallible wisdom, that we declare the call of the council of Pisa null and vain, as well as all the writings published against us by its callers, in the name of the emperor Maximilian and of King Louis of France, re-proving and revoking them, and under penalty of excommunication and eternal malediction, prohibiting every one, whatever may be his dignity, be he ecclesiastic or secular, from favouring their propagation."

The holy father then fulminated his bulls against Louis the Twelfth, and threatened to break his scandalous marriage with Anne of Brittany; he then turned towards Spain, and offered the investiture of Navarre to Ferdinand, if he would arm in his behalf. This proposal was very agreeable to that king, who had long sought to despoil John d'Albret of his kingdom of Navarre. Ferdinand equipped a numerous fleet, with the apparent design of making a descent on Africa, but which was really destined to disembark an army in Italy, to surprise the French.

Louis the Twelfth, being warned of these warlike preparations, hastened to levy troops; the emperor did the same, and all the people of Europe found themselves in arms, and prepared to murder each other, to maintain the quarrel of a pope who was at once a sodomite, robber, and assassin. On their side, the cardinals who had separated from the pontifical court, and who were at Pisa, proceeded none the less with the opening of the council which was to depose the pontiff, and if the assembly did not act in this matter with the energy which it had already exhibited, we must seek for the reasons in the gentle and irresolute character of Maximilian; this prince, solely to oblige the prelates of his kingdom, dared not appear at the synod. On the other hand, the king of France was weak enough to yield to the counsels of his wife, and sent but sixteen bishops, with some procurators from the universities. It resulted, that this meeting, being composed of only a small number of prelates, lost its influence from that circumstance alone, and it was after many difficulties that the Florentines, to whom the city of Pisa belonged, decided to permit it to open its sessions.

At last the first session took place on the 29th of October, 1511, under the presidency of the cardinal of Sainte Croix. Odet de la Foix was the keeper of the council, and Philip Decius, an excellent lawyer, discharged the duties of judge advocate. As soon as the news reached Julius the Second, he excommunicated a second time the cardinals, and

all who took part in this assembly; but so many blows struck him at once, that he himself believed he should not long survive. He was attacked by a violent fever, accompanied by long fainting spells, during which he showed no signs of life.

"The holy father then appeared to return somewhat towards goodness," says the historian of the league of Cambray; "he brought the cardinals about him; he accused himself of having committed great crimes, and of having published unjust excommunications; he caused them to prepare a bull revoking them, prohibiting them, however, from publishing it until after his death, because, should he recover his health, he was unwilling to have performed, he said, an act of justice which might injure his dignity." This excess of prudence was not useless, for the fever having left him, the physicians pronounced him out of danger, and he was soon able to preside in person over the sessions of the consistory.

During his convalescence, he was engaged in cementing an offensive and defensive alliance between the Holy See, the Swiss, Venice, and Ferdinand, who had finally declared himself the enemy of France. By a strange abuse of language, this sacrilegious coalition was called the holy league, and the conduct of its operations was surrendered to the indefatigable Julius the Second. It is true that his holiness alone defrayed the expenses of the enterprise; by way, however, of compensation, his allies permitted him to use their troops to bring the people of Rome to reason, who had had the audacity to chase away the priests from the apostolic city, and to desire to recover their liberty. In less than eight days, thanks to this powerful aid, the authority of the pope was re-established, and after the massacre of from twelve to fifteen thousand citizens, order was restored.

If the inhabitants of the holy city were hostile to the pontifical cause, it was not the same at Pisa, where an army of priests and monks had excited the devout people. Troubles broke out and the population took up arms, not against the pope, but against the council, which was engaged in deposing him. The disorders became so great, that after the third session, the fathers were compelled to retire to Milan to continue their sittings. His holiness was much gratified at it, but was, however, troubled by the news that the French had cut to pieces the army of the confederates, beneath the walls of Ravenna.

This victory inspired terror through the ecclesiastical states; at Rome, especially, their minds were in consternation; the cardinals crowded to the Vatican to entreat the pontiff to take pity on himself and the sacred college, and transfer his court to Spain. They represented that his position was the worse, since the Roman barons were about to join the French, and that even his own bastard, the duke of Urbino, had promised to send to the enemy two hundred lances and four thousand foot, to increase the number of soldiers whom

Pompey Colonna, Robert des Ursini, Antonio Savelli, Pietro Margano, and Laurent Mancini, were engaged to furnish. Notwithstanding his excessive pride, these considerations made an impression on the mind of Julius the Second, and he appeared to yield to the necessity of retreating, when the ambassadors of Spain and Venice arrived. They combatted the reasonings of the cardinals, and informed his holiness that the danger was not as imminent as had been supposed, because the French army, though victorious, was like a body without a soul, its general, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, having been slain in the battle. This information determined Julius to delay his plan of flight for some days, and soon a letter from the cardinal de Medicis caused him to abandon it entirely and restored all his audacity to him. This prelate, who had been made a prisoner on the field of battle, in which he was fighting armed at all points, wrote to his holiness, "that he had been enabled to seize on the minds of the soldiers, and had so alarmed them by his preaching, concerning hell, that they were deserting in bands with their arms and baggage, to save their souls and escape the anathemas which they had incurred; that moreover they need not be disquieted at Rome, since the superstitious Anne of Brittany had a confessor who was entirely devoted to the Holy See; that by means of the influence of this princess, they could prevent Louis the Twelfth from reinforcing his army in Italy, and that besides, Maximilian, who saw the bad condition in which the affairs of France were, appeared to desire to detach himself from its cause to enter the sacred league."

Although fortune indeed appeared to have taken the side of the holy father, the assembly of Milan none the less continued its labours, and, during its seventh sitting, pronounced the suspension of Julius the Second from the pontifical functions. The sentence was conceived in these terms:—"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the sacred general council, representing the universal church, after having taken the evils of the church into consideration, declares, that it is necessary to labour for the reform of abuses; and as it is especially important for religion that the head of the church should set an example of Christian virtues, and should not be an object of reproach an account of his adulteries, robberies, and murders, the fathers have unanimously decided that Julius the Second should be hurled from the throne of the apostle; for Isaiah saith, 'Remove from before my people all that may cause their fall;' and the apostle St. Paul, 'Eradicate every germ of evil from among you, for a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.'

"Since we must draw the people out of the hands of Goliath and the Philistines, who pervert and oppress them, the sacred college exhorts cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, prebends of cathedrals, chapters of colleges, kings, princes, dukes, marquises, counts, barons, universities, commu-

nities, the vicars of the Roman church, vassals, governors, feudatories, regular and secular subjects, finally, all the faithful, whatever may be their dignities and professions, no longer to recognise Julian de la Rovere as pope, who elevated himself to the Holy See, by means of an infamous simony. We prohibit all from obeying this corsair, this gladiator soiled with Christian blood, this incestuous wretch, this sodomite, covered with filthy sores, who has infected the church by his corruption."

This decree was received in France, and its publication permitted by the letters patent of Louis the Twelfth, notwithstanding the active opposition of Anne of Brittany, who, by the advice of her confessor, even refused to share her bed with the king. Julius the Second did not otherwise appear much moved by it; he contented himself with assembling some Italian bishops at St. John of the Lateran, and caused this cabal to issue anathemas against his adversaries. By the orders of his holiness, the prelates who were in session at Milan, were declared to be heretics, delegates of antichrist, and as such, the faithful were permitted to seize their property, benefices, dignities, even to slay them. The council of the Lateran, at the same time, confirmed the censures pronounced against Louis the Twelfth, from whom it took away his title of Most Christian King. The last article of the condemnation had been dictated by Ferdinand the Catholic, who, however, exacted that the king of Navarre should be included in the sentence. Flechier, in one of his funeral orations, himself blames the conduct of the pope. "Julius the Second," says he, "abusing the power which he maintained he held from God, made religion subserve his criminal passions, and carried a sacrilegious hand against the crown of kings. John D'Albret, one of the victims of the execrable policy of this pontiff, was excommunicated by virtue of a bull, which had been solicited by Ferdinand the Fifth, and the principality of Navarre was invaded by Spanish troops, before John D'Albret dreamed of defending himself . . ."

Whilst the creatures of Julius the Second were fulminating anathemas against France and her allies, the fathers of the council of Milan quitted that residence precipitately, in order to avoid the implacable vengeance of the pope, and took refuge at Lyons, which caused that city to be placed under interdict, and be degraded from its rank as a metropolitan see. On the other hand, the bands of the holy league, re-inforced by Spanish troops, took their revenge on the French, and seized one after another on all the cities which still held out against the pope.

To heighten these disgraces, the king of England, Henry the Eighth, who had remained, until this time, an impassable spectator of the struggle, joined the confederates, and induced the desertion of Maximilian. All Europe was thus leagued against Louis the Twelfth; the war recommenced more terribly than ever; the Germans, Swiss and Spaniards,

penetrated into Italy, by three sides at once; the troops of Julius the Second invaded Romagna, and carried Bologna and Ravenna. Pressed on all sides, and borne down by numbers, the French were constrained to give ground and lay down their arms; almost all of them were cowardly assassinated, in contempt of the laws of war, and although they had obtained honourable capitulations.

Bandel, Forcadelle, and several other historians, relate that Julius the Second then invented a fable, the object of which was to render the memory of Gaston de Foix odious, and to raise to the highest pitch the fanaticism of the people of Italy against the French.—He caused to be affirmed, by numerous witnesses, that having opened the tomb of this prince, they had only found in his coffin a horrible serpent, which had flown up into the air in the midst of a thick and infected smoke. Forcadelle also says, that his holiness distributed large sums to hungry poets to make satires against Louis the Twelfth or Anne of Brittany, and that he granted the remission of a capital punishment to a great criminal, who had made a Latin distich against the French.

Two months had scarcely passed since the expulsion of the French from Italy, when Julius thought of breaking the holy league and freeing himself from his allies, who had the audacity to claim a part of the spoils.—Before putting this plan in execution, he wished to assure himself of the possession of the dutchy of Ferrara, and for this purpose he wrote to Duke Alphonso of Ferrara, the husband of the infamous Lucretia Borgia, that he was willing to be reconciled to him, and only exacted that he should come to Rome, to receive absolution, according to the ordinary forms; he sent him a safe conduct signed with his own hand, to give him the greater confidence in his promises.

Notwithstanding the protestations of friendship by the holy father, Alphonso feared a snare, and replied, that he would not hazard coming to Rome, but on the solemn guarantee of the Colonna and of the ambassadors of Spain and Florence. They wrote at once, that they would pledge themselves to oppose every effort against his person; he had then no more objections to make, and started for the holy city.

Julius the Second, says an historian, received him with great demonstrations of joy, and sought to persuade him, as he had before done Cæsar Borgia, that Lucretia was his own daughter, and not that of Alexander the Sixth. This princess was then living in great honour at the court of her husband, surrounded by poets, artists, and painters; later, when age had deprived her of all her lovers, she built convents for women in expiation of her adulteries and incests.

At first Julius promised the duke of Ferrara to treat him as his son-in-law, and retained him at the Vatican; then when he supposed he could speak as a master, he brought him before the consistory, and summoned him to give up the city of Ferrara as a dependency

of the church; he also claimed the payment of a tribute of four thousand florins of gold, which he was to send yearly to Rome, as a feudatory of the Holy See; and, finally, he prohibited him from sending the products of the salt springs of Comachio into Lombardy, that he might not enter into rivalry with the salt springs of the holy father.

• Alphonso discovered that Julius was only waiting a pretext to arrest him; he did not, therefore, contest the equity of the demands of the holy father, but simply asked that they should give him to the next day to make his decision. During the night he fled from Rome, and regained his dominions by byways. As soon as Julius was informed of the departure of his prisoner, he burst into a rage, accused the Florentine ambassadors of having favoured his escape, and in revenge, gave orders to the cardinal of Sion to commence hostilities against France at once.

Cardonne, the Spanish general, joined the pontifical troops, seized on Prato, and forced the republic to receive the conditions which the pope chose to impose on it. His holiness re-established the Medici at the head of the government. At Milan a like restoration was accomplished, and Maximilian Sforza retook his ducal crown. Thus all political events concurred in assuring the triumph of the pope; it was only left for him to purge Italy of the Spaniards and Germans. To attain this end, his holiness offered to authorise the emperor to conquer the possessions of Venice, provided he would drive the Spaniards out of Lower Italy. Maximilian acceded to this proposal, and immediately sent the bishop of Gurck to Rome, to arrange the basis of it. The pontiff received the German plenipotentiary with great demonstrations of friendship, and appeared to have entirely forgotten their former struggles; he defrayed the expenses of his embassy with liberality, though he had three hundred persons in his train, and lavished on him honours which were usually rendered to emperors alone. All the conditions of this sacrilegious alliance were arranged on the same day; the bishop of Gurck, in the name of Maximilian, engaged to protect the court of Rome against the enterprises of Spain and France, and to lend it the aid of troops to reduce the dutchy of Ferrara. In return for these advantages, Julius sacrificed his allies the Venetians, and promised to excommunicate them if they refused to submit to Germany, and to agree to the conditions which the prince wished to impose on them.

As soon as the treaty had been ratified, Julius the Second gave vent to his joy; he commanded, that on the next day, a solemn service should be performed, to celebrate the happy success of his negotiations, and at the close of the ceremony, he went with all his clergy to the left bank of the Tiber, where, in the presence of the ambassadors of all the powers, and of a numerous crowd, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river, exclaiming, "From henceforth, the popes shall only need the sword of St. Paul."

At length his holiness, on his return to the Vatican, summoned the Spanish ambassadors into his presence, and ordered them, under penalty of the most terrible censures, to cause the bands of the pillagers who combatted with their troops, to retire from the territories of the church. As they were desirous of excusing themselves on the plea of the necessity of terminating the operations which had been commenced, Julius broke out upon them in outrageous language, and drove them from his presence. He immediately entered into negotiations with the Swiss cantons, to obtain thirty thousand troops, who were to aid him in driving out the Spaniards from Lower Italy, and conquering the kingdom of Naples. The agreement was already signed, and the war was about to break out with fresh fury, when God took pity on Italy, and delivered the earth from this abominable pope, on the 23d of February, 1513.

According to some authors, Julius died from the consequences of a fit of passion; according to others, he fell before the baneful dis-

ease which was scouring Europe; all agree in saying, that the cardinal charged to administer the last sacraments to him, having asked him what he had decided upon in regard to the prelates whom he had deposed, the dying man replied to him, "As man, I pardon them; as pope, I curse them." These words are enough to show that the papacy is, in its essence, a vicious and execrable institution, since it commands hatred, and prohibits the forgiveness of injuries.

A bitter satire is attributed to the learned Erasmus, in which Julius the Second is exhibited in the scene with the prince of the apostles; the latter refuses an entrance into the kingdom of heaven to the pope, and reproaches him with all his crimes; he accuses him of incest with his sister and daughter; of vile crimes with his bastards, nephews, and several cardinals; he calls him a perjurer, simoniac, drunkard, robber, murderer, and poisoner; and, finally, declares to him that the gates of heaven are closed against those who are infected by the disease of which he died.

LEO THE TENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1513.]

Disorders at Rome—Election of Leo the Tenth—Coronation of the pontiff—Politics of the holy father—Louis the Twelfth submits to the pope—Leo opposes himself to the pacification of Europe—Decree of the council of Lateran on the nature of the soul—Impiety of the pope—He finishes the church of St. Peter—Marries his brother to the princess Philiberte of Savoy—Francis the First, of France, invades Italy—Interview between the king and pope at Bologna—Intrigue of the pope with a lady of the court of France—Concordat between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First—The pontiff despoils the duke of Urbino—Conspiracy against the pope—Meanness of Francis the First to gain the friendship of the pope—Traffic in indulgences—Martin Luther and his doctrines—Bull of Leo the Tenth against Luther—Edict of the emperor Charles the Fifth against the reformer—Treaty between the emperor and pope against France—Death of Leo the Tenth.

As soon as Julius the Second had terminated his execrable life, a revolution broke out at Rome. The populace, who for a long time had been restrained by the iron hand of the pontiff, flew to arms, pillaged the monasteries and the churches, and massacred a great number of priests and monks. At the close of this outbreak, the populace divided itself into two powerful factions, that of the Colonna and of the Urbino, who both sought to profit by the general confusion, in order to obtain the sovereignty of the city. Frightful disorders followed; blood flowed in torrents, and Rome offered nothing to the sight but dead bodies and houses in flames. At length the citizens discovered that they were but tools in the hands of ambitious lords, who disputed among themselves for power; they laid aside their arms, and a calm succeeded to the frightful storm which had passed over the apostolic city. The cardinals hastened to avail themselves of this apparent tranquillity, by enter-

ing into conclave. As a beginning, they passed a decree which limited the authority of the pope, and which established the precise privileges of the members of the sacred college. All swore upon the Bible to observe these rules, and immediately afterwards the intrigues commenced among the candidates for the papacy.

Among the members of the conclave, John de Medicis showed himself the most desirous for the heritage of Julius the Second. Varillas thus speaks of this cardinal: "John de Medicis had been scarcely three months re-installed in his palace at Florence, when the news of the death of Julius the Second arrived. He immediately conceived the design of causing himself to be elected sovereign pontiff, and took the road for Rome, although he was afflicted with a violent disease, and had two enormous abscesses, which prevented him from walking, or even riding on horseback. He made the journey in a litter, the

mules travelling on a walk, in order to avoid the least motion; in this manner he arrived at the holy city; but the obsequies of Julius were terminated, and the conclave had commenced; nevertheless, he caused them to open the gates of the Vatican, and took his place among the other cardinals. Already the members of the sacred college, young and old, had canvassed for their candidates, and seemed so obstinately fixed in their choice, that a long vacancy was threatened, when a very strange event suddenly changed the direction of their wishes and put an end to their intrigues. John de Medicis, though sick and tormented by sharp pains, laboured assiduously to create partizans for himself.

It happened that at the close of a day more laborious than the others, the abscesses broke and gave a passage to vicious humours, which spread through the conclave an infectious smell. The old cardinals, fearing they could not resist the baneful effects of this vitiated atmosphere, consulted physicians as to the mode of preserving themselves from the danger to their health, which must result from a forced residence in the same room with the sick man. They replied, there was no resource but to await the death of De Medicis, which must take place within a month. This opinion of the physicians created a revolution in the conclave; intrigues ceased at once, and the tiara was unanimously conferred on John de Medicis, who was proclaimed sovereign pontiff, at the age of thirty-six, by the title of Leo the Tenth.

The opening of the abscesses saved him from certain death; the corrupt humours flowed through the wounds, and he was cured of his disease.

The new pope was the son of Clarice des Ursini and of Laurent de Medicis, the same to whom Savonarola had refused absolution. At the age of thirteen he had been elevated to the cardinalship, by Innocent the Eighth. His education was entirely worldly; according to Paul Sarpi, he had no tinge of religious ideas; he even affected a silly impiety, saying openly, that religion was only good, in order to restrain the common people in obedience, and ought not to govern the actions of the powerful and rich.

Leo the Tenth, as proud and ambitious as his predecessor, was capable of committing any crime in order to obtain the desired end, but more courtly than Julius the Second, he was less rude and coarse in his intercourse with sovereigns.

His holiness, wishing to wait for the return of his strength, delayed the ceremony of his exaltation until the 11th of April, the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna, on which he had been made prisoner by the French. On the day appointed for the ceremony, clothed in garments studded with diamonds and rubies, his head covered by a tiara so glittering with precious stones that it was impossible steadily to contemplate it, he came to the church of the Lateran, followed by an escort so numerous and brilliant, that, according to

a historian of the time, no emperor nor king had ever displayed so much magnificence in their triumphal processions. The Roman clergy, the magistracy, the nobility, the different orders of the monks, black, gray, and white, the different trades, the chiefs of the soldiery, clothed in glittering armour, formed an immense cortege; young maids and children, clothed in white, cast palms and flowers before the steps of the pontiff through the route. He himself advanced, mounted on an Arabian courser, having around him the members of the sacred college and his relatives, among whom, the commander of the Medici, armed at all points, was distinguished. The procession had not passed the walls of the city when a courier arrived, announcing the death of Raphael Pucci, archbishop of Florence; Leo, after having read the despatch, turned towards his cousin, and without interrupting the march, said to him with a loud voice, "My cousin, I announce to you that to-morrow you will quit the profession of arms to receive the succession of Raphael Pucci, and become an archbishop." This took place, though the commander was as much a stranger to the duties as a lawless soldier could be, whose whole life had been passed in pillaging, stealing and throat cutting.

After the celebration of the pontifical mass the holy father bestowed his blessing on the people, and retraced the road to the Vatican, where a feast awaited him worthy of Lucullus or Apicius. The expense of this feast was computed at more than a hundred thousand crowns of gold.

As soon as he was installed in the Holy See, the new pope abandoned himself to luxury and debauchery; he invited to Rome all the artists and authors of Italy, and his court soon became the most brilliant in Europe. We should render him the justice of having banished brutal debauchery, which he replaced by gallantry, a species of corruption less ignoble, but more dangerous, inasmuch as it depraves society without drawing on itself general reprobation. The court of Rome became a school of materialism, and of philosophical atheism, from the bosom of which the pontiff king directed the political affairs of the church. He at once studied the aggrandizement of his family; he placed his brother Peter at the head of the government of Tuscany, and reserved for his other brother, Julian the Magnificent, the crown of Naples, which he had decided to take away from Ferdinand the Fifth. He did not suffer this last project to be known, preferring to wait until circumstances should offer to him a certain chance of success. He was next occupied in extending the authority of the Holy See, and preserving its independence. To effect this, he refused to conclude a treaty with Ferdinand the Catholic; and he was likewise unwilling to adhere to any proposition of peace with the French, from fear of seeing them return anew into Italy. His holiness did not ratify, but in part, the engagements made with the Swiss by his predecessor, because he had felt the

inconvenience of carrying on war with mercenary soldiers, who mutinied if they did not receive their pay on the appointed day, or who enrolled themselves under the banner of their enemies, if they obtained thereby an increase of pay. He was unwilling longer to remain in league with Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, whom he regarded as a weight upon the Holy See; nor with the emperor, who was a fickle and dangerous friend, and who had declared, on being compelled to renounce his pretensions on the papacy, that the states of the church appertained to the empire of the west, and that destiny had designed to restore to the title of emperor its ancient splendour; last of all, the holy father refused, with better reasons still, to ally himself with the Venetians, who had made a treaty with Louis the Twelfth.

Nevertheless, he sent an ambassador named Cinthio to the court of France, to assure the king of his true intentions, and to offer the respectful sentiment of the family of the Medici for Louis the Twelfth. The legate was also charged to explain to his majesty, that on reaching the pontifical throne, Leo the Tenth, having found the Holy See engaged in a vow of declared hostility to France, it would be imprudent to change its policy at once; that in consequence of it, he besought the king not to impute to any ill will the disposition he was constrained to adopt, in order to thwart his projects of conquering the Milanese. He besought him also not to be offended if he should exhort him by a brief, not to undertake any thing against Italy, under pain of anathema, interdiction, and deposition; also, that nothing would diminish the constant affection of his holiness for his person. He kindly warned him that, at his solicitation, Henry the Eighth of England, was preparing for a descent on France; also, that in spite of himself, and in obedience to the sacred college, the pope was constrained to engage Maximilian the First to attack his frontiers on the Rhine, whilst the Swiss invaded Burgundy; that, in fine, he was obliged to permit Ferdinand the Catholic to pursue his conquests in Navarre, in consequence of this king having purchased from his predecessor, for forty-two thousand crowns of gold, authority to do so.

Without disquieting themselves with these threats, the French, under the command of Louis de La Tremouille, penetrated into Italy, joined the Venetians, and recommenced hostilities. The Milanese were reconquered for the third time, and Genoa again passed under the rule of France. Unfortunately, Anne of Brittany shackled the progress of affairs, and caused her weak husband to write to Tremouille to advance no farther in the work.

Mezerai explains this subject in these words:—"The greatest enemy of the king was, beyond all contradiction, Madame the queen, on account of her scruples of conscience; she accused him of wishing to seal his everlasting damnation, by resisting the popes and assembling councils to oppose them; and, as she wearied him out with her com-

plaints, the poor king had no other means of purchasing domestic peace, than by suspending the war at the moment he was victorious, and on the point of bringing the pope to reason."

This excessive tenderness of Louis the Twelfth for his wife, was nigh costing him his crown, for his enemies, attributing the inactivity of his general to weakness or inability, recovered their boldness. The Swiss, who were in the pay of Leo the Tenth, marched against the French, cut them to pieces at Novare, so that Tremouille could barely lead back to France some thousands of men. Almost at the same moment, Anjou was invaded by the English, Navarre by the Spaniards, Burgundy by a second army of Swiss, and the provinces bordering on the Rhine by Maximilian.

In this extremity, the king was obliged to have recourse to the clemency of Leo the Tenth; he immediately sent ambassadors to Rome with letters patent, sealed with his own seal, subscribed by himself, and expedited by his own command. On their arrival in the holy city, the envoys of France were subjected to the most humiliating ceremonies; they were introduced into the consistory, at which the pope presided, covered with ornaments glittering with gold and precious stones; they were constrained to prostrate themselves with their foreheads to the earth, in the presence of the ambassadors of the foreign courts, of the cardinals, and of numerous officers of the church, and then they humbly implored pardon for their master, promising, in his name, not to give, in future, any aid to the enemies of the Holy See, and to combat them by arms, without fraud or dissimulation. They declared that the king disapproved of the council of Pisa, that he detested the decisions made in that assembly of schismatics and heretics, that he would engage to pursue the prelates who had taken part in this assembly, to drive them from the city of Lyons, from the kingdom, from all the lands or lordships placed under his rule, and to deliver them over to the holy inquisition, if he should make them prisoners; in addition, they signed an adherence to the council of the Lateran, engaging to recognise it as the only standard, and approving of all the decrees it had made or might hereafter make.

Louis the Twelfth made peace with Ferdinand the Fifth, by promising to him his daughter Renée of France, for one of his younger sons, and by abandoning to him Navarre; he obtained the evacuation of the Rhenish provinces occupied by Maximilian, by surrendering to him the Milanese; in order to put a stop to his quarrels with Henry the Eighth of England, as he was a widower by the death of Anne of Brittany, now dead some months, he demanded in marriage the young Mary of England who was promised to him; as to the Swiss he purchased their neutrality with gold. These arrangements, which put an end to the operations of the holy league, did not obtain the approbation of Leo the Tenth, who had

promised himself to prolong the war between the different princes, until Louis the Twelfth, occupied in defending himself, would not dream of re-appearing in arms beyond the Alps; and his holiness went to work to re-animate discords and lanch new anathemas against France, when he received the news of the death of the king.

A moment of calm ensued, of which the pontiff availed himself to continue the labours of the synod of the Lateran. His holiness received in a solemn session the fathers of Pisa, who came to ask pardon for their past conduct; the promoters of this meeting, the cardinals of Sainte Croix and Saint Severin were obliged to appear before the pope, clothed in the garments of simple priests, and to avow that they had been justly degraded by Julius the Second, because an ecclesiastic ought never to raise himself up against the head of the church.

During the same sitting, Leo the Tenth published a decree relative to the immortality of the soul: "We command all philosophers, professors in the universities, to combat the views which opposed the faith established by the church, in maintaining that the soul is mortal like the body, and the world is eternal."

Martin Luther affirms in his works, that Leo the Tenth denied positively the immortality of the soul, and that one day, after having listened to two skilful doctors, who were discussing this fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith, he terminated it by this singular conclusion: "The reasons which you give for the affirmative, appear to me profound, but I prefer the negative, because it is determined for us to endeavour to take care of our bodies, and to acquire *embonpoint*."

They passed a considerable number of decrees on various subjects of religious controversy, in the council of the Lateran; they offer, however, too little interest to be reported in detail. In the midst of his political debate, Leo the Tenth continued his projects for embellishing Rome, and continued, under the direction of Julian of San Gallo, the construction of the celebrated church of St. Peter, of which the design had been furnished under the preceding pontificate, by Francis Lazzari Bramante, a celebrated architect, sprung from the ranks of the people, as almost all great artists are.

We should render this justice to Julius the Second, that he knew how to encourage the arts, and although the labours which he commanded, had for their results, but monuments useless to men, it is no less true, that it was to him that Rome owed the execution of a project formed by Nicholas the Fifth, to elevate, on the site of the ancient church of St. Peter, a church which should not be equalled in any city of the world. Bramante submitted to his holiness different plans, among which was one representing a cathedral with two churches, and two steeples; it was this which the pope adopted. There is still a medal of it, engraved by the famous artist Corodasso. More than eight thousand workmen were em-

ployed in tearing down the old church. Bramante laid the foundations of this new monument, and pushed on the work with such celerity, that it was easy to see that the artist wished to monopolise the glory of completing a gigantic project, which required the lifetime of several men. He threw down, without remorse, the magnificent columus of the old church, and replaced them by four grand arches, which rested on massive bases; he destroyed the ancient tombs of the popes, and the precious mosaics which decorated them. Bold and ingenious in his designs, Bramante made the arches of his building in a single casting, with a composition of lime and marble dust, tempered in water, in such a way, that they appeared to be decorated with mosaics, representing recesses with mouldings and rosaces.

Unfortunately, this great work, executed so hastily, was wanting in solidity, and the arches fell down a few years after the death of the celebrated architect. Those who re-undertook this gigantic work, Julian de San Gallo, Peruzzi, and Michael Angelo, only preserved the arches which supported the tower of the dome, and destroyed the rest.

Leo the Tenth continued to preside at the sittings of the council of the Lateran; at the tenth session two remarkable acts were committed; the publication of a decree in favour of usury, and the promulgation of a bull against the liberty of the press. In the first decrees the holy father decided that pawn-brokers were authorised to levy upon the unfortunate a greater interest than the ordinary one, provided they would pay over half the profits into the treasury of the pope; an odious calculation, and which ought the more to excite our indignation, because, under the mask of philanthropy, it aided to despoil the poor of their last resources. In the second decree, the pontiff, after enumerating at length the inconveniences which resulted to religion from the fever for instruction which had taken possession of men's minds, and which the invention of printing tended to propagate, resolved, in his wisdom, that the works of authors should be submitted to censors, and that no book should be printed for the use of the faithful, who inhabited the states of the church, which had not received the approbation of the vicar of the pope and the master of the sacred palace, and of the diocesan bishops, or inquisitors of districts in other countries, under pain of being excommunicated and judged as heretics; that is, of being burned alive! Despite these threats of Leo, whom servile historians call the restorer of letters, and who sought to thicken the darkness which enveloped the world, the press triumphed, and nothing could subdue that power which was about to break down absolute thrones, and overthrow the altars of superstition. The time had not, however, yet arrived for the people to free themselves entirely from this odious yoke, and the popes were still the pests of nations.

His holiness pursued his objects for the aggrandisement of his family, and married to his

brother Julien, the young princess Philiberte of Savoy, sister to Duke Charles, and to Louisa, the mother of Francis the First, who succeeded Louis the Twelfth. The new monarch profited by this circumstance to make new offers to the Holy See, to add him in his pretensions on Italy, and sent two ambassadors, William Budé, and Antonio Pallavicini, a Milanese lord, under pretext of complimenting him on the marriage of his brother, but, in reality, to propose to the pope to abandon to him the duchy of Milan, in exchange for a principality for Julien de Medicis, which should be composed of the states of Parma, Placenza, Modena, and Reggio, and of which the brother of the pontiff should be invested as a feudatory of the Holy See. This proposition, though very conformable to the views of his holiness, was not acceded to, because the emperor Maximilian had already made him better offers.

Francis the First, furious at finding himself pushed aside, and suspecting the existence of a new coalition against him, resolved to surprise his enemies before they had united their forces. He passed the mountains, and penetrated even to the gates of Milan, before the armies of the pope and his allies could form their junction. The Swiss alone had had time to descend from their mountains, and were ready to dispute the way with Francis. They numbered forty thousand men, an equal force with their enemy, and had, besides, the advantage of fighting in a friendly country, and were moreover animated by the remembrance of their victory at Novare.

When the Swiss found themselves before the French, they made a manœuvre to surprise them before they were ranged in order of battle; they charged on the artillery, which was vigorously defended, and by which they suffered a heavy loss; then they attacked the infantry, and had already broken the first rank, when the French cavalry, debouching from a ravine, fell upon their battalions with a horrible carnage. On both sides the combat was maintained all day with equal fury; the next day the battle recommenced, and during four hours the victory remained undecided, when the Swiss, despairing of forcing the front of their enemy, had the imprudence to change their order of battle, in order to attack them in flank, and in doing so, left between their right wing and their centre, a wide space, which the French gendarmes immediately occupied. The fate of the day was decided; the Swiss, after performing prodigies of valour, left the field of battle in possession of their enemies, and beat a retreat, having lost fifteen thousand men; the loss of the French was between five and six thousand. This victory, which was called the day of Marignan, rendered Francis master of the Milanese. Maximilian Sforza was constrained to yield it to the conqueror, and obtained in exchange for it, a residence in France and a considerable pension. A debut so brilliant, struck Italy with fright; Genoa hastened to submit; the pope himself sent an ambassador to compli-

ment the young king upon a success which filled him with rage. Francis, vain and presumptuous, as are all kings, believed himself invincible, and neglecting the councils of wise men, concluded a treaty with the pope, and yielded great advantages to the family of the Medici.

Through a new ruse the pope did not appear eager to ratify the engagements made by his legate; and when he decided to do so, it was on condition that Francis should meet him at Bologna, to discuss the abolition of the pragmatic sanction. The king agreed to the interview, and went to the place appointed by the holy father, accompanied by an escort of six thousand musqueteers, and twelve hundred men-at-arms. The pontiff had arrived before him, and waited for him, so that, on his entry into Bologna, he was received by twenty-four cardinals, all clothed in their red capes; then he was conducted to the sound of music to the pontifical palace. Leo received the young conqueror with that obsequious politeness which characterises the priests of all ages, and overwhelmed him with praise.

"That which most captivated Francis," says an ancient chronicler, "was the graceful manner in which his holiness performed the mass; the monarch could not cease from his admiration during the performance of the sacred office, and wished himself so much to serve as a train bearer, that they could scarcely prevent him from doing so." Thus the pontiff obtained the good graces of his guest, and had the appearance of yielding to his solicitations, in restoring to the duke of Ferrara the cities of Modena and Reggio, of which the Holy See claimed possession. In return, he exacted that Francis should abandon his ally the duke of Urbino, whose estates were convenient to Julien de Medicis, inasmuch as their reunion to those of Florence would constitute a sovereignty, which would extend from the Tuscan sea to the gulf of Venice. Lastly, he drew from the weak monarch the promise of abolishing the pragmatic sanction, under the secret condition that the pope would aid him in conquering the kingdom of Naples, after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic.)

Hanelot de la Housage relates many scandalous adventures, in connection with certain ladies of the court, who had permission to come to Bologna during the interview between the two sovereigns, and amongst others, one concerning one of the mistresses of the king, named Marie Gaudin, who was remarkably beautiful. It appears that this lady attracted the attention of his holiness, and by an agreement between him and Francis, she yielded to the passion of the pope, who gave her as a memento, a jewel of great value, which was carefully preserved in the family of Sourdis, under the name of the Gaudin diamond.

The pope and the king of France separated, mutually satisfied with each other; the former because he had gained a kingdom for his brother, the latter because he had had the honour of carrying the train of the pontiff's robes. This agreement between the courts

of Rome and France so much annoyed Maximilian that he spread injurious reports against Leo, saying, "that one could look for nothing good from the popes, and that if this one had not deceived him, he would have been the first who kept faith since St. Peter." He did not confine himself to recriminations, and in order to avenge himself on the holy father, he immediately entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, which gained many advantages over the French.

His holiness, finding that fortune was abandoning his new allies, rapidly changed sides, reconciled himself secretly with the emperor, and sent to him two hundred men-at-arms, under the command of Mark Antony Colonna. Not only did the holy father refuse to furnish to the constable of Bourbon, governor of the Milanese for the king, the succour of five hundred lances and three thousand Swiss, which he had engaged to do, but even pushed his presumption so far as to cause his troops to subserve his projects on the duchy of Urbino, which he conquered in twenty-two days. Encouraged by impunity, he formed a conspiracy with those banished from Milan, with the chancellor Moran, and the Colonna, to make a new Sicilian vespers, and to destroy all the French who were found in the duchy. Fortunately the constable Bourbon discovered the plot, and advised the king of it, demanding from him authority to chastise the pope. Francis replied that he must bring back the pope by mild means, and not to come to vexatious extremes with him.

This reply so enraged the constable, that he immediately threw up his command and wrote to his prince, "that he knew well that astrologers had predicted that Leo the Tenth would make his brother Julien, king of Naples, and his nephew Laurent, duke of Milan, but that he had never supposed the king of France would aid in accomplishing the prophecy, and above all, that he would serve as a stepping stone to elevate the Medici to thrones."

From that moment Francis the First made so many mistakes, that it appeared as if he took pleasure in ruining his own affairs, in order to strengthen his enemies. He authorised the chancellor Duprat to arrange with Leo the famous concordat which destroyed all the liberties of the Gallican church; he consented to the abolition of the pragmatic sanction; he re-established the payment of tithes, not after the old taxation, but according to the real value of ecclesiastical benefices, which increased still more the revenues of the pope. In vain did the parliament of Paris, the chapters, the universities, the Sorbonne itself, declaim against the violation of canonical elections; the monarch refused to yield to the representations of his subjects, and compelled the parliament to register the concordat.

On his part, Leo published to the council of Lateran a bull to abolish the pragmatic sanction, a very rare piece, on account of the proud tone which the head of the church affects in his language, and of the pretensions which he openly makes for the universal do-

minion, temporal, as well as spiritual, of the Holy See. He declares that councils are inferior to popes; that all the faithful owe above all things absolute obedience to the Holy See; that the pope has the power to erase and cancel all decrees made by ecclesiastical assemblies, by kings or by parliaments, in favour of the pragmatic sanction, and that all who shall refuse to conform to his decree will be excommunicated, deprived of their honours and dignities, and their lands put under an interdict.

During the last session of the council, Leo took care to procure, through the cardinals, an extraordinary interposition of tithes, which was levied under the pretext of a crusade against the Turks. Whilst his holiness was occupied in repairing the disorder of his finances by the spoils of the people, Ferdinand the Fifth languished upon a bed of sickness, attacked by a dropsy. Always a cheat and a hypocrite, even in the arms of death, the old king caused himself to be clothed in the garments of a monk, in order to feign humility, and thus rendered to the infernal regions his execrable soul. This monster had merited the surname of Catholic, on account of his cruelties towards heretics. During his reign the inquisition had condemned almost an hundred thousand persons, who had the misfortune to be too rich or too virtuous, and an historian adds, that "in order to paint this tyrant in a few words, it would be sufficient to say, he had the soul of Louis the Eleventh and the heart of Nero."

After the death of Ferdinand the Fifth, the holy father, instead of fulfilling the promises which he had made to Francis the First relative to the kingdom of Naples, claimed possession of it for his family; and in order to insure the success of his projects, he solemnly invested his nephew, Laurent de Medicis, with the estates of the duke of Urbino; he dispossessed the cardinal Petrucci, and his two brothers, Borghise and Fabius, of the city of Sienna; he despoiled many cardinals of their property; and, at length, by his tyranny, he raised against himself so violent a hatred, that Petrucci and Bandinelli de Sauli organised a conspiracy against his life. They made overtures to many of their colleagues, on their project of ridding themselves of the pope, and even gained over the physician, who was attending his holiness for a fistula, and who engaged to poison him in a glyster; unfortunately Leo conceived some suspicions and changed his physician. This determination made the conspirators fear treason, and many quitted Rome; but as there was none, some re-gathered courage, and Petrucci determined to stab Leo with his own hand, in order to terminate the matter.

He was so unfortunate as to open his design to some cardinals, and to write to the other conspirators, in order to fix a day for the execution. The holy father, forewarned in time, placed spies about many of his enemies, intercepted their correspondence, and soon held in his hand the threads of their plot. As

usual, he dissembled, the better to avenge himself; he overwhelmed with caresses the cardinals whom he doubted most; he recalled Bandinelli to his court, and promised even to re-establish Petrucci and his family in the city of Sienna. To this effect he addressed to his enemy a safe conduct, in order that he should come to discuss the conditions of his re-installation with him, and swore on the evangelists, that he had no cause to doubt any injury to his person.

Petrucci fell into the snare and came to Rome. The moment he entered the Vatican, the sbirri strangled him; others of the conspirators who were without the holy city were condemned to exile, and deprived of their property and honours. His holiness then published that he would pardon those who offered to the Holy See a sum of money, in expiation of their crime, which was in accordance with the enormity of their guilt. Many cardinals had the imprudence to trust to the promises of the pope, and came to treat of their ransom; without further procedure, the sovereign pontiff caused them to be arrested. Some were poisoned in their prisons, others were beheaded, others quartered; in fine, the cruel Leo not having spared any of his victims, it resulted that he was obliged to make a promotion of thirty-one cardinals, to fill up the vacancies which he had made in the ranks of the sacred college.

It was not only in Italy that the pope found a formidable opposition. In France all people of property levelled their opposition against the bull which overthrew the pragmatic sanction. Parliament openly resisted the king, and refused to register the concordat. The university of Paris protested with the same vigour, and the rector caused them to affix in all the streets of the capital, a command, forbidding booksellers or printers, to sell or print a single copy of the concordat, under penalty of being driven out of the body of the university; even more, the doctors assembled in a consultative conclave, and drew up an act of appeal to a future council, declaring the synod of the Lateran a cabal of simoniacs. They declared that the pope was neither sinless nor infallible, and that it was the duty of the faithful to resist him, whenever he commanded the performance of unjust acts. Some preachers, animated by the same sentiments, thundered from their pulpits against the pontiff, the chancellor Duprat, and Francis the First, whom they denounced as an execrable tyrant, who, not content with burthening the nation with taxes, wished even to oppress their consciences. His majesty immediately commanded the first president Olivier, to condemn the priests who dared attack his royal person; but the feeling of reprobation against the loose monarch was so strong, that the parliament refused to obey him.

In Germany, Spain, England, and even Switzerland, they protested with more violence still against the abuses of the court of Rome, and publicly accused Leo the Tenth

of being more ambitious, debauched, and despotic, than any of his predecessors ever had been.

His holiness, seeing the disrepute attached to the papacy daily increasing, determined to re-brighten the lustre of the tiara, by making the pontifical court the first in the world for its luxury, splendour, and magnificence. But the prodigious expense soon swallowed up the treasures amassed in the coffers of the Vatican, and ordinary resources becoming insufficient, Leo the Tenth was obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means. To effect this, he revived the ancient tax on crimes, levied by John the Twenty-second, and which was shut up in the archives of the chancellor's office. He changed some articles, added others, and caused a large number of copies to be printed and circulated throughout Europe, by which Christians were informed that the pope sold absolution for rape, adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, or assassination, and that for money, one could purchase pardon for any crime, even parricide!!!

His holiness in the next place, published a crusade against the Turks, in order to levy the tenths; this last mode, however, which had been a source of wonderful profit to his predecessors, failed him; the nuncio sent into Spain was driven from it in disgrace, by cardinal Ximenes, the regent of the kingdom.—Other agents, disseminated through the other countries, returned also empty handed.

Leo the Tenth discovered that this mode was exhausted, and that he must hit upon some new expedient, in order to bring in money, which was becoming very necessary, as his creditors threatened to make a grand explosion. Then it was, that he organised on a vast scale the speculation in indulgences; in every province he appointed farmers general, who kept their offices in churches or monasteries, and sold indulgences for the living and the dead; and in order that no village or hamlet should escape his rapacity, he sent legions of Dominican monks, who traversed town and country armed with bulls, and who levied contributions on the inhabitants. The following is the tenor of one of these singular forms of absolution, delivered by Arcembold, one of the farmers general in Saxony:—"As our Lord Jesus Christ absolves you by the merits of his passion, I, by his authority, and that of the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and that of our most holy father, absolve you from all ecclesiastical censures under which you may have fallen, from all sins, delinquencies, or excesses which you may have committed, or shall commit hereafter, how great soever they may be, and I make you a partaker in all the spiritual merits acquired by the church militant or its members. I restore you to the holy sacraments, to the unity of the faithful, to purity and innocence as of an infant newly born who comes to receive baptism, so that the gate of hell shall be shut against you, and that of paradise opened to you on your death.—Amen!!"

John Tetzel, another bullist, who also ope-

females, that is to say, when the mother, sisters, nieces, or cousins of the candidate, have paid the price of them with their honour."

"Speak, ye infamous bishops and priests—ye blessed simoniacs—ye blessed concubine-keepers—ye blessed drunkards and bullies—ye blessed procurers, who gain orders by rendering foul services? Go to the devil ye infamous wretches! At the hour of your death will you dare present yourselves before Christ, full of wine, holding in your hand the gold which you have stolen, and having on your arm the prostitutes whom you have kept, or your mistress servants, or your nieces, who are most frequently your bastards and your concubines, or the girls whose dowry you have gained for them by impurity, or the mother from whom you have purchased the virginity of their daughters? Go to all the devils, cohorts of thieves and pilferers!

"I know well that in exposing your crimes, I run the risk of being assassinated, as has already happened to those who have desired to reform chapters and monasteries; but the fear of your daggers will not chain my tongue, nor arrest the lightning of my indignation; I will tell the whole truth. Come forward then ye women, who abandon your bodies to official persons, to monks, priests, and bishops. Come forward ye who wear chains and robes with trains, and who say, when I blame your luxuriousness, 'Why father, we have seen other women still better dressed than we are, who are neither richer nor nobler than we. Besides, when we have no money, the prelates give us as much as we could earn by the sweat of our body.'

"Come forward ye female drunkards and robbers, ye priestesses of Venus, who dare to say, 'if a priest gets me with child, I will not be the only one.' Come forward nuns and beguines, who people the cisterns and ponds of the convents with the dead bodies of newborn children. What frightful accusations would you not hear, if all those children which are cast into closets or pits could name their executioners or their fathers. Shall not the rain of fire, which formerly destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, fall on these convents? Shall not all these priests and bishops be swallowed up as were Korah, Dathan and Abiram? Yes, my brethren, the time is approaching in which God will do justice on all this brood of idlers, of mute dogs, of ignorant wretches, of lechers, robbers, and murderers."

These texts show us in what the sacred eloquence of the period consisted, and prove that it was necessary for a reformer to employ energetic language, in harmony with the education of his hearers.

During the early period of his professorship Luther produced theses, contrary to the received belief in the church on penance, purgatory, and indulgences. John Tetzel, the grand inquisitor of Saxony, who received his share of the profits arising from the sale of the indulgences, naturally undertook the defence of the pope, published a libel against the re-

former, and burned publicly the theses of Luther. Luther, who found himself sustained by the college of Wittenberg, and by the elector of Saxony, used reprisals in turn, and burned the work of his adversary. The Dominicans immediately sided with the inquisitor, and made several efforts to assassinate their enemy. As he was on his guard, they were compelled to renounce their plan, and contented themselves with writing to Rome, to beseech Leo the Tenth to summon him as a heretic before his tribunal. The pope informed the elector of Saxony that he wished to interrogate Luther concerning his doctrines, and besought him to place him in the hands of the cardinal Gaëtan, his legate in Germany.

The elector replied that he would not consent to the request of the holy father, since the reformer could be interrogated in his own country, as well as at Rome. Leo the Tenth, obliged to designate one of the cities of Germany, as the place for the trial of his redoubtable adversary, fixed on Augsburg, and sent several of the most learned doctors of his court to that city, to assist his legate.

Luther did not recoil before so solemn an opportunity of professing his doctrines; he only took care to fortify himself with a safe-conduct from the emperor, and went to Augsburg. On the day succeeding his arrival the tribunal opened its session under the presidency of the cardinal Gaëtan. They sought at first to reduce him by brilliant offers; they tendered him honours and wealth if he would abandon his belief; then, as he appeared to be inaccessible to seduction, they sought at another sitting to intimidate him by threats, and summoned him to abjure his errors, under penalty of the most frightful torments. Luther protested the orthodoxy of his belief. He proved that his words and sentiments were the simple and natural explanations of texts of scripture, and of the sacred books, and cast back on the abominations of the Holy See the causes of the offences which afflicted Christendom.

Such resistance convinced the legate that there was only one way now of stopping the schism; it was the arrest of Luther. Fortunately the latter remembered the fate of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague, arrested in defiance of the laws of nations, condemned and burned alive; he fled from Augsburg and escaped the scaffold.

The treachery of his enemies, however, far from intimidating him, increased his boldness; he continued the war against the papacy with new energy; he consecrated all his days to preaching, and all his nights to labouring against the Holy See; his prodigious fecundity multiplied his thoughts under every form, and he inundated all Europe with his works.

Ulrich Zwingli, a curate of Zurich, emboldened by the example of Luther, preached in Switzerland, on monastic vows, the saints, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the pontifical despotism, the sacraments, and especially that of penance; he even attacked the real presence

of God in the eucharist, a dogma which afterwards placed him in opposition to the German reformer. It was in the midst of these circumstances that a Milanese Capuchin, named brother Sancho, arrived in Switzerland, charged with the sale of indulgences. Notwithstanding the violent preaching of Zwingle, this monk still found dupes, so deeply was superstition engrafted in their minds, and he carried off with him more than a hundred and twenty thousand ducats.

The Swiss were not, however, long in recovering from their taste for spiritual favours, and regretted the gold which the Roman court had wrenched from their credulity. The indulgences were every where an object of reproach among the faithful; but what cared Leo the Tenth for the blame of virtuous people; gold was necessary for his luxurious tastes; he needed it for his political intrigues; it was necessary for his debauches, and the sale of indulgences was a true Pactolus, which drifted into his treasury all the gold of Christendom. As he feared lest the preaching of the reformers might arrest in some countries the enthusiasm for indulgences, he published a new decree, providing that the sovereign pontiff, in his capacity of successor of St. Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ, was irresistibly empowered to remit, by virtue of the keys, the guilt and penalty of sins; that he remitted guilt by the sacrament of penance, and temporal punishments by means of indulgences, representing the superabundance of the merits of Jesus Christ and the saints. The pope added, that belief in these articles was indispensable for an orthodox Christian, and that those who believed or taught a contrary doctrine should be cut off from the communion of the Catholic church; he declared them to be anathematised and denounced them, as well as their adherents, or those who granted them asylum or protection, to the inquisitors, as heretics.

This ill-timed decree had a very different effect from that which Leo the Tenth expected; a general reprobation awaited the bulls of the Roman court. Luther published a terrible work against the popes; he attacked the pontifical infallibility, and proved that the successors of the apostles were not exempt from common imperfections, since St. Peter himself had erred, and had been reprimanded by St. Paul, for having abused his authority and oppressed the faithful; he appealed from all the pursuits of Leo the Tenth, to a general council lawfully assembled, and representing the whole church; he also protested against all excommunications, depositions, or interdicts, until judgment had been pronounced by the fathers.

Notwithstanding the violence of Luther's attacks, such was the blindness at the court of Leo, that no one answered the reformer; his holiness changed none of his modes of action, and pursued his plans of family aggrandizement. Julian de Medicis having died at Florence, from the consequence of sickness contracted in camp, left, as the only heir to

his immense fortune, a bastard, named Hippolyte; the pope immediately took him to Rome, and reared him in the pontifical palace like the son of a king. He sent Laurent Medicis, his nephew, to the court of Francis the First, to espouse Madeline de la Tour d'Auvergne, as had been arranged by his holiness and the king of France—in the treaties of Friburg and Noyon.

This marriage, which was to be so fatal for France, since from it sprung Catherine de Medicis, was celebrated at Paris with great rejoicings, for which, as usual, the poor people paid. Nine months afterwards Madeline died in giving birth to a daughter, named Catherine. Laurent de Medicis survived his wife but a few days, and died on the 28th of April, 1519. This death profoundly afflicted the pontiff, who thus found himself the sole legitimate descendant, in a male line, of the elder branch of the Medici, and who saw himself constrained to renounce his hopes of conquest and aggrandizement.

God had sported with the calculations of the ambitious Leo, and had permitted that of this powerful family of Medici, there should only remain some off-casts of the younger branch, whom the pope hated, and some bastards of the elder branch. This frightful accident was the more terrible for his holiness, since he was on the eve of culling the fruits of his policy, and saw an imperial crown, the constant end of all his efforts and of so many years of knaveries, escape from his family, at the very moment in which he had but to stretch out his hand to place it on the forehead of a Medici. Maximilian the First, was at the point of death, near Luitz, in Austria, leaving no male heir, his son Philip having died some years before, and the succession was about to be disputed by different competitors.

The kings of France and Spain were competitors for it, and sought to gain the electors to their side, by promising them considerable advantages. But Leo, who feared equally these two princes, whose power threatened his own, and might destroy his preponderance in Italy, Charles already possessing the kingdom of Naples, and Francis the First the duchy of Milan, determined by his counsels the electors, who themselves were not disposed for either the king of France or the king of Spain, though the latter was of the German race, and had possessions in Austria, to give their suffrages to Frederick, duke of Saxony, the warmest supporter of Luther. This prince, who had been initiated by the great reformer into the sublime theories of a republican government, refused the throne which was offered him; he made a magnificent speech in the electoral assembly, and sought to demonstrate that the people had no need of masters, and that Germany ought to form a republic. Unfortunately progressive ideas had not yet sufficiently entered their minds, and Frederick was obliged to renounce the hope of sharing his opinions with the electors. He then pronounced between the two candidates, and declared that if Germany were to choose an

emperor, it were preferable to take the archduke Charles, the king of Spain, and grandson of Maximilian, and reject the king of France, whose despotism and licentiousness rendered him a true scourge for the people; he moreover, induced them to decree, not to give the crown to Charles of Spain, until after they had limited its power. Up to this time, the states had only exacted from the supreme chief of the empire, a vague and general promise to maintain the privileges of the Germanic body; this time, before pronouncing for the king of Spain, they caused his ambassadors to sign an agreement, which the prince at once confirmed; he was then proclaimed emperor by the name of Charles the Fifth.

His holiness having been unable to hinder the election, was at least desirous to cause the opposition, which he had made to the king of Spain, to be forgotten; he sent an embassy to the young emperor, and demanded from him his friendship, and assistance in extinguishing the new heresy which had invaded all Germany. The pope also engaged to give his aid to the cruel Christian, king of Denmark, the brother-in-law of Charles the Fifth, in subjugating the Swedes, who had had the audacity to combat the troops of their enemies, and to drive off Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, who had wished to sell them to Christian. This audacity of the Swedes, and especially the gold of the king of Denmark, had determined the holy father to fulminate a bull of excommunication against them. Christian, finding himself sustained by such authority, then assembled new troops and laid siege to Stockholm; but he experienced a still more vigorous resistance than the first; Stenon Sture, the administrator of the states of Sweden, defied his army, and drove him in disgrace from its territory.

The king of Denmark, thanks to the aid in men and money, which Charles the Fifth sent him, found himself, a third time, in a condition to recommence hostilities; instead of exposing himself to the chances of battle, he followed the advice of the apostolic nuncios who accompanied him, and had recourse to perfidy, the ordinary arms of kings. He demanded an interview with Stenon Sture, and promised to present himself almost alone, if they would give him the hostages whom he himself designated, and among whom was Gustavus Vasa. The proposal of Christian was accepted. As soon as the felon monarch had in his hands the hostages, who all belonged to the first families of Sweden, he caused them to be bound, and sent to inform the administrator of the kingdom, that he must surrender Stockholm, if he did not wish to see the hostages hung in sight of the citadel; to strengthen this threat, he advanced his troops and pushed the siege of the capital vigorously. The Swedes at first opposed superior courage to that of their enemies, and inflicted on them terrible losses; but the heroic Stenon Sture having been killed in a sortie, discouragement replaced enthusiasm, and the place capitulated.

Christian entered Stockholm in triumph,
VOL. II. Y

and leading in his train the unfortunate persons on whom he had so traitorously seized; on the next day he convened the prelates and senators in an assembly, and caused them to recognise him, by an authentic act, as hereditary king of Sweden, and he was solemnly crowned by the infamous Trolle. After the ceremony of his consecration, he gave the chiefs of his army feasts, which lasted a whole month, and during which, all the officers and soldiers of his army were permitted to violate the daughters and wives of the Swedes.

As such disorders could not fail to raise the people, the nuncios of the pope and the archbishop counselled the king, in order to frighten the citizens, to an act of atrocious barbarity; it was simply to murder the nobility and burghers. The nuncios, the prelate Trolle, the confessor of the king, and his barber proposed different modes of execution; the advice of the barber prevailed, and his majesty prepared his state blow as follows:—By virtue of the bull of excommunication fulminated by Leo the Tenth, all Sweden having been declared heretical, the king prepared a list of proscription of all those whose influence over the masses he feared, and under pretext of obeying the orders of the pope, he caused them to be arrested, and judged at once by a commission of priests and inquisitors. On the day fixed for the punishment, soldiers occupied the streets of Stockholm, and prevented the inhabitants from showing themselves at their doors or windows; the prisoners were led out on the great place, and the heads of ninety-four nobles fell beneath the axe of the executioner. This first butchery was but the prelude to greater atrocities; on the next day gallows were erected, and a double number of burghers and nobles were lanced into eternity; on the third and fourth days, the executions continued, only the mode was changed. On the first day they had been beheaded, on the second hung, on the third day they flayed the sufferers, on the fourth quartered them, on the fifth burned them alive; finally, when the great square was covered with dead bodies and bones, and the population had been reduced one-fifth, Christian quitted Stockholm to visit the other cities of Sweden, in which the same scenes of barbarity were renewed. He left every where bloody marks of his passage, murdering women, children, and old men, even his satellites themselves, when they allowed sentiments of pity to appear for the unfortunates whom they were constrained to torture.

Frightful as were these executions, advised by the court of Rome, they do not approach, neither in the number of victims, nor the refinements of punishments, the cruelties exercised by the Spanish priests in Mexico, who murdered several millions of Indians, in the name of the God of Peace, and by virtue of a bull of his holiness Leo the Tenth: whilst the fanatical and cruel Spaniards were reducing a new world to the Catholic religion, the doctrines of Luther were preparing the emancipation of Germany. It was not the elector of

Saxony alone who protected the illustrious reformer; he was sustained by powerful lords, illustrious generals, renowned captains, nobles who reclaimed the possession of wealth on which convents and churches had seized; by the burghers and the people, who were all tired of seeing their spoils pass into the hands of the agents of the pope. Every one listened with enthusiasm to the preaching of Luther on religious liberty, the despotism of the bishops of Rome, the splendour of the pontifical court, the corruption of the clergy, and the dissoluteness of monks and nuns.

Leo the Tenth finally discovered, by the rapid strides which the reform ideas were making, that the struggle was a serious one, and that he had not an instant to lose in arresting the evil, and striking a great blow. He then wrote to Charles the Fifth, that he must arrest the preacher Martin Luther, to be judged and condemned by the holy inquisition. But the thing was not so easy as the pope had imagined; the emperor replied, that it would be imprudent at that time to make an attempt on the freedom of a citizen of Germany without some motive; that it was not in that country, as in Spain or Italy; and that, moreover, he had not yet received the imperial crown, and could not, consequently, exercise any jurisdiction. He promised, however, that as soon as his coronation was over, he would convene a general diet to judge the reformer, and he pledged himself to have him condemned, and given up to the officers of the inquisition. Charles besought the pope to fulminate, as a preliminary step, a new bull of anathema against the doctrines of Luther, so as to strike dread into the minds of the German nobles, and render his condemnation still more certain. His holiness followed the advice of the emperor, and published the famous bull which commences with these words of the psalmist: "Arise my God and defend your cause. . . ."

After this exordium the pope addressed the apostles Peter and Paul, to demand their aid, and terminates by this appeal to the faithful: "An enraged heretic rends us furiously, and blasphemes the holy pontiffs, our predecessors; like the serpent, he spreads the venom of calumny by his bite, so that the feeble, whose minds have been blinded by his falsehoods, are unwilling longer to believe in the gospel of Christ, and have taken the side of this innovator, or rather, have enrolled under the banners of the devil. It is on this account that we have judged it important for the safety of Christendom, formally to condemn forty-one propositions drawn from the writings of this reprobate, as being heretical, false, scandalous, contrary to Catholic truth, and capable of seducing the simple. We consequently prohibit, under penalty of excommunication and deprivation of the sacraments, belief in these propositions, their maintenance, preaching, and tolerating others to teach them, directly or indirectly, in public or private, tacitly or in express terms. We also order complete and exact search for the books which contain

them, to be made in all the provinces, and that they be solemnly burned in the presence of the clergy, and before the people, under penalty of the most terrible censures of the church." In this bull Leo the Tenth defines the condemned propositions, and relates, in all their details, the efforts which had been made to bring back Luther to the true light, and pluck him from the abyss into which he had plunged.

This bull was a subject of controversy and criticism on the part of men of letters and politicians in Europe, not only for its judicial formulæ, but even for its obscure style, for his holiness had not feared to use sentences which contained more than four hundred and fifty words. All powerless and ridiculous, as was the decree of the pope, the reformer penetrated his intentions, and from that time threw away all restraint in his preaching. He declared against the pontiff and his adherents; he called down the curses of the people on them, and not content with exciting Germany by his powerful language, he inundated Europe with his satirical writings; finally, in a public discourse, he tore the bull of the holy father; he called it an execrable production of antichrist, "and even let Satan excommunicate me," said he, "I anathematise him in my turn, and as they burn my writings at Rome, I give to the flames the bulls and decretals of this prince of darkness, and I adjure all men to come to assist me in casting into the same funeral pile, Leo the Tenth and the pontifical chair." At the same time he caused a brazier to be brought, and burned the bull of the pope.

Thus, this step of the holy father only resulted in showing to the nations what an immense progress the reform had made, since a mere monk could publicly annihilate the bulls of a pope, an act of unheard-of audacity, and which no emperor had even dared to do.

Leo the Tenth did not, however, regard himself as conquered. Charles the Fifth was about to convene a diet at Worms to condemn Luther, and the legate Jerome Aleander, charged with sustaining the accusation, had promised to take such measures, that their enemy, in any case, condemned or absolved, could not escape them.

Notwithstanding the entreaties of his disciples, who all besought him not to go to Worms, the intrepid reformer persisted in demanding a safe-conduct from the emperor, that he might appear before the assembly; and, as his friends objected to him that the dangers he had incurred at Augsburg should make him dread fresh treason, he replied, "Though I were certain of finding at Worms as many devils as there are tiles on the houses, I have determined to face them." He, however, consented that a hundred gentlemen, armed at all points, should escort him. He entered with them into Worms, mounted on a chariot, and followed by a prodigious concourse of people, whom his reputation had attracted. On the day succeeding his arrival, the diet opened its sittings, and the Roman legate pro-

ceeded to interrogate Luther. The latter replied to all the questions, avowed himself to be the author of the criminated works, and offered to defend his opinions in a public conference.

At this proposition the cardinal Jerome Aleander expressed surprise; he pretended that the scandal was great enough already; that the debates should be secret, and that the accused should only be allowed to speak before his judges. Luther replied, that he had come without fear into the midst of his enemies, to justify himself in the face of day from the accusations brought against him, and not cowardly to defend his doctrine, in darkness and mystery. In vain did the legate, and Charles the Fifth himself, endeavour to gain him to the cause of the pope, by offering him enormous benefices, a bishopric and a cardinal's hat: it was all useless. They then determined to place him under the ban of the empire, and not daring to arrest him among a population enthusiastic for reform, nor to make an attempt on his life, they gave him twenty-one days in which to leave the German states. Luther, however, did not quit his country; he took refuge in the castle of Wartzburg, near Eisenach, where the elector Frederick concealed him for nine whole months.

The emperor published an edict, in which, after having explained that it was the interest of kings to protect Catholicism, and stifle heresies, he added: "that to satisfy his obligations to God and the pope, with the consent of the electors, princes, and states of the empire, and in execution of the bull of Leo the Tenth, he declared and held Martin Luther as a heretic, and commanded him to be regarded as such by all the subjects placed beneath his rule, ordering them, under the most severe penalties, to seize and imprison him, and to pursue his accomplices, adherents, and favourers; prohibiting, besides, from printing, transcribing, reading, or having any of his books, or the abridgments published in various languages; and proscribing also engravings in which the pope, cardinals, and prelates were represented with ridiculous habits, or in cynical postures; finally, the prince formally prohibited the printing of any book on religious subjects, without having first submitted it to the ordinary, or censor, of the pope."

This edict of Charles the Fifth, had no more influence over the minds of men than the bull of Leo the Tenth, and did not stop for a moment the progress of the reform; nay, more, this new persecution gave rise to thousands of apostles, who associated together for the great work of religious emancipation; and soon the papacy had to combat enemies the more to be dreaded, as they devoted their lives to the cause of the people, and had determined to overthrow the pontifical colossus, though they should be crushed beneath its ruins. The clergy then uttered a cry of alarm from all sides; from the east, west, north, and south, kings, nobles, monks, priests, bishops, cardinals led about the torches of fanaticism,

armed themselves with daggers, and prepared to struggle against an enemy who threatened to destroy for ever their execrable power. All accused the pontiff of weakness, pusillanimity, incapacity; all reproached him for his pompous life of worldly pleasures, the chase, spectacles, concerts, banquets, and Saturnalia; all called down the curses of God on the pope, who had left the door of the sanctuary open to the enemy, and who had not defended the theocratic edifice.

In that, Leo the Tenth was not exempt from blame, and the energy which his holiness had displayed in the beginning of his pontificate, was prodigiously modified since the death of his brother and nephew. Having no longer the aggrandisement of his family to occupy him, the pope had passed his time in pleasures; the chase, says Paul Jovius, was especially his favourite exercise; he knew its laws better than those of scripture. He punished with blows, says the historian, those who, by imprudence or want of skill, allowed the beast to escape, and his humour was so ill when the hunt was unsuccessful, that his minions and mistresses dared not even speak to him. But when his blows had struck down the beast, when he had killed a tall stag or vigorous wild boar, his joy resembled delirium, and at these moments he never refused the favours and benefices which were asked of him.

The nights passed in interminable festivities, in which the luxury of lights and of the table service surpassed every thing in the most opulent courts of Europe and Asia. No emperor, king, or pope ever carried his epicurism so far as Leo the Tenth; thus the highest employments awaited the invention of a new ragout. His holiness had four masters of the art occupied in inventing unheard-of dishes; it is to their care that humanity owes sausages stuffed with slices of peacocks, and in return for this useful invention, the faithful had only to pay seven millions a year for the table of the pope.

In the festivals of the Vatican, numerous buffoons were employed to enliven the guests by their gay sallies, to which Leo the Tenth replied, to show the fancy of his mind, and strove with them in cynicism in language, and frivolity in ideas. Young girls and handsome boys clothed in oriental costumes, and expert in the arts of debauchery, had orders to caress the guests, and these festivities were terminated, almost always, by orgies only excelled by those of the Borgias.

Still, amidst these revels, the pontiff did not entirely forget the interests of the throne of the church, and followed the policy of his predecessors; for at the very time that he was selling to Francis the First authority to conquer Naples, he was demanding six thousand ducats from Charles the Fifth, to grant him the right to style himself king of Naples and emperor of Germany, notwithstanding the bulls of the pontiffs, which prohibited the two crowns from being placed on the same head. He also pursued his conquests in Ro-

magna, carried the cities of Modena and Reggio by assault, and thought of seizing on Ferrara, the capital of the states of Alphonso of Este. This last effort failed; a plot which he formed to assassinate the duke, met with no better success; he then had recourse to spiritual thunders, and fulminated a terrible sentence of anathema against Alphonso, placed his states under interdict, and ordered his generals to recruit new troops, to retake the offensive, and crush his enemy.

The war already embraced Upper Italy; on one side, Charles the Fifth, aided by the English and the pope, was laying claim to the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire, as well as the county of Burgundy, which he pretended had been fraudulently united to France by Louis the Eleventh; on the other side, Francis the First, aided by the Swiss and Venetians, was demanding the restitution

of Spanish Navarre, and threatening to make good his pretensions on Naples. But the French, inferior in numbers to their enemies, suffered several checks, and were constrained to abandon most of the cities they had recently conquered, and retire into Milan.

This news caused such joy to Leo the Tenth, say several chroniclers of the times, that the blood flowed back on his heart and suffocated him. According to another version, the holy father died of poison; historians do not designate the author of the crime, but merely say that Charles the Fifth knew how to turn this event to his advantage. Still the blow was so sudden that they could not administer the viaticum to the holy father. He died on the 1st of December, 1521, aged forty-four years, after having occupied the Holy See eight years, eight months, and twenty days.

ADRIAN THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1522.]

Election of Adrian the Sixth—His history before his pontificate—Entrance of his holiness into Rome—He wishes to introduce reforms among the clergy—His opinion of his predecessors and of pontifical infallibility—Diet of Nuremberg—Charles the Fifth compels the pope to grant him various privileges—Hatred of the Roman clergy to the holy father—He is poisoned by the priests—Singular eulogy on the pontiff by a cardinal.

AFTER the death of Leo the Tenth, the pontifical troops left the army of Charles the Fifth, which so weakened the Spaniards, that notwithstanding their reverses, the French would have been able, beyond doubt, to have retaken the offensive and re-established their affairs in Italy, if, at the moment in which they were about to open the campaign, a Roman chancellor, named Morono, had not raised the fanatical population by means of the preaching of an Augustine monk. At his call, the Italians rose in mass, ranged themselves under the banner of Morono, and forced the French to repossess the Alps. The cardinals hastened to profit by the circumstances in which they were placed, to form a conclave, without fear of being disturbed, and for their greater security, they gave the command of the troops to Constantine Comming, duke of Macedonia. They conferred the government of Rome on Vincent Caraffa, archbishop of Naples, and the guardianship of the palace on Hannibal Ramigo, bishop of Spoleto. The vacancy in the Holy See appeared, however, to be prolonged, from the intrigues of the different competitors, and the absence of the cardinals de Medicis, Cortona, Ferrier, Cornaro, and Cibo; at last these prelates arrived successively, one after the other, and raised the number of the members of the conclave to thirty-nine. The scrutiny was then opened, and for eight days the balloting was between the cardinals Farnese,

de Medicis, Jaconocci, and Wolsey, the minister of the king of England, who spared neither promises nor money to secure his election. On the ninth scrutiny, there arose a new party in favour of the cardinal Adrian, Florent d'Est-trusen, bishop of Tortosa, of whom no one had appeared to think. A member of the conclave, devoted to the emperor, seeing that his colleagues were tired of all this strife, proposed to choose as pope the cardinal Adrian, who dwelt in Spain, and showed skilfully the advantages which would accrue to them from the exaltation of the old preceptor of Charles the Fifth. The cardinal of St. Sixtus supported the proposal, and gave him his voice; thirteen prelates, whose votes had been bought in advance, followed his example and drew others after them, so that the election became so unanimous, that it was regarded as miraculous by the uninitiated, who were ignorant with what skill the matter had been brought about.

The election of Adrian was not, however, approved of by the Romans, who wanted an Italian pope; the people even pursued the cardinals when they left the conclave, heaping hisses and insults on them; all the Italian priests declaimed equally against it; the canon Berni, a burlesque writer, made it an occasion for a satire on the cardinals, whom he called traitors, asses, robbers; he sent them to the devil for having chosen a stranger as pope,

and invoked Mahomet to free Italy from the holy father and the sacred college. Nothing justified this hatred against the new pope, unless it was that he was too virtuous to govern a corrupt and simoniacal clergy, addicted to every vice and impurity.

Adrian was born at Utrecht, in 1459; his father's name was Florent Boyens, and was an honest ship carpenter, according to Valere Andres; other historians maintain that he was a weaver, whilst others give him the trade of a brewer or upholsterer. Be his trade, however, what it may, it is certain, that his poverty not permitting him to educate his son, he solicited and obtained for him a fellowship in the college of the Porcians at Louvain, at which a certain number of poor scholars were admitted. The young Adrian made surprising progress in the sciences, and particularly in philosophy and theology; he showed no taste for the study of eloquence or poetry, not caring, he said, to clothe falsehoods with elegance. His assiduity, talents, and good conduct procured for him an important curacy, unsolicited by him; he afterwards obtained the cap of a doctor, and was successively canon of Louvain, professor of theology, dean of St. Peter, in the same city, and vice chancellor of the university. He then conceived the plan of reforming the morals of the clergy, who were dependents on his deanery, and preached to them at length, both by word and example. His zeal was powerless to arrest the evil, and was almost fatal to him; a devotee, who was the mistress of a canon, gave him a poisoned draught, and he only owed his life to the promptness with which remedies were administered to him. In 1507, he was appointed preceptor to Charles the Fifth. After the death of Ferdinand he was elevated to the see of Tortosa, and appointed, in conjunction with the cardinal Ximenes, regent of the kingdom of Castile, which procured for him a cardinal's hat; the subsequent retirement of the cardinal Ximenes, left him alone at the helm of state.

In this high post he obtained the reputation of a skilful governor; he repressed the dangerous factions which threatened to overthrow Spain; repulsed different invasions by Francis the First, and recovered several cities which the French had conquered in Navarre; finally, when he abandoned the government to place the exercise of the sovereign authority in the hands of Charles the Fifth, he merited to receive from the people shining testimonials of regret and admiration.

Such was the venerable prelate whom the intrigues of the emperor had elevated to the Holy See, not out of gratitude for the great services he had received from him, but to use him in order to obtain universal dominion, the constant aim of all his efforts.

Notwithstanding the established usage of the church, the new pope was unwilling to change his name on his advent to the pontifical throne, and was consecrated by the name of Adrian the Sixth; he then embarked from Tanagrona and came to Genoa, which

he found ruined by the pillage it had undergone when Charles the Fifth captured it. The senate gave the holy father as magnificent a reception as their circumstances would admit, with which he evinced his satisfaction. When, however, Francis Sforza, the new duke of Milan, Prosper Colonna, and the marquis of Pescara presented themselves to kiss his feet, and beseech his absolution for having ordered the sack of Genoa, he repulsed them with his hand, and replied to them with severity, "I cannot, I ought not, I will not."

His holiness went from Genoa to Livorno, where several Tuscan prelates awaited him, amongst others Medicis, Ridolfi, Salvati, the cardinal of Cortona, Petrucci, and Piccolomini; the venerable pontiff reprimanded them mildly, because they wore beards and moustachios after the Spanish fashion, enjoining on them to abandon their mundane customs, and not to go to balls and spectacles with swords by their sides and daggers in their girdles, which was only proper, he added, for bullies and soldiers. Finally, after having visited Livorno and Civita Vecchia, the holy father passed up the Tiber with eight galleys, and made his entrance into the Vatican.

On the day of his arrival, the works on the decorations destined for the day of his coronation, were suspended by his orders; he prohibited triumphant arches from being erected in his honour, and even caused one, which was far advanced, and on which more than five hundred ducats of gold had been spent, to be levelled. The virtuous Adrian declared to his cardinals, that he wished the money of the people to be spared, and that God having chosen him to govern the church in the capacity of the faithful, he would never be their oppressor. The ceremonies of the consecration took place in the church of the Lateran, without any pomp or solemnity, and immediately after he convened the members of the sacred college in consistory, to remedy the evils of the church. It was a measure of great urgency, since the pontifical chair was attacked on all sides by formidable enemies. The finances of the Holy See were exhausted; the ecclesiastical states were in frightful anarchy; simony, debauchery, robbery, and murder were part of the morals of the clergy; the patrimony of St. Peter was threatened with an invasion by the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and the family of the Malatesta. Italy was on the eve of a general combustion, in consequence of the wars which had been kindled between the emperor and Francis the First; and Germany, as well as Switzerland, had almost entirely separated from the communion of Rome.

In the midst of such disastrous circumstances, Adrian perceived that he must root out the evil, and attack the abuses which had drawn on the Catholic church the anger of the people. He associated with himself in this great work of reform, John Peter Caraffa, and Michael Gaetan, of Thielna, two prelates, whose learning and talents were honoured by all. They commenced by taking from the

Minor Brothers the privilege of preaching the indulgences; they then suppressed the scandalous traffic in the employments and offices of the Roman court; they diminished the taxes of the datary; they abolished coadjutorships and administrations, and installed a commission, appointed to distribute the vacant benefices among ecclesiastics, whose conduct was exemplary, prohibiting them from granting more than one office to the same titular. His holiness set the example of a rigorous observance of this rule, by refusing for his own nephew a considerable post which was offered him, maintaining that men should be given to benefices, and not benefices to men; and that, moreover, his nephew was rich enough with a revenue of seventy crowns of gold.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the pontiff to bring about a useful reform among the clergy, things remained in the same state, the execution of his orders being unceasingly counteracted by the cardinals and principal officers of his court, who sought to persuade him that apostolic times had passed away from the church, that the father of the faithful should exercise his temporal authority over his states in all its plenitude, and renounce spiritual sways; that consequently, he must sustain himself by corruption, the basis of all monarchical government; and, finally, that perseverance in a reform, which must necessarily expose the hideous sores of the ecclesiastical body, would be the annihilation of the church.

Adrian, convinced of the truth of these remonstrances, suspended for a short time the execution of his plans; reflection then exhibiting to him into what an abyss of evils humanity was plunged, in consequence of the disorders of popes and priests; he was seized with a feeling of sublime indignation, and was desirous of abjuring a religion which was so fatal to the nations. He immediately convened the cardinals in consistory, and declared to them, that having discovered his want of power, as chief of the church, to do good to men, he had resolved to go to Germany, to study the doctrines of Luther, and that should he lose the tiara, he would become a convert to the new belief, and labour with the reformer in overthrowing the theocratic edifice, and leading the church back to the worship of the true religion of Christ.

As soon as this determination was noised abroad, a concert of curses rose against Adrian from all sides; the Roman priests, who were almost all of them atheists, simoniacs, usurers, and sodomites, exhibited the most hostility to the holy pontiff, and as they could not prevent him from publishing his bulls, they determined to arrest their effects by assassination. The first effort failed; the murderer, who was a priest of Placenza, named Marius, was arrested at the moment in which he was drawing his dagger from his robe to strike the pope. A second effort, though better arranged than the first, was not more successful; the ceiling of the pontifical chapel, which was to fall on the holy father when he came to celebrate mass, crushed but six or seven Swiss who

preceded him. Several cardinals of his suite, who were behind, dared to express their regret that Providence appeared to have taken Adrian under its protection.

To embitter the people against the venerable pontiff, ignoble satires were scattered around, in which poetaster priests sought to turn him into derision, by accusing him of sordid avarice, by reproaching him with limiting his expenses to twelve crowns a day, with drinking beer instead of wine, with remaining only half an hour at table, with eating had-dock on account of the cheapness of this fish, with having no more taste in the choice of his food, than judgment in the administration of the church; and, finally, with being addicted to magic, and with shutting himself up whole days in the laboratory of the Vatican, seeking for the philosopher's stone.

The statues of Pasquin and Marforio were daily checked with the verses of buffoon poets, who had lost their Mæcenas in the person of Leo the Tenth, and who loaded his successor with their epigrams. Their insults became so violent and outrageous, that the pontiff was desirous to put an end to them, by casting the two statues into the Tiber. But the duke of Sessa, the Spanish ambassador, dissuaded him from it. "Do you believe then, holy father," he said, "that these rhyming priests will not croak any more, when these two statues shall be in the Tiber? Be undeceived; the pasquinades which these two stones shall no more transmit to us, will be repeated by living mouths."

The statues remained on their pedestals; Adrian ceased to pay attention to the calumnies of his clergy, and bestowed all his cares on the realization of his plans of reform. As a first step, he relieved the duke of Urbino from the censures inflicted on him by Leo the Tenth, and gave him the investiture of his duchy; he also admitted Alphonso of Este to his communion, and recognised the lawful possession of the states of Ferrara to be in him, as well as the boroughs of St. Felix and Final, on which that prince had seized during the vacancy of the Holy See.

His holiness then sent Francis Cheregato, bishop of Teramo, as his legate, to assist at the diet of Nuremberg, convened by Frederick of Austria, for the last day of November, in the year 1522, and which was to be engaged with the question of reform. Adrian sent by his ambassador the following letter, addressed to the members of the assembly:—

"I deplore with you, my brethren, the difficult situation into which the crimes of the clergy and the corruption of the morals of the Roman pontiffs have led us; for some years we have found nothing but abuses, excesses, and abominations in the administration of spiritual things; the contagion has passed from the head to the members, from pontiffs to prelates, from these last, to mere clerks and monks, so that it would be difficult to find a single priest who was exempt from simony, robbery, adultery, and sodomy. I hope, however, by the aid of God, to reform this de-

plorable condition, and regenerate the Roman court; I solemnly pledge myself to it. But the evil is so great, that I can only walk step by step to the cure."

Unfortunately, the legate did not conform with the wise instructions he had received.—On the very day of his arrival at Nuremberg, he exhibited so much pride, that he was driven from the assembly. Ferdinand of Austria and the other princes who assisted at the diet, troubled themselves no more about the court of Rome; they passed several important decisions on the great question of reform, and decreed, that the only remedy for the abuses, was the convocation of a general council in Germany.

The insolence of a prelate again destroyed the hopes of Adrian, who had counted on his spirit of tolerance bringing back the church of Germany to a good understanding. The Lutherans declaimed against the audacious pretensions of the bishop of Teramo, and their vehement preachings, sustained by facts, which were known to all, drew a large number of the faithful into the new doctrines.—Like an immense fire, the Reformation covered Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland; it penetrated into Flanders, and even into the heart of France; monks were every where seen quitting their convents, casting aside the frock and marrying, to become fathers of families; priests were renouncing their works of iniquity, to embrace professions or situations, which no longer rendered them a charge to society; even bishops were abandoning the impurities of celibacy for family pleasures.

The decisions of the diet of Nuremberg, which contained not less than an hundred complaints against the court of Rome, and which re-produced the entire letter of the holy father, which cast the causes of the schism which troubled Europe, on the disorders of the clergy, exasperated the cardinals against his holiness, and induced them to accuse him of wishing to destroy religion, and of labouring in this work of iniquity, in order

to subject Rome to the empire, and the throne of St. Peter to that of Cæsar.

These reproaches, which nothing in reality justified, had, however, the appearances of truth; for Adrian, very different from Julius the Second and Leo the Tenth, who used kings for their political designs, was himself, without knowing it, the tool of Charles the Fifth. This prince had induced him to issue a bull, which annexed for ever to the crown of Castile, the government of the order of Calatrava, and of the other orders established in Spain, and rendered the post of grand master hereditary. He had also obliged the pope to declare openly against France, and had caused the cardinal Soderini, suspected of intriguing to introduce the French into Sicily, to be judged guilty of lese-majesty. Finally, the holy father, still at the instigation of the emperor, had published different decrees, which invested the king of Spain with exorbitant authority.

The cardinals availed themselves of these acts of weakness, to render the pontiff odious to the Romans, and to prepare the people to receive joyfully the news of his death. One morning, it was rumoured through the holy city, that the pope was sick, and three days afterwards, on the 14th of September, 1523, that he had expired. The priests did not even take the pains to dissimulate the causes of this sudden death, and in the night garlands and crowns were suspended to the door of his physician, and these explanatory words were traced in large characters, "To the liberator of his country."

The cardinal Pallavicini has made this singular eulogium on Pope Adrian: "He was a pious, learned, and disinterested man, who was sincerely anxious for the good of religion; he was, however, an ordinary pope, for he knew nothing of the suppleness of the art of reigning, nor how to accommodate himself to the morals of the Roman court. A pontiff like him, he adds, who had forgotten flesh and blood, could but illy govern the church."

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1523]

Election of the cardinal Julian de Medicis, bastard of Julian, duke of Medicis—His history before his pontificate—He wishes to stifle the heresy of Luther—He exhorts the emperor and king of England to peace, whilst he is at the same time secretly inciting the king of France to war—The tricks of his holiness are discovered—Francis the First conquered by Charles the Fifth under the walls of Pavia—Clement reconciles himself with the emperor—Indignation of Charles the Fifth—State of Lutheranism in Europe—Perfidy of the Colonna, and vengeance of the holy father—New broils between the emperor and pope—Sack of Rome by the Spaniards—Details of the cruelties perpetrated in the holy city—Capitulation of the pope—He is made prisoner—He escapes from the castle of San Angelo—Divorce of Henry the Eighth, king of England—New treaty between Clement and Charles the Fifth—Negotiations at Bologna—Capture of Florence by the confederated armies of the emperor and pope—Origin of the dukes of Tuscany—Consequence of the divorce of the king of England—Proposal for a general council—Marriage of the niece of the pope, the infamous Catherine de Medicis, with Henry, son of the king of France—Interview between Clement and Francis the First—Anecdote concerning the holy father and three beautiful dames of the court of France—The English church separates itself from the Roman communion—Death of the pontiff.

As soon as the obsequies of Adrian were over, the cardinals, to the number of thirty-six, entered the conclave. For six weeks the suffrages were divided between Medicis and Colonna; after a thousand intrigues renewed and broken, Julian de Medicis bought off his competitor, by the title of vice chancellor of the church and the gift of his palace, one of the most magnificent in Rome, as a recompense, and was then proclaimed sovereign pontiff. His holiness took the name of Clement the Seventh, though a pope had already borne this name in the city of Avignon, during the great western schism.

Julian de Medicis, was a posthumous bastard of Julian de Medicis, duke of Florence, assassinated by the orders of Sixtus the Fourth, in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and of a young girl named Floretta Grini. His uncle, Laurent de Medicis, having escaped the daggers of the assassins, had taken him to his own house with his mother, whom he made his mistress. Destined at first to the profession of arms, the young Medicis had been made a knight of Rhodes; then when his cousin Leo the Tenth was elevated to the chair of St. Peter, he quitted the casque and sword to follow the ecclesiastical career, and as his birth, tainted by illegitimacy, was an obstacle to his entering the sacred college, he paid false witnesses, who affirmed, under oath, that Floretta had not yielded to her seducer, until she had obtained a promise of marriage from him, which, according to the custom of the Roman church, was enough to legitimatise a bastard.

During the reign of Adrian the Sixth, the cardinal de Medicis had been enabled, by means of intrigues, to seize on the direction of all business, and supplant the cardinal Soderini in the confidence of the pope. As he was absolute master of the Vatican at the time of the death of the pope, we can cast on him, without danger of striking an innocent man,

the greatest share in the accomplishment of a crime which opened to him the road to the pontifical throne.

After the ceremonies of his consecration, which were accompanied by a pomp and magnificence truly extraordinary, Clement employed himself with the great question of the Reformation, which was upsetting Germany, and threatening to wrest half Europe from the pontifical yoke. His holiness endeavoured to prevent a new diet from being held at Nuremberg, and at which the electoral princes were to take decisive measures against the court of Rome. He even offered to yield some points to the heretics, provided they would not contest his right of jurisdiction over the churches, and would not trouble his agents in the collection of his revenues. All his efforts were useless, the Germans persisted in their plan of a diet, and as the day for opening its sittings approached, he decided to send an envoy to Nuremberg, to prevent, what he feared the most in the world, the convocation of a general council.

His ambassador, the cardinal Laurent Campeggio, was one of the most skillful diplomats of his court. The holy father recommended to him to affect a great desire to remedy the abuses which had been pointed out in the hundred articles of the petition before sent to the court of Rome, in what concerned the Teutonic clergy, and be careful how he discussed a plan for a general reformation.

In accordance with his instructions, the wary cardinal appeared before the electors, demanding, in the name of his holiness, that they should proceed with the reform of the lower clergy of Germany, and that they should remedy, as promptly as they could, the grievous abuses which existed in the different sees and convents; he did not speak of the churches of France, Italy, or England. As the prince of

Saxony was about to observe, that the interests of religion called for a prompt suppression of the disorders of the Roman clergy; the legate imposed silence on him, and declared that the mere enunciation of such a proposition constituted the crime of heresy. This strange restriction of the cardinal opened the eyes of the least clear sighted; they perceived what were the secret intentions of the pope, and, during the sitting, the assembly resolved on its conclusions, which were published on the 18th of April, 1524, in the following decree:—

“We decide that the emperor and pope shall assign a time for holding a council, with the least possible delay; for the necessity of an œcumenical assembly is perceived daily more and more, in order to arrest the disorders which overwhelm Christendom, and to save social order from the abyss into which infamous Catholics, debauched priests, and dangerous innovators, threaten to plunge it.”

It must be admitted, that the fever of reform was such, that it gave rise to good and bad doctrines. By the side of Luther and Melancthon, who were the first to unfold the flag of the emancipation of the people, extravagant men were engaged in ridiculous disputes about dogmas. The sacramentarians denied the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, and for this had separated from the Lutherans; other enthusiasts, Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, Thomas Muntzer, and Balthazar Hubmayer, preached the old doctrine of the Donatists, Pelagians, and Catharines; they denied the efficacy of infant baptism, and maintained that this sacrament should be administered to adults, which led them to be called anabaptists; they preached absolute equality, real and natural, as well as community of goods and the emancipation of women.

This last sect increased formidably, especially in Suabia. Fifty thousand peasants, converted by Thomas Muntzer, rose in mass to urge on the triumph of their cause, and committed frightful massacres, until they were themselves exterminated by the Lutherans, the sacramentarians, and the Catholics.

Clement the Seventh, far from showing any affliction at the deplorable situation in which Germany was, and of acceding to the just demand of the electors in regard to the convocation of a council, took measures which increased the disorders, and refused to assemble the bishops. He maintained that it was a crime of lese-divinity to give judges to a pope, and to submit his acts to the examination of men. His opinion was sustained by the cardinals, who dreaded, as much as his holiness, a reform in morals; and the members of the sacred college formed themselves into a permanent consistory, to treat of affairs of urgency. They erased the decisions of the diet of Nuremberg, and decreed that letters should be addressed to the emperor, to put in execution his edicts of Worms against Luther and his adherents; that at the same time the kings of France, England, and Portugal should be summoned to break off all commerce with the free cities of the interior of Germany, if

these refused to obey the court of Rome; that the legate of the Holy See, Laurent Campeggio, should induce the Catholic princes to prevent the assembly which was to be held at Spire, or at least, should enjoin on them to protest against its deliberations, in order to maintain the rights of the pope; that in regard to the convocation of a council, his holiness declared, that by virtue of his omnipotence, he regarded this measure pernicious and baneful, and should consequently formally oppose it; finally, that in regard to the redress of grievances presented by the Germans, the decrees of the council of Lateran righted them, and that if they were not sufficient, they should be provided for by a commission specially appointed for this matter.

Whilst Clement was seeking, by a thousand expedients, to avoid holding a synod, the emperor was making a treaty with Henry the Eighth, to crush France beneath the united forces of England, Spain, and Germany; the imminence of the danger compelled the pontiff to suspend his struggles with the Reformation, in order to place reins on the plans of Charles the Fifth, whose ambition was a subject of grave apprehension to him. He sent an ambassador to him charged with a letter, in which he represented to his Catholic majesty, that he should be content with his immense dominions, and leave to Francis the First the dutchy of Milan, which of right belonged to him. His exhortations did not produce the effect he expected; all that the legate could obtain was, to be reconducted to the frontiers, with the honours due his rank, without having had the gratification of an audience. His holiness then secretly warned the king of France of what was plotting against him, and urged him to march into Italy at the head of an army, to be beforehand with his enemy, and rout the imperialists before they had effected a junction with the English. Francis followed the advice of the pope, assembled an army in less than six weeks, crossed the Alps, and presented himself before Milan, which yielded without a blow. He then went to besiege Pavia, which was defended by two of the imperialist generals, Lanoy and Pescara. They, finding themselves taken by surprise, and having no hopes of being succoured in time by the emperor, proposed to sign a truce of five years with France, and recognise her by treaty as the lawful possessor of the Milanese. These conditions were, unfortunately, rejected by the king, who yielded in it to the fatal influence of the admiral Bonnivert, one of those courtiers who are the scourges of the people.

Hostilities continued between the French and the imperialists; but as Francis was gaining ground daily, the pope was in hopes of soon securing command as master in Italy, and thought of assuring himself of his protection by a treaty of alliance. He made him promise to succour the Holy See against all its enemies, to protect the house of Medici and the state of Florence. Clement the Seventh reciprocally engaged, as did the two

Medici, Alexander and Hippolyte, both bastards, and the only props of his family, not to afford any succour to imperialists during the life of the king, and without its being necessary to confirm this transaction, even after the conquest of the duchy of Milan. His holiness, moreover, promised to give free passage to the armies of Francis to attack the kingdom of Naples.

In execution of this treaty, Francis detached from his army a body of troops, which entered the states of the church, whilst he himself pushed the siege of Pavia with vigour. Unfortunately, the place opposed a longer resistance than he had imagined, which gave time to the constable of Bourbon, a French prince, who commanded the imperialists, to come to the aid of the besieged. Thus the troops of the king were in their turn blocked in between a hostile city and an army superior to them in numbers. In this extremity Francis assembled his council, and asked his captains what they should do, whether to retreat or to give battle. The old generals represented that, in the circumstances in which they were placed, a single defeat might be sufficient to annihilate the power of the French in Italy, and that it was not to be concealed that they had to combat formidable, numerous, well disciplined adversaries, who were led by a captain to whom, notwithstanding his treason to his country, they could not deny great military talents; they consequently advised a retreat.

As soon as the admiral Bonniwet, who was the personal enemy of the constable, heard his rival praised, he rose from his seat, and spoke at length on the disgrace which would attach to the name of Francis, if he fled before his enemy; he recounted the combats in which courage had supplied the place of numbers, and concluded by beseeching the king to give battle. This appeal to the vanity of the king, produced the result the admiral anticipated. His advice prevailed; the two armies joined battle on the 24th of February, 1523, the day of St. Mathias: baneful day! for the French were cut to pieces, and left more than six thousand dead on the field.

The two authors of this disastrous day received the punishment of their fault; Bonniwet was slain, and the king made prisoner. It is said that the constable of Bourbon, on seeing the dead body of the admiral, exclaimed, "Wretch, thou hast caused the ruin of France as well as mine." Francis was immediately conducted to Spain, where he treated for his ransom with Charles the Fifth, by surrendering to him the finest provinces of the kingdom.

This defeat produced the consequences which the old generals had foreseen. As soon as the news was spread through Italy, the cities which still held for the French opened their gates to the conquerors. Clement the Seventh abandoned his ally, and sent the bishop of Capua to congratulate the constable on the day of Pavia, and immediately proposed to the emperor a treaty of peace, in which he imposed, as a condition on Charles the Fifth,

the recognition of Francis Sforza as the lawful duke of Milan, offering him in exchange a sum of an hundred thousand crowns, to be levied on the city of Florence. His holiness besides, reserved to himself the right of selling the products of his salt works in the Milanese territory, to the exclusion of all other salt, and according to the tariff of Leo; he still further exacted the restitution of the cities of Reggio and Rubiera, which belonged to the duke of Ferrara, as well as the free disposal of the benefices of the kingdom of Naples.

Charles the Fifth was too much irritated by the last treason of the pope to listen to his proposals; he received the ambassador very badly, and dismissed him, telling him to inform his master that the hour of justice had come, and that he knew how to punish those who had basely gone over to his enemies in the time of trial.

This threat deprived the pope of all hopes of being reconciled with Charles, and determined him to form a league against him, in order to place himself beyond the reach of his vengeance; for this purpose he entered into secret negotiations with various Italian princes, who hated alike Ferdinand and the Spaniards. He first addressed Ferdinand Francis d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, who was in the service of Spain, and offered him the sovereignty of Naples, if he would consent to turn his arms against Charles the Fifth, which he agreed to do. He then brought into the league Duke Sforza, the republic of Venice, and the regent of France. All was succeeding well, when the marquis of Pescara was seized with panic terror, and revealed the plot to the emperor. Charles the Fifth ordered him still to dissimulate, and to place garrisons in the Milanese cities; when the latter had made all the arrangements necessary for the success of their plans, he invaded the Milanese with an army, pursued Sforza from place to place, and constrained him to shut himself up in the castle of Milan. The treason, however, did not profit the marquis of Pescara; he fell dangerously sick, was obliged to quit his camp, and died at the end of two months.

Although the secret of the league had been discovered, the Venetians persisted none the less in their determination to combat the emperor, and declared that they preferred being buried under the ruins of their city, rather than consent to a cowardly abandonment of their ally, Duke Sforza. If Clement the Seventh had shown the same firmness, it is probable that Charles the Fifth would have been obliged to propose an arrangement which was advantageous to the confederates; but the astute pontiff wished to follow the crooked policy of the Holy See, and was yet the dupe of the Spanish monarch. Whilst appearing to approve of the energetic resolution of the ambassadors of France and Venice, he sent the cardinal Salviati to Madrid to treat with the emperor, and as soon as he heard that the principal articles which he proposed to his Catholic majesty had been accepted, he broke off the conferences with the Venetians and

ber with a tiara taken from a dead body, mounted him on an ass and led him through the streets, they also mounted on asses, holding in their hands holy pixes full of wine, and shouting forth bacchanalian songs in honour of their pope. After this they returned to the Vatican, assembled in conclave, and proclaimed Luther sovereign pontiff, amid acclamations so deafening, that they were heard by Clement the Seventh, who from the top of the towers of the castle of San Angelo, was coldly contemplating the disasters he had brought on Rome.

The holy city was not the only theatre on which unfortunate human beings were slaying each other. Pavia was carried by assault by the French under Lautrec, and he, by way of reprisals, and to avenge the Romans, murdered, pillaged, violated, burned, as if the tortures of the one could soothe the sufferings of the others, and as if dishonour to the women of Pavia, could restore their virginity to the young girls violated by the imperialists.

In Germany it was still worse, the reformed, moved by religious fanaticism, pursued the sect of the anabaptists with the utmost rigour, and exercised such frightful cruelties towards them, that the hair rises on the head when we read the recitals that historians have given us. Instead of being intimidated by tortures, these new martyrs surrendered themselves to their executioners; they were seen mounting the funeral piles singing the praises of God; the most delicate females sought the most cruel torments to give proof of their faith; young virgins walked to punishment more gaily than to the nuptial ceremony; the men evinced not the least sign of fear, when contemplating the terrible instruments of torture; they sang psalms whilst the executioners were tearing off their flesh with red hot pincers. Even when their bodies were half consumed by the fire, their members broken, and the skin torn from their skull was hanging about their shoulders, they exhorted the assistants to become converts to their doctrine. Never had any sect shown such extraordinary constancy in persecutions; thus, the admiration which their courage inspired, drew a great number of Catholics and Lutherans into their ranks.

If the excellency of a religion could be proved by the testimony and number of its martyrs, as the Catholic priests maintain, the sect of the anabaptists would doubtless be superior to any other, since it had, in less than a year, more than a hundred and fifty thousand martyrs, which is more than the martyrologists count during the long persecutions of the pagan emperors.

Notwithstanding these bloody executions, the anabaptists still held up; they were, however, persecuted for many years, now by the Catholics, now by the Lutherans, and ended by succumbing. Unfortunately, no work of these sectaries on their principal dogmas remain to us; perchance, because they wrote nothing, being content to preach, combat, and die. Our only notions about them have been transmitted to us by their enemies; amongst

other things, they accused them of wishing to establish a community of women and property, an allegation which is the more doubtful, as it comes from their executioners.

Clement the Seventh, still shut up in the castle of San Angelo, fired upon the enemy who dared approach its walls, and Benevenuto Cellini, the celebrated sculptor, who was charged with the management of the batteries, acquitted himself so well, that, thanks to him, a considerable number of Spaniards remained on the field. It is even believed that he killed the duke of Bourbon, and that it was a cannon pointed by him that wounded the prince of Orange, and cut in two a Spanish colonel, of whom the pontiff was very fond. Benevenuto Cellini, in a relation which he has left us of that siege, says, that the holy father, charmed by his address, called him to compliment him, but that being ignorant of what his holiness could have to say to him, he fell on his knees before Clement, to beseech him to absolve him from the homicides he had been compelled to commit in his service. "At this demand," adds the celebrated sculptor, "the good pope Clement raised his hands, and having traced a great cross on my figure, not only blessed me for the murders I had committed, but even promised me plenary indulgences, if I should continue to do as well and slay the imperialists."

The skill of the sculptor Cellini, as a marksman, sufficed to keep off the assailants from the castle of San Angelo, without, however, arresting the massacres in the city. The plague at last put an end to the butcheries, by killing at least a third of the victors.

Charles the Fifth received the news of the sack of Rome by his army, says Mazera, on the same day on which the empress gave birth to a son, who was afterwards Philip the Second; he feigned to suffer great grief at the bad position of the pope; he pushed his hypocrisy so far, as to prohibit an illumination in celebration of the happy deliverance of his wife; he put on mourning, and ordered public processions to be made, to ask from God the liberty of the pope, whilst he was sending, at the same time, orders to conduct him as a prisoner into Spain, as soon as he had capitulated. The nuncio, who was not the dupe of these demonstrations, presented himself in mourning, and followed by ten archbishops, to beseech the emperor to withdraw his troops from Rome, and to set Clement the Seventh at liberty. The hypocritical Charles replied, that he desired more than they did to see tranquillity restored to Rome, but could come to no decision without consulting his generals. The duke of Alba, as had been arranged between them, then spoke:—"No, my lord, you must not pardon the pope; it is time for this priest to learn not to meddle with the temporal affairs of Europe, and the longer he shall fast in his castle of San Angelo, the wiser will be become; he should be reduced to such a condition, that he will no longer be desirous of troubling the peace of the world." His holiness was in fact compelled to fast

from want of provisions, and to increase the evil, the pest broke out in the fortress.

Clement the Seventh discovered that he had to choose between dying miserably or capitulating; he preferred to treat with his enemies, and demanded a conference with Lanoy, the viceroy of Naples, who was a Catholic. This satisfaction even was refused him; the army, having no confidence in the viceroy, refused to accept any treaty which was not made by the prince of Orange, and the holy father was constrained to receive the law from a heretic. The capitulation contained, among other articles, "That his holiness should pay the army four hundred thousand ducats, to wit, one hundred thousand down, fifty thousand in two days, and the remainder at the end of two months; that for the payment of this ransom, Clement should levy an extraordinary impost on all the ecclesiastical states; that he should, moreover, place in the hands of the emperor, the castle of San Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Citadi Castellana, Parma, Placenza, and Modena; that he should remain a prisoner in one of the towers of the castle, with thirteen cardinals of his suite, until he had paid the first hundred and fifty thousand ducats; that he should then be conducted to Naples, or the city of Gaëta, and there wait the orders of Charles the Fifth; and that, finally, he should absolve the Colonna from all censures pronounced against them, and should appoint a legate to govern the church in his absence, in connection with the tribunal of the Rota." These articles having been signed and approved of by Clement, a Spanish captain, named Alarçon, the same to whom the custody of Francis the First had been confided, entered the castle of San Angelo with six companies of Spaniards and Germans, to fill the part of jailer to the pope and his cardinals.

He remained more than six months kept out of sight, and submitted to ignominious treatment; at last, as he could see no end to his captivity, he determined to become reconciled with the Colonna, and by their aid he managed to escape from his prison, disguised as a hawker. From the city of Orvieto, to which he had retired, Clement wrote to the marshal Lautrec, that he was unwilling to execute a treaty, whose terms had been imposed on him with a dagger at his throat, and besought him to undertake his defence. But the emperor had already renounced his plan of keeping the pope in prison; master of his strong places and his treasures, the holy father was no longer a formidable adversary to him, and he had even sent an order for his enlargement, when Clement escaped from Rome. This return of Charles the Fifth to pacific sentiments, had an object, for the Spanish monarch was not a man to pardon the knaveries of others, without sufficient reasons.

The following was his: Henry the Eighth of England, tired of Catharine of Arragon, the aunt of Charles the Fifth, had determined to break off a marriage which had become

odious to him, because his wife was barren, and especially because this union prevented his possession of a young girl, named Anne Boleyn, who had inspired him with a violent passion. This plan of a divorce had a natural antagonist in the emperor, who counted on governing the kingdom of England in the name of his aunt, if Henry died without children. The Spanish monarch then sought a reconciliation with the pope, to induce him to enter into his views; for this purpose, he removed his troops from Rome, and permitted Clement to instal himself in the Vatican and resume the exercise of his authority.

His holiness had returned to his palace but a few days, when he received two English ambassadors, Cassalis and Knight, who came in the name of Henry the Eighth, to beseech him to annul his union with Catharine of Arragon; on the next day, arrived, in their turn, deputies from the emperor, who informed the pope, that if he should dare to authorise the divorce of the king of Great Britain, that the imperial armies would immediately invade the territories of the church.

Clement the Seventh, placed between two rivals whom he dreaded, and not daring to accede to the request of Henry the Eighth, nor obey Charles the Fifth, resolved to temporise, and replied to the English ambassadors, that he would give the prince authority to be divorced, if the clergy of Great Britain should first declare his first marriage null. They replied, that their master had no need of such a declaration, and that if the holy father had no other reply to give, they were instructed to inform him that the king of England would break off all intercourse with the court of Rome. The pope replied, that the matter rested entirely with the English sovereign, since he might proceed by the authority of the legate, his prime minister Wolsey, and have a sentence of divorce granted. "There is no theologian who can resolve better than the king, your master," added he, "whether his marriage is unlawful. As soon as the sentence shall have been pronounced, we will authorise our dear son Henry to re-marry; at the same time, if he will address our see to ratify the proceedings, we will not be wanting in reasons to justify his conduct. Then such one of our cardinals as the king shall designate, shall go to London and ratify all that shall have been done."

As soon as Henry was apprised of the reply of the pontiff, he divined the secret motives which actuated him, and in order to force him to declare between him and Charles the Fifth, he threatened him anew to separate himself from the Roman church, if he still persisted in refusing him the bull of divorce. Clement, pushed to the wall, and seeing besides that the affairs of the league were taking a bad turn, decided on a rupture with the king of England. "Well," said he, to the ambassadors, who urged him to give a categorical reply, "since I am between the anvil and the hammer, I declare that I have done for Henry the Eighth more than I ought to do, in per-

mitting him to have as judges in his cause, two legates who were devoted to him, and that I will never consent openly to sacrifice the emperor, the archduke his father, Catharine of Arragon, and the interests of the Holy See."

This reply enlightened the English deputies, and showed them that they would obtain no new concessions from Clement the Seventh, and that the king must be content with having his divorce pronounced by the legates. They, however, made a last effort, in conjunction with the ambassadors of Venice, France, and Florence; all represented to the pope, that it was both for his interest and dignity to unite frankly with them, and to lanch the thunders of the church against Charles the Fifth. His holiness, who had obtained from the Spanish agents the promise that the republic of Florence should be placed beneath the yoke of his family, declined following the advice of the ambassadors of the league; he excused himself on a resolution taken by the sacred college, to renounce all temporal matters, that they might solely engage with the reformation of the church, and the extinction of the numerous heresies which had arisen in Germany and France. Clement gave the Florentines in particular, a formal assurance, that he wished to interfere in no way in their government; that he only desired the republic to recognise him as pope, and not as temporal prince, and that he asked as a favour, that they should leave the armorial bearings of his ancestors on the monuments they had reared.

Notwithstanding these positive assurances of the pope, of his desisting from all authority over Florence, on the very same evening, Antonio de Leva arrived at Rome, with full powers from the emperor, and signed a treaty with him, of which the following are the principal articles:

"His holiness shall go immediately with his court to Bologna, there solemnly to crown Charles the Fifth. After the ceremony of his coronation, his imperial majesty shall send a powerful army before Florence, and shall force the most serene republic to recognise Alexander de Medicis, the bastard of Clement the Seventh, as its sovereign. Alexander de Medicis shall engage to marry Marguerite, a natural daughter of the emperor, as soon as she shall have reached a marriageable age. The cities of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera, shall be restored to the Holy See. The duke of Ferrara shall be abandoned to the clemency of the pope, as well as the duke of Milan. On his part, his holiness shall furnish eight thousand men, to besiege Florence in conjunction with the imperialists; he shall grant to the emperor and his descendants for ever, the right of nomination and presentation to eight archbishoprics of the kingdom of Naples, to wit, Vernides, Iacuciano, Matera, Otranto, Reggio, Salerno, Trani, and Tarentum, as well as to sixteen bishoprics. He shall confer the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, exacting, for his

right of sovereignty each year, the transmission of a white hackney, richly caparisoned, and carrying a purse of six thousand ducats; and, finally, he shall grant to the imperial armies, the right of way over the territories of the church, and shall give absolution to all who participated, directly or indirectly, in the sack of Rome."

After the ratification of this treaty, the pontiff prepared for his departure, and published a decree, which enjoined on the cardinals to assemble at Rome, and no where else, to choose a successor to him, should he die during the journey. He then left the holy city, accompanied by sixteen cardinals, thirty-six bishops, and the officers of his court, and preceded by the holy sacrament, which he caused to be borne at the head of the cortege, by a prelate clad in his sacerdotal garments. The emperor entered Bologna some days afterwards, and immediately went to the church of St. Peter, where the pope awaited him. As soon as he entered the church the hypocritical monarch knelt before his holiness, and from a mixture of baseness and superstition, wished to kiss the feet of him whom he had retained a prisoner against the laws of nations; the two despots then exchanged presents. Charles the Fifth presented the holy father with rich caskets of silver, filled with gold medals, weighing twelve pounds, and in exchange he received an eagle of massive gold, of enormous weight, and covered with precious stones.

In this first interview the prince spoke of the necessity of assembling a general council in Germany to arrest the progress of the heresy, by regulating the connection of the churches of that country with the Holy See, and to reform the morals of the clergy.

"Never," replied the pope, "will we convene a synod in a place where its deliberations can be independent; and we are surprised that a prince, who is so wary and great a politician, solicits an assemblage whose decisions may at once break his throne, and overthrow the papacy. We call you emperor, and ourselves pope, by divine right; we should not then submit the examination of our privileges to men, for they may ask us to verify our titles, and in truth, neither you nor I can do it.

"Be assured that the electors and people of Germany have only embraced the heresy, to seize on the ecclesiastical property placed under your sway, and then to free themselves from your dominion. It is not the excellency of the new religion which attracts them to the party of the reformation, it is an ardent thirst for liberty. Do not then hope to arrest the disorders, by permitting the Lutherans to discuss the new doctrines in a council.

"What matter these dogmas to us after all? What we want is passive obedience; what we ought to desire is, that the people should be for ever submissive to the yoke of priests and kings; and to reach this end, to prevent revolts, to arrest these flashes of liberty which overthrow our thrones, we must use brute

force, make executioners of your soldiers; we must light the funeral pyres; we must kill, burn; we must exterminate the learned; we must annihilate the press. Be assured then, that your subjects will return to orthodoxy, and will adore your imperial majesty on their knees."

The justness of these representations of Clement appeared to strike the emperor, and the question of the council was abandoned. They agreed only to assemble at Augsburg a general diet of the empire, in order to make a last effort to reunite the Catholics and Lutherans. The pontiff then proceeded to the coronation of Charles the Fifth, and immediately afterwards the two allies marched on Florence, to reduce the republic beneath the tyranny of the bastard of Medicis.

The Florentines, not knowing to what power to have recourse, to save their liberty, conceived the singular idea of appointing Jesus Christ gonfalonier of justice, and of placing themselves beneath his protection. They even agitated the question whether they should declare him king, and on the proposal of Nicholas Cappoti, they opened a ballot for his election. The citizens, however, had such a repugnance to the name of king, that of a thousand votes, more than nine hundred were in the negative. Whether Christ wished to punish the Florentines for their irreverence, or whether, rather, it was impossible for a population, suddenly attacked, and destitute of munitions, to defend themselves against two formidable armies, the city was compelled to surrender.

In the capitulation, the holy father pledged himself to treat his fellow citizens with tenderness and affection; he solemnly promised to pardon all offences which the Florentines might have committed against him or his. But as soon as he was master of Florence, and supported by his victorious troops, the infamous pontiff was not content with changing the republican government; in contempt of the treaty he had signed, he caused those who were denounced to him as hostile to his ambitious projects, to be arrested, and put them to death. The venerable Father Benedict, of Foiano, a Dominican, who had constantly exposed himself on the ramparts, to excite the enthusiasm of the besieged, was one of the first victims of his cruelty, and was put to frightful tortures, in expiation of his admirable devotion.

When Clement had exhausted his vengeance, he proceeded to the coronation of Alexander de Medicis, and made grand duke of Florence, a bastard whom he had by his amours with a servant girl at an inn, whose favours he shared with a muleteer, and who thus became the origin of the powerful family of the dukes of Tuscany; a new example, which confirms this already established truth, that there exists scarcely any family of kings, dukes, or nobles, which does not owe its estates, or its titles, to infamy and prostitution. Charles the Fifth, after having aided the pontiff to reduce Florence, left Italy

to go to the diet which was to be held at Augsburg on the 8th of April of the same year, 1530.

This assembly presented to the monarch an extremely remarkable profession of faith, which had been drawn up by Melancthon, under the inspiration of Luther, and which became the creed of protestanism. It contained twenty-one articles on the divinity, original sin, the incarnation, justification, an evangelical ministry, the church, the administration of the sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, confession, penance, the use of sacraments, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, rites, &c.; and seven articles on the abuses of the Roman church in the communion, the marriage of priests, mass, auricular confession, the distinction of food, religious vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the protestants concluded by demanding the convocation of a general council to put an end to the differences which divided Christendom. The cardinal legate Campeggio, who assisted at the diet in the name of the pope, made useless efforts to bring back the Lutherans to orthodoxy, and as it was impossible for him to refuse the wishes of the assembly, he declared that the pope was in favour of the convocation of a general council, on condition, however, that the period should be left for him to fix, and that the emperor should enter into a solemn engagement to defend the pontifical authority against his enemies.

His holiness, whilst appearing to yield, had reserved to himself a mode of putting off, indefinitely, a meeting that he dreaded, and in the interval he proposed to act with so much rigour, that he hoped no one would dare to claim the execution of his promise. He first published a decree ordering the grand inquisitor of the faith at Ferrara and Modena, to pursue to the utmost the partizans of the reformed ideas which the Germans had spread in Italy during the late wars. He then wrote to the emperor, to show him the dangers to which they would not fail to be exposed by public discussions on dogmas, which were the key of the arch of the theocratic edifice, and which prevented men from entering upon an examination of the causes which submitted them to the authority of the popes, as well as that of kings. He produced, on this subject, such powerful reasons, that Charles the Fifth determined to finish the protestants, and published an edict, by virtue of which his imperial majesty ordered all his officers to re-establish the Catholic worship and ritual in all the provinces of Germany, and enjoined on all his subjects to believe in the real presence, and the virtues of the celebration of mass, under penalty of being pursued as heretics. He moreover ordered them to baptize children, to confirm, to administer extreme unction to the dying, to light candles in the churches in honour of saints, to restore to convents and churches the property which had been taken from them, whether it had come from donations or pious legacies, without inquiring into the wrong families might thereby suffer. Finally, his majesty terminated his decree by

a threat of exile and confiscation against all priests who had married, and who did not immediately separate from their wives.

But, instead of intimidating and weakening the reform party, this tyrannical edict exasperated the Lutherans; their danger caused them to perceive the necessity of union, and an assembly was soon after held at Smalkald, in Franconia, of the protestant princes and electors, at which it was decided that they should mutually aid each other in resisting the attacks of the emperor.

This result, which Charles the Fifth did not foresee, caused him to regret having followed the councils of the pope, and became the subject of reproaches, which caused a bad feeling in their intercourse. A new event soon embittered matters, and paved the way for a rupture between the courts of Rome and Madrid. The grand master of the order of the knights of Malta had presented an Italian, named Thomas Bosio, with the episcopal see, become vacant by the death of the titular, and Clement the Seventh approving of it, had written to the emperor, asking for the decree of investiture for the protegee of the grand master. Charles the Fifth replied, through his ambassador, that he was attending to the business, and shortly afterwards he sent his consent to the promotion of Thomas Bosio. But in the interval his holiness, whether he had taken offence at the irreverence of the emperor, or whether he had changed his mind, had nominated the cardinal Ghinucci to the bishopric of Malta. When Bosio came to Rome to receive the ring and the cross, the ensigns of his dignity, he learned, with astonishment, of the new choice made by the pope, and immediately informed the grand master of it. As the latter feared to be enveloped in a conflict between Clement and Charles, and had an equal interest in being on good terms with both, he dared not decide the question, and merely informed the emperor of the new choice by the pope. The ambassador of Spain immediately received orders to address a protest to the court of Rome on this subject, and to cause the nomination of the cardinal Ghinucci to be revoked. His holiness refused to obey, and replied insolently to the ambassador: "Your master should know that the appointment of bishop of Malta belongs to us, since the island has passed under another government than his own. Besides, this lesson should teach him, that in like circumstances, our requests are orders."

Francis the First, being informed of this incident, wrote immediately to his delegates, to use all the tricks of policy to induce a rupture between the two allies, and to raise all obstacles, he demanded the hand of Catherine de Medicis, the niece of Clement, for his son Henry, duke of Orleans. This alliance, to which his holiness would never have dared pretend, and which surpassed all the reveries of his ambition, decided him at once to quit the party of the emperor to embrace the interests of the crown of France.

Charles the Fifth no longer preserved any

restraint in his conduct towards the pope, and as much to expose the treasons of the Holy See, as to repair the fault which his imprudent decree against the Lutherans had committed, he signed a treaty of peace with the confederate German princes, which was called the treaty of Nuremberg, by which his majesty recognised in the protestants the right of professing their doctrines with entire freedom, until the decision of a general council, which placed the pope in the alternative either of renouncing the government of the church in Germany, or of submitting his authority to the examination of a general council. Clement the Seventh wished to use his influence over Charles the Fifth, to break the peace of Nuremberg, and solicited an interview with him. The emperor yielded to his request and went to Bologna, the city designated for the conference. This step of the holy father had no favourable result, and all his eloquence only strengthened Charles in his determination to assemble a general council. "Still," replied the monarch, to each of the pontiff's objections, "I prefer seeing the chair of St. Peter sunk in the abyss, rather than the throne of my ancestors."

Another event equally baneful for the pope, took place in England. King Henry the Eighth, tired of waiting for his bull of divorce, had determined to drive the Roman legates from his kingdom, and even dismiss his prime minister Wolsey, to break with the court of Rome. The more so, as he had secretly married Anne Boleyn, and had had a law passed by both houses of parliament, to take away from the pontiffs, the rights of annates, pallium, and the investitures of bishoprics which they claimed in the kingdom. Clement fulminated a terrible brief against this prince; he summoned him to retake Catharine of Arragon and separate from his concubine Anne Boleyn, under penalty of anathema, interdict, and deposition. The war thus commenced between the courts of Rome and England, the reply was not long waited for; Henry, whose character was extremely violent, tore up the pontifical bull in full parliament, and made a decree, by which he prohibited all his subjects, under penalty of death, from recognising by speech, in writing, or by actions, the authority of Rome, and declared the English church independent. The parliament approved of this decree, and ordered that the collectors of Peter's pence should be driven from the kingdom, and that in future the metropolitan of Canterbury should confer the bishoprics of England, and that the clergy should pay to the king a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling for the defence of the state.

Whilst these events were transpiring in England, the sovereign pontiff was conducting his niece, Catherine de Medicis into France, who, though scarcely fourteen years old, had been already initiated into the most infamous debauches. Francis the First, accompanied by his son Henry and all his court, came to receive his holiness, and the marriage was

celebrated there immediately. They relate, that after the nuptial ceremonies, Clement the Seventh gave the young couple his benediction, and said to them, "Go and multiply." Alas the womb of Catherine was but too fruitful!

Brantome, the historian of gallant anecdotes, relates a very piquant adventure which took place during the sojourn of the pope at Marseilles, and which we relate as illustrative of the license which prevailed in the courts of that period:—"The ladies of Chateaubriant, Châtillon, and the bailiwick of Caen," says the historian, "presented a request to the duke of Albania, a grand dignitary of the apostolic court, to obtain permission not to be deprived of flesh during Lent. This lord feigned that he did not entirely understand their request, and introduced them to his holiness, saying, 'Most holy father, I present to you three young ladies, who desire to have the privilege of keeping company with men during Lent; they beseech you to grant their request.' Clement immediately raised them, kissed their handsome cheeks, and said to them, laughing, 'What you ask from me is not most edifying; I, however, authorise you

to do so three times a week; it is enough for the sin of luxury.' The ladies blushing, cried out, and represented to his holiness, that what they had solicited was a dispensation to allow them to eat flesh during Lent. At which the pope laughed heartily, kissed them again and dismissed them."

Before quitting France, the holy father exacted from the king the promulgation of ordinances, which reconstituted the tribunals of the inquisition, and which were especially to strike the reformed. The two allies concerted between them different measures, which were intended to destroy the power of Charles the Fifth. Finally, after having received magnificent presents, and a sum sufficient to defray his expenses, Clement the Seventh returned to Italy. On reaching Rome, the pope was attacked with violent pains in his stomach. He languished several months, and died on the 25th of September, 1534, at the age of fifty-six. Some authors accuse the cardinals of having poisoned the pontiff, because they feared the consequences of his cruel character and profound dissimulation; but there is nothing to justify this assertion; except precedent which is not proof.

PAUL THE THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1534.]

Election of Paul the Third—History of the pope before his pontificate—Character of Peter Louis Farnese, the pope's bastard—Paul the Third elevates his grandchildren to the cardinalate—Negotiations for holding a council—Excommunication of Henry the Eighth—Mission of the nuncio Vergerius—Paul offers himself as the mediator of a peace between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First—Calvin and his doctrines—Plan of a convocation of a council at Mantua—Conferences between the pope, the king, and the emperor—His holiness marries Octavius Farnese, his grandson, to the illegitimate daughter of the emperor—History of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of the Jesuits—New conferences between the pope and the emperor—Council of Trent—Death of Luther—Perfidy of the pope—He excommunicates the archbishop of Cologne—League against the protestants—Quarrels between the pope and emperor—Bull of the pope about the inquisition—Translation of the council—Extravagances and impieties of the pope—Letter of Paul the Third to the fathers of the council of Trent—His death.

THE funeral ceremonies of Clement the Seventh were not yet over, when already had Alexander Farnese, cardinal of Tusculum, bought up almost all the voices of the sacred college; but the cardinal Trivulzio, the cardinal of Lorraine, and some of their partizans, who intended to sell themselves to Charles the Fifth for more than they thought Alexander Farnese could pay, caballed and endeavoured to defeat his election. They spread reports against Farnese and his son Peter Louis, they accused them of being more infamous in their morals than the Borgias, of being addicted to the most shameful debauchery, of practising magic, of publicly professing astrology and necromancy, and of boasting in their disbelief in God and the saints.

The adversaries of the Farnese also reproached him with his gluttony, which was so great, that in his orgies, when his stomach was filled with food and wine, he brought on vomitings, and thus supped three times.—They accused him of having made his daughter Constance, his mistress; of having committed another incest with his sister Wilhelmina, her whom he had prostituted to Pope Alexander the Sixth, to save himself from the gibbet. They also added, that allying cruelty to infamy, he had killed five Roman gentlemen, who shared with him the favours of his daughter and sister. Finally, the cardinals concluded in these terms, "Now if being informed of the crimes charged on the cardinal Farnese, those of our colleagues who permit-

ted themselves to be seduced by this abominable man, persist in giving him their voices, we do not fear to say, that they deserve to be spit upon by all Christendom."

Notwithstanding the violence of these attacks, the agents of the Farnese succeeded; they represented to the malcontents, that their candidate was sixty-six years old, that he was in bad health, and that they could not deny to him a political skill, which would contribute powerfully to re-strengthen the pontifical throne; finally, they offered to Trivulzio and the cardinal of Lorraine, four palaces in Rome, richly furnished, garnished with vessels of gold, and containing fifty thousand ducats.—From that time all opposition ceased, and on the first scrutiny thirty-four cardinals chose, as vicar of Christ, him whom they had pointed out to the hatred of the people as a sodomite, a committer of incest, an assassin, and an atheist!

Alexander Farnese was born in Tuscany, in the city of Carino, of Peter Louis Farnese and Janelle Gætan. In his youth he had been entrusted to the care of Pomponius Loetus, one of the most learned men in Italy, who initiated him into a knowledge of the ancient authors; Albert Pigglus taught him mathematics, and gave him even notions of astronomy, judicial astrology, and black magic. Farnese excelled in making Latin verses; his letters to Erasmus and his epistles to Cardinal Sadolet, are remarkable for vigour of style and profoundness of thought. Become pope, he proved himself so perfidious, that Mendoza said, in several letters, addressed to Charles the Fifth, that he would rather confide in a greyhound, than in the word of Paul the Third. "He was always shod backwards," adds the Spaniard, "so that one might imagine he was going on, whilst he was turning back. He covered himself with the mantle of piety, when he had a crime to commit, and employed Corsican bullies to rid himself of those who opposed his plans. He regulated all his movements by the conjunctions of the planets, which he consulted in even the most insignificant actions; and when events did not agree with his predictions, he fell into violent bursts of passion, and uttered horrid blasphemies.—He even pushed his impiety so far as to affirm, that Christ was none other than the sun, adored by the Mithriatic sect, and the same God as Jupiter Ammon, represented in paganism under the form of a ram or a lamb. He explained the allegories of his incarnation and resurrection by the parallel which St. Justin had made between Christ and Mithra; that the Bible, like the sacred books of the magi, was produced in the winter solstice, that is, at the moment in which the sun commences to return towards us and increase the duration of our days. He said, that the adoration of the magi was but an imitation of the ceremonies in which the priests of Zoroaster offered to their god, gold, incense, and myrrh, three things consecrated to the God of Light; he objected that the constellation of the Virgin or rather of Isis, which corresponds with this

solstice, and which presided over the birth of Mithra, had been also chosen as an allegory of the birth of Christ; which, according to the pope, was sufficient to demonstrate that Mithra and Jesus were the same God. He dared to say, that there was no document of irrevocable authenticity, which proved the existence of Christ as a man, and his own conviction was, that he had never existed. Finally, that even the tiara, he maintained was an imitation of the head dress of the Persian sacrificers. Thus, this abominable pope, who was, however, clothed with a character of infallibility, proclaimed himself a priest of the sun, and glorified sabeism."

We will not accompany this passage of the correspondence of Mendoza with any commentary; we will leave the mind free to follow the opinion of the Spanish ambassador, and condemn Paul, or to adopt the belief of the pope, and abjure the Christian religion!

The new pontiff, in his political system, appeared entirely opposed to the course of his predecessor; instead of recoiling before the convocation of a council, he affected to be more anxious for this measure than even the protestants themselves; and the better to deceive Europe, he assembled the sacred college in consistory, in the presence of the ambassadors of the different courts. He represented that, in the state of disorder in which Christendom was, the holding of an œcumenical council could no longer be deferred, and he fixed the 16th of October, in the year 1534, as the time of its opening; he even appointed a committee of cardinals to regulate the preparations for this important meeting, and to arrange in advance the different questions which were to be agitated. Finally, he addressed severe remonstrances to the prelates and officers of his court, to induce them to reform their morals, and abstain from the debaucheries which scandalised the faithful. They were not long in discovering that the holy father wished to trifle with the Lutherans; when the period which had been fixed for the opening of the council approached, he found pretexts to put it off to the following year; he pretended that it was necessary above all other things to reconcile the Christian princes who were at war, or at least obtain from them a suspension during the sitting of the synod. In fact, he sent nuncios to treat with the courts of France, Spain, and England, and to inform them that he had chosen the city of Mantua for the place of the conferences.

In the absence of his legates, Paul gave no more thought to reform, than if the church had been in its days of peace and prosperity. He was occupied in establishing his bastards, and pushed nepotism farther than Sixtus the Fourth, Alexander the Sixth, and Leo the Tenth had done. He gave a cardinal's hat to Guy Ascanius Sforza, of Santa Fiore, a youth of sixteen years, born from the amours of his holiness with his daughter Constance; he granted the same favour to Alexander Farnese, who had scarcely attained his fourteenth year, but who was the child of Peter Louis,

at once the bastard and the minion of the pope; and as several of his officers exclaimed that these new cardinals, from their youth, could not understand the duties of their dignity, the pope replied with a cynical allusion, "that his experience was great, and that he would take care to initiate them into all of which they were ignorant."

A few days afterwards Paul created seven other cardinals; this time his holiness chose persons of real merit. "It is not for them, but for myself, that I appoint them," he said to his daughter Constance, who was complaining on seeing old long beards preferred to her pages and favourites; "I wish to annihilate the reformed religion by force or negotiations, and for that purpose I need the assistance of skilful men." Paul had discovered the danger which threatened the throne of St. Peter, and had determined to employ all his efforts to avert it. It was a difficult undertaking; for since the peace of Nuremberg, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, and Switzerland had declared for reform, and driven away the legates of the Holy See. Still more, fifteen electoral princes, and the deputies who had been sent by thirty protestant cities to Smalkald, had informed the apostolic nuncios, that they would accept none but a free council, held in their province, composed of all classes of the faithful, and in which their theologians should have deliberative voices, without being submitted to the power of the pope; and, finally, they reserved to themselves the right to judge the Roman pontiff, and to depose him, if he were condemned.

The Lutherans had not only acquired great influence as a religious sect, but even as a political party, and since their resistance to Charles the Fifth, the sovereigns of Europe sought their alliance. Francis the First had made proposals of an alliance with them, through his ambassador William du Bellay de Langey, and told him to say to Melancthon, Pontamus, Sturmius, and other protestant theologians, that he was ready to become a convert to their doctrines, if they would join his. The ambassador affirmed that his majesty did not believe in purgatory; that he recognised no other character in the papacy than that of a human institution; that he had determined to abolish the monastic vows in his kingdom, to cause the priests to marry, and re-establish the communion under the two kinds. The king of England gave them the same assurances, to contribute with all his power to the propagation of the new doctrines, if they would declare openly against Charles the Fifth.

But, as it is the essence of royalty to be always knavish and hypocritical, at the very time at which the two sovereigns of France and England were humbling themselves before the Lutherans of Germany, Francis was publishing decrees of arrest against the reformed of France, and the barbarous Henry, himself a schismatic, was persecuting the Lutherans of his kingdom with such cruelty, that historians maintain that he surpassed the sanguinary Charles the Fifth. His religious

furies could not, however, place him beyond the reach of the anger of Paul the Third, who, to punish him for having withdrawn from his obedience, fulminated a terrible bull against him. He released all the English from their oaths of fidelity, enjoined on the ecclesiastics to leave the kingdom, and ordered the nobles to take up arms against the king. He declared Henry deprived of his throne, gave his kingdom to the first occupant, placed an interdict on England, and prohibited other nations from having any intercourse with the English, under the severest penalties. Finally, he annulled all the treaties which sovereign princes had concluded with Henry, either before or after his marriage with Anne Boleyn; he condemned all their children, born or to be born, as infamous and bastards, and permitted the faithful to fall on him and his.

This bull did not embarrass the king of England in the slightest degree; the people treated the menaces of the pope with contempt, and things went on as before.

In Germany, the brilliant offers and seductions of all kinds which had been used to gain Luther to the party of the Roman court, had met with no better success. The papacy had lost its prestige—its time was passed. In Italy, even in the holy city, Paul had to defend himself against the attacks of the commission appointed to examine the abuses which had been introduced into the church. The cardinals Caraffa, Sadolet, Pole, Contarini, and Thomas Badia, the master of the sacred palace, had dared to publish the result of their deliberations, and to cast on the unmeasured extension of the pontifical power, all the evils which afflicted Christendom. They also accused the popes of having erected their wills into laws, and of having substituted the caprices of their imaginations for the ancient traditions of the gospel.

Amongst the abuses which these prelates pointed out, and which they had divided into two categories; the one concerned the religious administration, to the number of twenty-four, the others the civil administration, to the number of four. They held up to the indignation of the faithful, the plurality of benefices, the sales of expectatives, dispensations, and indulgences, the contempt into which the ancient canons had fallen, the ignorance and depravity of the priests of Rome, the licentiousness of the fifty thousand courtizans who inhabited the holy city, the prodigious quantity of monasteries for females, which had been transformed into so many seraglios, for the use of the prelates who directed them, and the infamous habits of the cardinals, who publicly maintained handsome youths in their palaces, by the titles of minions or pages.

Instead of taking into consideration the remonstrances which were addressed to him, the pope brutally ordered the members of the commission to stop their sessions at once, and threatened them with all his wrath, if they dared to offer the least blame. But the blow was struck; the protestants, who had already received copies of the report of the cardinals,

and who waited for the decision of Paul, to judge of the sincerity of his first manifestations, were no sooner informed of this new tacking about in his ideas, than they broke out into violent reproaches against him. They proclaimed him the most cowardly and deceitful of men, and drove his legate Vergerius with ignomy from Smalkald. The latter, on his arrival at Rome, was recompensed for the insults he had undergone; he received the investiture of the bishopric of Capo d'Istria, his country, and immediately afterwards he started for Naples, to induce the emperor, who was in that city, to come to Rome, to confer with his holiness on the measures to be taken to bring back Germany beneath his sway.

Charles the Fifth yielded to the solicitations of the ambassador and went to Rome; the interview between the two sovereigns took place in the palace of the Lateran. Paul displayed, but uselessly, all the resources of his eloquence, to induce the prince to use his armies against the heretics. The Spanish monarch, who was on the point of recommencing hostilities with France, refused to place on his arm a religious war, of which it was impossible to foresee the end and the result. His Catholic majesty even profited by his sojourn at Rome, to give more éclat to his declaration of war against Francis the First. It was in the consistory, in the presence of the ambassador Velli and of the cardinal du Bellay, that he defied the king of France to single combat, adding, that he regarded him as a traitor, a perjurer, and a coward, and that from that day he would pursue him to the utmost. Francis declined accepting the duel which was proposed, and which Charles the Fifth did not care to have accepted. Their armies moved on each other, and thousands of men murdered each other for the quarrel of these implacable tyrants.

As soon as the pontiff saw that Italy was about to become the theatre of the war, he no longer hesitated to convene the general council, and issued a bull which fixed the opening of it for the 23d of May in the following year, (1537), and designated the city of Mantua as the place of meeting. His holiness sent a circular to all the prelates of Christendom to come to the assembly; he addressed particular letters to Charles the Fifth, to the king of France, as well as the other sovereign princes, asking them to assist in person at a council, and to contribute to the repose of the church. He even wrote to Henry the Eighth, through Cassalis, his former legate in England, to exhort the monarch to restore union to his kingdom. The pontiff counted the more on the success of this step, since Anne Boleyn, the cause of their dissensions, had been beheaded by Henry the Eighth.

His attempt failed here; the king received the overtures of Cassalis very badly, and published a law, which condemned to the penalty of death those, who should only dare to propose the re-establishment of the authority of the bishops of Rome. His majesty accom-

panied his decree by a long protest against the bull of the pope, maintaining that the right of convening the universal assemblies of the church belonged to the emperors, or in default of them, to the other Christian princes, and not to the pontiffs; that, moreover, the bishops of Rome having no authority in England, they could not lawfully convoke its bishops to a general council; he declared that he would permit none of his subjects to assist at a council which had been convened at a period when it was impossible for foreign prelates to make the journey, on account of the dangers of war; he therefore protested in advance against all the decrees and decisions of the assembly of Mantua, and persisted in his schism, in order to maintain in his kingdom the purity of the Christian religion.

This opposition of the king of England gave a rough shock to the pontifical authority; what was still more fatal, was the appearance of a work entitled "The Christian Institution," which attacked not only the primacy of the See of Rome, but even the authority of general councils and that of bishops and priests. The author rejected the necessity of baptism, and the communion for the safety of men; he declared the sacrifice of the mass an abominable impiety, and called the worship rendered to saints idolatry. This man, who since his appearance in the strife, had placed himself at the head of a new sect, was John Calvin, a bold innovator, whose calm character contrasted singularly with the fiery impetuosity of Luther.

Calvin was born at Noyen, in Picardy, of very poor parents, who could not give him any education; fortunately he found, in the family of Claude d'Hangest, abbot of St. Elvi, protectors, who furnished him with the means of study. At twenty years of age, he had obtained, thanks to the solicitation of his friends, several benefices, whose revenues he received, in accordance with the customs of the age, without being obliged to discharge the duties and even before he was in orders; this enabled him to continue his studies at the university of Paris.

In this city, the young Calvin heard for the first the preaching of the new doctrines, which were then beginning to spread through France; they struck his imagination forcibly, and determined him to abandon the study of theology for that of law. In 1532 he resigned his benefices and attended the course of Michael Cops, the rector of the university. In the following year the latter was brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, to explain a discourse which he had delivered at a public session in favour of the reformed doctrine. Calvin, who was suspected of connivance in this dereliction, on account of his intimacy with the rector, was also brought to the bar of the tribunal to be judged.

As at that period the good king Francis the First was pitilessly burning all reformers, the two friends were unwilling to await the judgment of the inquisitors, and left the kingdom secretly. Calvin then joined the refor-

mers, and published his famous work "Of The Christian Institution;" in which the doctrines of the French protestants were exposed. He attacked, especially, King Francis; exposed his hypocrisy, and unmasked the Machiavelian policy of that tyrant, who was making thousands of victims mount the funeral pyres, at the very time he was offering to the Germans to embrace their doctrines, as the price of their alliance.

Whilst the Reformation was making great strides under the burning inspiration of Luther and Calvin, and was threatening to crush the papacy, a society of fanatical devotees were sharpening their daggers in the dark, and were preparing to exterminate the protestants. This society, which was to envelope the whole world in its thousand cords, which was to clasp thousands in its iron arms, and which was to cause rivers of blood to flow in all parts of the world, before being itself spit upon, chased and driven from the earth, was the company of Jesus.

Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, the descendent of an old Spanish family, was born in 1491, in the castle of Loyola, in the province of Guipuscoa. His early youth was passed at the court of Ferdinand the Fifth, and, according to the custom of the nobility, he learned to drink and fight. As soon as he was old enough to wear armour, he entered the service, and distinguished himself at the siege of Pampeluna by his fierce character. In this campaign he had his right leg broken by the blow of a stone, which compelled him to quit the theatre of his sanguinary exploits, to have the succour administered which his wound required. A young inexperienced surgeon operated so unskillfully, that after his cure, it remained a prominent deformity to him. Ignatius, who was very desirous of preserving all his physical advantages, called in a new doctor, and asked him if there was any way of making the protuberance disappear; the latter replied, that it could only be done by breaking the limb a second time, and by sawing the bone which formed the projection. Ignatius immediately submitted to this painful operation, and after nine months of dreadful suffering, an entire cure was made; the prominence no longer existed, but it was found that one of his legs was shorter than the other. He recommenced a new treatment to elongate his bad limb, and remained for more than seven months bound down in an oaken box, with his foot bound to iron splinters, in order to draw out the sick leg. All his efforts were powerless, and Ignatius Loyola was satisfied he must remain lame for life.

Then, whether his vanity could not accustom itself to the idea of reappearing at court with such an unpleasant infirmity, whether his mind had been forcibly impressed with what he had read, during his sickness, concerning the punishments of the first martyrs of Christianity, it produced an entire change in the conduct of Ignatius; this man, who had endured horrible operations to preserve his good looks, no longer took any care of his

body, and one morning he left his castle, and retired into the monastery of Montserrat, where he practised all the austerity of the anchorites of the Thebais. His religious exaltation, and especially his fastings and macerations, soon produced restlessness and hallucinations. The poor insensate imagined that he saw visions; he maintained that the devil had appeared to him in person, and that at the moment when he wished to seize on him, Mary, the divine mother of Christ, arrived and put the evil spirit to flight. In gratitude for the service which the Virgin had rendered him, he resolved to consecrate himself entirely to her service, and to take her for his lady and mistress.

According to the custom used at the reception of knights, he watched his arms before the altar of Mary, and prayed until the next day; on the second day, he suspended his sword to a pillar of the chapel, and then passed all the night in prayers; on the third day, he put off his rich garments, clothed himself in rags, and took a vow to serve his lady during his life. Finally, the madness of Ignatius reached its height; he sold his property, and gave the proceeds to his convent, allowed his beard, nails, and hair to grow, soiled his face with hog's dung, and left the abbey of Montserrat to beg. His exterior, which necessarily inspired disgust and alarm, rather than compassion, caused him frequently to be refused alms, and subjected him to long abstinences. Hard as was this life, Ignatius found it too delicate and effeminate, and he retired to a den, in which he passed seven days and seven nights without taking any nourishment. He was drawn from it by some mendicant monks, whom chance had led that way, and who hearing the groanings of a man who appeared about to die, had drawn him from the cavern in which he had shut himself up, and after having given him some drops of wine, had borne him to the hospital of Manresa.

Ignatius remained eight days without recognising any one, plunged in a profound lethargy; when he returned to life, he affirmed that angels had carried him to heaven, that he had distinctly seen the Trinity, the Virgin, and especially Jesus Christ; that the Saviour had ordered him to found a mysterious society, which should labour in the propagation of his faith. When he was entirely cured, he went to Barcelona to study grammar and to prepare himself to execute his work.

As he sought to make proselytes, the inquisitors conceived suspicions as to the orthodoxy of his principles, and took him prisoner, but they soon discovered his madness, and set him at liberty. Ignatius left Barcelona, and visited in succession Alcala, Salamanca, and Paris. Having arrived in the latter city, he determined to enter the college of St. Barbe to study Latin. The singularity of his life, the exaltation and oddness of his ideas, finally attracted attention to his person; he gained the confidence of some devotees. Peter Favre, his tutor, Francis Xavier, professor of

admitted among them men entirely freed from the affections of flesh and blood; that it was then necessary to make a personal denial of all his sentiments; that to commence the sacrifice, he must live subjected to several superiors in one of the colleges of the order; that he must rid himself of the property he possessed, and renounce such as might fall to him; that this distribution should be made to the society rather than his family, to show that he was freed from all earthly affection; to close his heart against his relatives, to isolate him completely, and render it necessary for him to persevere in Jesuitism. He was further informed that he could not carry on any communication, or correspondence, without the express permission of his superiors, who would read to him the letters which should be addressed to him, and who should be permitted to burn them, or give them to him, as they should judge proper, by virtue of these words of Christ: "He who hates not his father, his mother, or even his own soul, cannot be my disciple." They asked him if he consented to die to the world, and live for the pope; if he consented to humble his pride, so that his errors and his faults should be pointed out to his superiors by other brethren; and that he also should unveil the faults, the errors, and the actions of others, as should be required of him. Finally, he was to submit, in advance, to all the corrections which might be inflicted on him, as well as to the usual proofs.

These proofs were six principal ones; the first consisted in passing some months in spiritual exercises, in examining his conscience, and in exercising himself in mental or vocal prayer, in meditation on the mysteries of religion, in detesting his sins, and in making a general confession; the second was in serving for a month in a hospital, in nursing the sick, and tending on those whose sores were the most infectious, and the most hideous; the third consisted in travelling for a month without money, and in begging from door to door, to accustom themselves to refusals and privations; the fourth was in filling the vilest offices in one of the houses of the society; the fifth, in catechising children and uneducated persons, in public and private; the sixth obliged the neophyte to be ready to preach and to confess, according to the exigency of time, place, and persons. The most severe sickness did not free the novice from the duties he was to discharge.

All these proofs gone through, they asked the postulant if he was a graduate in the arts, in theology, or in the canon law; if he possessed memory enough to learn well, and to retain what he learned; if his mind conceived with rapidity; if his taste led him to study, and if his health did not suffer from constant application. Finally, if he thought himself strong enough to support the labours required by the society, in study, preaching, or teaching. When the Jesuit aspirant was clothed with the sacerdotal character, he was to lay it aside during his novitiate, and he was to interdict himself from the celebrating mass in

public, until he had learned from the superiors of his order how he was to celebrate it, in accordance with the ritual of the society.

Whatever were the rank and knowledge of the postulant, the lowest duties were given to him to discharge, until he was promoted to the grade of temporal coadjutor. The coadjutors were of two kinds; those in orders were called spiritual coadjutors, and the laity temporal coadjutors; all, whether learned or not, could only exercise manual employments in the society. The coadjutors and scholars, after two years of novitiate, were finally admitted into the society, and could no more separate themselves from it; if, however, they deceived one of their superiors, they reserved to themselves the right of sending them away, and from that time they were entirely discharged of their obligations to the company, and freed from their vows. Such were the fundamental points which constituted the code of the Jesuits. Important modifications were afterwards introduced into the rules of the society, and the Jesuits professed doctrines so subversive, that popes and kings were constrained to place a rein on their ambition and immorality.

Whilst his holiness was organising the sacred soldiery, who were to carry the banner of pontifical despotism into all the countries of the world, the inhabitants of Perouse had revolted, and driven away the Roman collectors, as well as the legate. Peter Louis Farnese, in his capacity of gonfalonier of the church, immediately marched against the rebel city, at the head of an army of banditti, who ruined the provinces, burned the farm houses, murdered the cultivators, rooted up the fruit trees, and maimed the beasts. After a siege of two months, the inhabitants, destitute of provisions and munitions, laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion to the bastard of the pope. This monster, instead of showing clemency to the conquered, arrested all the notables, whom he ordered to be beheaded, hung, or burned; he caused the women and girls to be violated by the soldiers, and reserved the young boys for his own debaucheries. Then, to prevent a return of another such revolution, he built a fortress, as if walls or towers could guarantee tyrants from the hatred of the people, and as if a determined man did know how to defeat those who reduced his country to servitude. The plans of the castle were executed by Michael Angelo, the last of the pleiades of great artists who had survived the Medici.

Brantome, Raphael, San Gallo, had already been mowed down by death, and Michael Angelo alone remained to replace, and to render the reign of Paul the Third illustrious. His admirable genius sufficed for so difficult a task; and by tripling himself, if we may so speak, he created three master pieces in painting, sculpture, and architecture. He made his sublime picture of the last judgment, the statue of Moses on the tomb of Julius the Second, and the designs of the church of St. Peter, of which he modified the old plans,

and reduced it to the form of a Grecian cross. To these titles to the admiration of posterity, Michael Angelo joined the purest disinterestedness, and refused a salary of six hundred Roman crowns, which the pope had assigned to his functions, as architect of the cathedral. He laboured for seventeen years without emolument, in the construction of the cupola of St. Peter's, and had the glory of finishing the most magnificent monument which past ages have bequeathed to us.

As for Paul the Third, for whom Catholic writers claim a part of the admiration of men for these glorious works, he was simply occupied in promulgating bulls which authorised the institution of the Jesuits, notwithstanding the active opposition of some cardinals, who regarded a religious order organised in accordance with such principles, as the most antichristian of all the orders of monks. The holy father was not disturbed by the murmurs of these prelates; he considered that these fanatics could render immense services to the Holy See, and he protected them with all the force of his authority.

The papacy had indeed great need of aid and assistance. England had entirely broken the yoke of Rome; scarcely any vestige of Catholicism existed in Germany; Luther and Melancthon daily added to the number of the protestants; Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the neighbouring countries, were converted to the doctrines of Zwingle and his disciple Ecolampadius; Calvin, though retired to Geneva, was inundating France with his writings, and reforming all the southern provinces, and his doctrines were propagated with surprising rapidity, even beyond the Alps, in the heart of Italy itself.

Paul the Third immediately lanced forth his cohorts of Jesuits; he sent them into every region, into both the hemispheres; some he commissioned to introduce themselves into courts, to become confessors of kings, to obtain for him state secrets; he commanded others to preach to the people, to become instructors of youth, so as to corrupt their morals, and to make of them new satellites devoted to the theocracy. The Jesuits sought to increase their ranks every where, and they multiplied in a prodigious manner; but although they had already obtained sufficient influence over Charles the Fifth to induce him to convoke a diet at Ratisbon, and to take energetic steps against the Lutherans, they could not arrest the progress of the Reformation in Germany.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Gaspard Contarini, the legate of the pope, and of the Jesuits who accompanied him, the assembly at Ratisbon refused to come to any determination against the Lutherans. Furious at this disappointment, and not knowing on whom to avenge themselves, the Jesuits accused Contarini with having betrayed the cause of Catholicism, by recoiling before energetic measures, and they wrote secretly to Paul to denounce the legate. When the cardinal returned to Rome, he was submitted to a severe examina-

tion, and gave such explanations, that his holiness was obliged to agree that the Jesuits were infamous calumniators, and that the vigorous measures which they proposed against Germany, were of a character to compromise the existence of the papacy, instead of saving it. He did not, however, address any reproach to them; on the contrary, he wrote to such of the society as remained near Charles the Fifth, to supervise his conduct, that he loved them even more for what they had written concerning Gaspard Contarini; that their accusations against that prelate were so many new proofs of their zeal in the service of religion; that he besought them to use their influence over the emperor, to render him docile to the Holy See, and to inspire him with the idea of soliciting from the pope the favour of an interview at Lucca, to consult upon the means of extirminating the heretics, and to decide upon the fitness of a new crusade against the Turks.

Thanks to the interference of the confessor of Charles the Fifth, events took place as the pope desired; the conferences were held at Lucca, in the apartment of his holiness, and the emperor adopted the resolutions which it pleased Paul to propose to him. The two sovereigns then separated; the pope returned at once to Rome, and two days after his arrival, caused a jubilee to be proclaimed through all the cities in the ecclesiastical states, with the distribution and sale of ordinary and extraordinary indulgences, to call down the protection of Heaven on the person of the emperor, and to obtain success for his arms in the strife in which he was about to engage against the enemies of the Christian faith. He issued, at the same time, a bull for the convocation of a general council, and designated the city of Trent as the place of meeting. His holiness, in his decree, ordered patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, all those who from their rank or dignities had a deliberative voice in œcumenical assemblies, to be there on the first of November, 1542, in order that they might treat successfully for the union and harmony of princes, people, and the church, as well as for the means of opposing the enterprises of heretics and the infidel.

The sovereign knew well, that the period for the convocation of the council, agreed with that which was fixed for the rupture of the peace between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth. The Jesuits, attached to the courts of these princes, had also informed him that the king of France had concluded an alliance with Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden, and that the dauphin would march on Perpignan, whilst the French armies would invade at once Piedmont and Flanders. On the other side, his holiness knew that the emperor was to send troops to the threatened points; he hoped that the German prelates would not dare to leave their dioceses, either from fear of falling into the hands of their enemies, or from the necessity of not leaving their churches in such disastrous circumstances, and that thus he would acquire a majority.

Paul was unwilling to prorogue the opening of the session, though urged to do so. At the appointed period he sent to Trent as his legates, Peter Paul Paris, John Moron, and Reginald Pole, commissioned to sound skilfully the opinions of the ambassadors and prelates who should present themselves at the council, without, however, passing any opinion themselves. They were enjoined to report at once to Rome, and to do nothing without new instructions. But it happened that the Germans, on whom his holiness had not counted, were present in great numbers, and were very urgent in demanding the opening of the council. The pontiff, informed by his legates that there were fears that his adversaries were the strongest, they came to a final determination, and put off the opening of the synod to a remote period. No one was duped by the tactics of the holy father; and this measure, which showed that the court of Rome feared a defeat, was the reason why a great number of the faithful renounced Catholicism to embrace the reformed religion.

Among the papists who deserted the ranks of the Roman church, historians name Bernardin Ochini or Okini, general of the Capuchins, a man of exemplary life, who, tired of preaching uselessly against the disorders of convents, and of beseeching the pope to come to some determination on this grave subject, abjured Catholicism and retired to Geneva, where he married a young girl of Luda. They also cite Herman, metropolitan of Cologne, of the illustrious family of the counts of Werden, who, despairing of the safety of the church, brought the protestant preacher, Martin Bucer, near him, and established him in the city of Bonn a dependency of his diocese. In the following year he brought about him Melancthon, Pretorius, and some other celebrated Lutheran doctors to aid him in the propagation of the new doctrines; but as a great number of Jesuits were already scattered through the province, his plan of reform met with great opposition on the part of the clergy and chapter of Cologne, who appealed to the pope and the emperor from the ordinances of the archbishop.

Paul addressed a letter of congratulation to the ecclesiastics of Cologne, and exhorted them to persevere in the good way, and to prevent him who called himself the archbishop of their city, from infecting the inhabitants with errors: "Do not recognise him," he added, "as your pastor, but as your enemy; and rise up against him, as David did against Goliath."

Charles the Fifth also congratulated the chapter of Cologne on its resistance to the errors of the prelate; he did not, however, attach much importance to this affair, being himself occupied with carrying on hostilities against France, for the possession of the dutchy of Milan.

As neither Francis the First, nor Charles the Fifth, were willing to abandon their pretensions on this rich province, the pope hoped to be able to profit by their disagreement, and seize, for his nephew, on the dutchy in dispute.

He first opened his views to Francis the First, who did not seem indisposed to yield his claim on the payment of a good price; he then asked for an interview with Charles the Fifth at Busseto, to treat with him for it. These two sovereigns had several conferences, but the emperor rejected some entreaties that the holy father made to him, to surrender this state to his son-in-law, and his natural daughter. He was also unwilling to hear of either a peace or a truce with Francis the First, whom he called a miserable coward, destitute of courage, faith, and loyalty; and when his holiness desired to represent to him how much good might result to religion from their agreement, he replied, they must expect nothing good from a prince, who was pitilessly exterminating the reformed in his own dominions, while he was treating with the Lutheran princes, and even the Turks, to the great scandal of Christendom.

Paul the Third remarked, mal-adroitly, that the king of France reproached him with the same things, and accused him of deceit and cruelty. Charles broke out at once on the holy father; he heaped invectives upon him, and ordered him from his presence. All negotiations were at once broken off; the emperor returned to his dominions, drove the Jesuits from his court, signed a treaty of alliance with Henry the Eighth, the irreconcilable enemy of the Holy See, and published, at the diet of Spire, an edict in favour of the protestants, prohibiting any person from being troubled in Germany on account of their religion. He, moreover, made an ordinance, providing that the two parties, Catholics and protestants, should peacefully enjoy the property of which they were in possession, provided they would use it in founding schools for children, and asylums for the poor. It was further specified that the judges of the imperial chamber should be selected equally from Catholics and protestants. Paul the Third caused his legate to enter a protest against the diet of Spire, and wrote, with his own hand, a vehement letter to Charles the Fifth, in which he said, that his edict in favour of the protestants would insure the destruction of his soul, since it belonged to the Roman church, exclusively, to decide on questions of faith; that he had thus become guilty of usurpation against the Holy See, by making a decision in regard to church property, and by reinstating rebellious prelates in their honours and dignities. He finally threatened him with employing severe measures against him, and with excommunicating him, if he persisted in his desire to govern the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany.

This missive produced no satisfactory result; the emperor merely replied to the deputies who brought it to him, that when he was at leisure, he would inform his holiness of his intentions. It became, however, necessary to arrive at some determination with regard to the heretics; the pope wished to press the opening of the council of Trent, which had been already prorogued; and, in order to make a powerful party for himself among the pre-

lates who were to compose it, he entered into an active correspondence with the Jesuits, who were to act in secret on the consciences, and to gain partizans for the pope. Notwithstanding all their efforts, only four Catholic bishops, in addition to the three Roman legates, appeared at Trent during the first month.

This great coldness among the clergy shows, stronger than words can, that they had no longer real faith, nor sincere devotion; questions of religion and morality had ceased to be the principal ones for the priests; they had only become, for ambitious, greedy, and corrupt men, a mere means of levying on superstition and human ignorance; but procureurs to augment their power, their honours, or their revenues, whether as the servile agents of the court of Rome, or as devoted ministers of Catholic kings. Intrigue had reached every rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; prelates, as well as mere priests, changed their convictions and their doctrine, according to circumstances, or the interest of the moment. Fanaticism was dead in their weak and venal souls, which no longer used religion but for measures of diplomacy or ambition. Chiefs of dioceses thought only of establishing their revenues on solid foundations, and of settling their bastards well, as the popes set them the example.

The constant efforts of Paul the Third to elevate his bastards are an irrefragable proof of this. Having failed in his efforts to elevate Peter Louis Farnese to the duchy of Milan, he fell back on the states of Parma and Placenza, out of which he wished to create a duchy for his son. He first sought to procure the consent of the sacred college, which was necessary for the alienation of provinces belonging to the church; he proposed to the cardinals, as a compensation, to increase the apostolic domains by the duchies of Camerino and Nepi, which he had before given to his son, and to levy in Parma and Placenza an annual tribute of nine thousand ducats for the treasury of St. Peter. Several thousand crowns of gold distributed among his creatures, induced them to think the compensation an equitable one, and his bastard was proclaimed duke.

Peter Louis established himself at once at Placenza, and erected a citadel which commanded the city, according to the custom of tyrants, who surrounded their residences with fortresses and walls, to keep their people in continual fear, to weigh them down without danger, and to place themselves beyond the reach of the vengeance of the citizens. He was then employed in disarming the nobility and burghers; he restrained their privileges, and forced them to reside in the capital, that he might the better superintend them. As the fortune and power of some among them were a subject of grievous apprehension to the new duke, he sought to ruin them by giving a retrospective effect to laws; he examined into their former conduct, had them judged and condemned by unjust magistrates to considerable fines, to the entire confiscation of their property, and sometimes even to death.

His holiness, satisfied with the course pursued by his son, no longer gave any attention to this matter, and confined all his cares to the council; four metropolitans, a cardinal, sixteen bishops, and five generals of orders, had reinforced the seven prelates, who had already waited a month for the opening of the synod. As they were all devoted to the court of Rome, the pope judged the moment favourable for striking a great blow, and he issued a bull ordering the prelates assembled at Trent to open its session. Accordingly the legates, assisted by twenty-six bishops, some theologians and Jesuits, who were regarded as representing the universal church, opened the council. On the succeeding day, they sent an account of the first session to Rome, and requested instructions from his holiness as to the order which they were to observe in the reception of ambassadors, and the mode of taking the votes, whether by nations, as in the councils of Constance and Basle, or individually, as in the last councils of the Lateran; finally, what matters they were to deliberate upon, and in what order. When they arrived at the Vatican, the legates found the pontiff very much occupied with the reception of a prior named Paul, who came in the name of the king of Ethiopia, to propose to submit to the Roman church, by abjuring the schism of Dioscorus, and who at the same time asked for missionaries to teach the people of that country. The holy father charged the Jesuits with this mission, and dismissed the Ethiopian ambassador, after having loaded him with old bones, which he sold him as relics of saints and martyrs.

Paul the Third immediately assembled the sacred college, to deliberate on the requests of his legates; each gave his opinion, and the secretary of the consistory framed the following reply to the trusty friends of the Holy See: "We decide that the votes be received individually and not by nations, since it is easier to corrupt individuals when isolated, than when in a body; we desire the council to call itself simply œcumenical, without adding these words 'representing the universal church,' which may tend to raise the pride of the fathers, and especially to call in doubt the supremacy of the pontiff. We decide that all questions for examination shall first be treated of in private meetings, then in a general one, and, finally, be presented in the sessions, which alone should be made public, in order to avoid making the faithful witnesses of scandalous debates, of which the enemies of our authority," adds the holy father, "will not fail to avail themselves; we exact that this formula be used at the head of all your decrees: 'The holy œcumenical council, lawfully assembled by order of the pope, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the apostolic legates presiding in it, declares.'" His holiness further enjoined on his legates, not to deliberate on any question touching his authority, and not to make any decision, unless he himself had dictated it in its most circumstantial details. As a compensation, he left

to the fathers full latitude on questions of faith, which interested him very little; in fact, Paul the Third was accustomed to say, that if the reformed, anabaptists, Lutherans, or sacramentarians, would recognise him as sovereign pontiff, he would grant them full freedom to preach any superstitions that they wished to teach men.

In a second letter, addressed to the fathers of the council, the holy father exhorted them to preserve regular conduct during their labours, to follow religious exercises, at least ostensibly, and to separate from their mistresses, who had followed them to the city of Trent; allowing them sufficient latitude in other particulars.

The preparatory meetings took place for the examination of questions, and the Jesuits decided that they should treat of matters of faith and reform simultaneously, so that by confounding the fathers, they could determine on nothing; but the court of Rome, which trembled even at the very word, reformation, immediately sent fresh instructions to the Jesuits, to lay aside entirely the question of reform, and to keep within bounds when treating of the doctrines of the heretics. Paul instructed them to protract the council, in the hopes that time would produce something favourable to the Holy See. It happened the third session was scarcely closed, when they heard of the death of Martin Luther. This great man had terminated his illustrious life at Eisleben, his home, and left six children by his wife, Catharine of Bora, a young nun whom he had married in 1525.

His death gave rise to violent accusations against the Jesuits, and on their side, to strange stories. The protestants said, that the disciples of Loyola had poisoned the reformer; the Jesuits said, that he had hung himself, that the devil had strangled him; others said, that like Arius, his bowels had gushed out in an effort of nature in a secret place. There were even found priests who maintained, that his tomb having been opened on the day following his interment, there had issued from it an infectious odor of sulphur and bitumen, and that an enormous piece of coal was found instead of his body. All the circumstances of his life, his doctrines and his birth, were the objects of ignoble calumnies on the part of the Catholics; they published libels against him, affirming that he sprang from carnal commerce between the devil and his mother; they blackened his memory, by accusing him of having sold to Satan his eternal share in Paradise for fifty years of a pleasant life on earth; of having denied the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and of having composed bacchanalian hymns.

Notwithstanding this deluge of calumniating pamphlets, Luther remained the apostle of the northern nations, and his belief, which had already penetrated to the shores of the Baltic, was propagated through all the north of Germany; it reached Livonia and Prussia, where the grand master of the Teutonic order

abjured Catholicism; the new doctrines finally invaded Holstein, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, and even France, though funeral pyres and scaffolds were erected from one end of the kingdom to the other, for the extermination of protestantism.

Although in a dogmatical and philosophical point of view, it is true that Lutheranism could not sustain a profound examination, we should still glorify Martin Luther for having snatched the people from the yoke of the court of Rome, and from having led humanity forth from the degradation and darkness, into which greedy, debauched, and ignorant priests had plunged it. It was Luther, who, by his spirit of investigation and analysis, taught men to discuss, judge, and condemn, the despotic acts of those, who to this time maintained that they had only to render an account to God for their good or bad actions; it was he alone, who, by the force of his genius, accomplished that religious revolution which wrested half of Europe from the tyranny of the popes. Thus, then, Luther merits to be glorified, even in the most distant ages, for the great things which he accomplished during his life, and for the principles of liberty and emancipation which he bequeathed to posterity.

His numerous works place him in the first rank among the writers of Germany; and Clay does not hesitate to say, that he was inspired by the Holy Spirit in the correction of the language. His translation of the Bible has become a classical work, which, if we may say so, has fixed the rules of the German language.

Notwithstanding his admirable genius and his inflexible logic, Luther had not, however, extracted all the consequences from the principle which he wished to establish, "That no dogma should be admitted as an article of faith, without having been submitted to the examination of human reason," a principle which overthrows the sacred tradition, and annihilates Christianity under every form, by submitting the words of God himself to the criticism of human intelligence.

As soon as the death of this formidable adversary of the papacy was known at Trent, the fathers of the council went into an immediate consideration of a question which they regarded as the corner stone of the church; it was, to fix the number of the canonical books. They published two decrees on this subject; the first pointed out as the orthodox books, the old and new Testament, and the second affirmed the authenticity of the text of the Vulgate, notwithstanding the gross errors and faults charged to it. After they had made these decisions, Paul the Third raised his head boldly, and armed himself with the thunders of the Vatican. He first excommunicated the archbishop of Cologne, and liberated the subjects of the prelate from their oath of fidelity and obedience; he then gave the see to count Adolphus of Schawenburg, whom the metropolitan had made his coadjutor; but the emperor having refused to permit this bull

to be executed, and continuing to give the title of archbishop to the elector, he was obliged to put off his vengeance against that prelate to another time. His holiness was the more disposed to sacrifice his sentiments to Charles the Fifth, since he had entered into negotiations with him, to obtain from him sufficient aid to annihilate the protestants. The arrangements entered into between these two tyrants for this impious war, provided, that the pope should pay to his imperial majesty two hundred thousand crowns of gold; that he should furnish twelve thousand foot soldiers, and five hundred calvary, at his own expense; that he should surrender to him, for a year, one half of the revenues of the churches of Spain; that he should authorise him to alienate to the amount of five hundred thousand crowns the property of the monasteries of his kingdom; that all the troops of the church should be commanded by Octavius Farnese, but that the latter should not act, but in accordance with the orders of the emperor, or of the duke of Alba, his lieutenant, and that the cardinal Alexander, the brother of Octavius, should remain in Spain as a hostage, under the title of legate, at the expense of the Holy See. These conditions having been acceded to by both parties, Paul the Third published a bull to inform all Christendom of the abominable compact, by which an emperor and a pope pledged themselves to carry fire and blood through whole provinces. Charles the Fifth was not behind the pontiff in his manifesto; he placed John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, beneath the ban of the empire; he called them disturbers of the peace of nations, rebels to the laws, ravishers of church property, infamous despoilers; he accused them of having covered themselves with the cloak of religion, and of having feigned sentiments of patriotism, for the purpose of seducing Germany, and of drawing off his subjects from the obedience which they owed their sovereign; immediately afterwards he sent troops against them. Fortunately the princes of the league of Smalkald, who were on their guard against treason, flew to the aid of the elector, and opposed the entrance of the confederated troops into his states.

Paul the Third wished to take advantage of this conflict, to transfer the council of Trent to a city which was dependent on him; but Charles the Fifth, who desired to reserve to himself the means of treating with the Germans if he were conquered, opposed this plan, and signified to the court of Rome, that it must give all freedom to religious discussions; that he had undertaken the war against the protestants, only to bring them back to their obedience to him, and not to impose his belief on them. The pope replied to the ambassador of Charles, that he did not understand his late recriminations, that their treaty specified, that his majesty pledged himself to second him in a war of extermination against the Lutherans, and that besides, the publication of a jubilee and the levy of tithes for his

advantage throughout all Spain, was a witness of his adhesion to the crusade which they were to execute in concert against the Germans; that he was consequently to determine what measures it was proper to take to accelerate the extinction of the schism, and that he persisted in his resolution to transfer the council to Lucca.

This obstinacy of the sovereign pontiff so exasperated the emperor, that he sent a courier immediately to Trent, bearing orders to his ambassadors to throw the cardinal of Santa-Croix into the Adige, if he obeyed the court of Rome, or dared to dissolve the synod. The threat had the desired effect; the sessions continued, and the fathers remained at Trent. Paul the Third then took another course, and under pretext that the emperor refused to divide with him considerable sums exacted from the cities they had reduced, he recalled his troops from Germany; nay more, he organised a conspiracy against the Doria of Genoa, who supported Charles, and they would have undoubtedly been driven from that city, if John Louis, of Fiesca, who was at the head of the plot, had not been drowned in the port, at the very moment when the struggle was to have commenced. Finally, as the pope dared not break up the council, he hastened its deliberations, and caused its decisions to be published daily, so that the protestants, apprehensive of the close of its labours, should not be tempted to come to it.

Charles understood perfectly the end of the holy father's policy, and as he could not prevent its results, being still detained in Germany, he determined to strike a blow which should go right to the heart of his enemy; it was to cause Peter Louis Farnese, the bastard of his holiness, to be stabbed.

Four young lords of Placenza, the count Pallavicini, Landi, Anguissola, and Gonsalvi, entered into the plan of the prince; they formed a conspiracy, of which Ferdinand of Gonzagua, the governor of Milan, directed the operations, and on the appointed day, thirty-seven of the conspirators, with their arms concealed beneath their garments, introduced themselves into the citadel of Placenza, as if to pay their court to the duke; after having seized on the principal passages of the palace, John Anguissola entered the chamber of the duke and stabbed him, before the latter, who was eaten up with horrid sores, and unable to defend himself, could call for aid; the conspirators then fired two cannons to warn Gonzagua, who was at a little distance from the city with an armed force, that he might enter it. The Spaniards immediately disarmed the papal troops, and took possession of the province in the name of the emperor.

As soon as the news of this revolution had reached Rome, the pontiff fell into a kind of vertigo, which drew from him frightful imprecations; he blasphemed the name of God, cursed the mother of the Saviour, the apostles, and all the saints and saintesses of paradise; he muttered frightful threats, and wished to

league himself with infernal spirits to conjure the death of the emperor. He remained shut up in his laboratory for several nights, pronouncing exorcisms, studying the course of the stars, consulting his astrologers and magicians; and as his conjurations did not advance his vengeance, he sent a cartel of defiance to Charles the Fifth, challenging him to a closed field, and offering to fight him to the death.—His imperial majesty having refused this singular offer of the pope, the latter treated with the Sultan Soliman, to induce him to make a descent on the shores of Naples. At the same time, he spread a report, that the plague had broken out at Trent; this determiued the fathers, who were about to open the eighth session, to transfer the council to Bologna.

Well framed as were his machinations, two unlooked for events, the deaths of Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, caused them to fail. The victory of Muhlburg, also gained by the imperialists over the princes of the league of Smalkald, rendered Charles the Fifth more powerful than ever. The elector of Saxony had fallen into his power, and his estates had been given to Maurice of Saxony, of the Albertine branch. The emperor, who was well informed of the intrigues of the court of Rome, naturally took his revenge, and excited in Germany a violent opposition to the Holy See. He even determined the electors to write to the pontiff, that they would proceed to serious extremities, if he did not at once re-install the council at Trent, and he caused their complaints to be supported by Mendoza, his ambassador.

Paul fell back on the respect which he said he had for the decisions of the fathers, and in his reply to the German princes, excused himself on the obligation under which he was, not to interfere in the deliberations of the council; he said, that the prelates had themselves determined to continue their sessions at Bologna, and that he could not consequently make them return to Trent, but that the Lutheran bishops could choose to come to Bologna, or send their agents to confer with the fathers. He contented himself with replying to their threats against the Holy See, that the throne of the vicar of Jesus Christ, was founded on an immovable rock.

This obstinacy of the pope in retaining the synod at Bologna, and refusing to right the demands of the states and the emperor, resulted in exasperating the protestants, and in determining Charles to declare himself a kind of head of the church, and to publish a decree, which was called the Interim. This edict, instead of appeasing the troubles, rendered the religious quarrels more violent than before, the prince having prescribed to all his subjects of both communions, rules of conduct, which were to be observed until the church, as a body, had explained itself on the points of controversy between the reformers and the Catholics. The Interim displeased all parties; they compared it for temerity to the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, and for impiety to the *Typos* of Constantius. The Lutherans com-

plained highly, that it imposed on them, doctrines which they had condemned as sacrilegious, and ceremonies which they had rejected as superstitious, such as the rites observed in the celebration of the mass, in baptism, in the sacraments of marriage and of extreme unction. The Catholics also blamed it and cried out persecution; but the pope, who saw that it would ruin the party of the emperor, by rendering him odious to both Lutherans and orthodox, made no opposition to it, and maintained a neutrality.

The magistrates at first succeeded in having the imperial decree approved by some trivial burghers, and the Lutheran ministers were compelled to abandon their flocks and condemn themselves to a voluntary exile. This critical moment did not last long; the people soon resumed the offensive, all Germany rose and demanded the abolition of the Interim. Charles wished to resist this general outbreak, and sought to have his decree approved of by the court of Rome, and the fathers who had separated from the prelates assembled at Bologna, and had remained in the city of Trent; but they made no concession, and the holy father also refused to sanction the edicts of the prince.

His holiness contented himself with sending Jesuits into Germany, authorised to free the faithful from the observance of the precepts contested by the Lutherans; to allow them the use of food on fast days, the communion under both kinds, every thing in fine, except the marriage of the priests and the lawful possession of property taken from the clergy. Notwithstanding these concessions, the papacy was so execrated in the German provinces, that no protestant would consent to range himself beneath the banner of the Jesuits. The holy father then determined to hasten the labours of the assembly of Bologna, but the emperor again thwarted his plans, and in despite of the efforts of the Jesuits Laynez, Salmeron, and Lejay, the deliberations could not be continued.

Paul wished to try a stroke of policy; he lunched a bull, which declared the council dissolved, and ordered the fathers at Bologna, as well as those who had remained at Trent, to go to Rome, to put an end to the schism, and to decide in council on the matters which divided Christendom. Charles the Fifth prohibited the prelates of Trent from obeying the sovereign pontiff, and things remained as before.

Soon after, the emperor opened negotiations with Paul the Third, and proposed to him to have his last bull executed in his kingdom, provided his holiness would give his approval to the Interim, and not convene the fathers of Trent at Rome, but as mere prelates. This offer was rejected, as Charles had expected; but the negotiations were protracted, and he had obtained his end, which was to gain time. His Catholic majesty knew that the death of the pope was near, from the frightful ulcers which were eating him up, and which had already forced his surgeons to perform a deli-

cate operation upon him. The dying man had not, however, lost any of the prodigious activity of his mind, and although he perceived that his life was gradually wearing away, he did not cease to employ himself with magic, with consulting astrologers, magicians, necromancers, and all the diviners of Italy, on his own destinies, and those of his family. Octavius Farnese, the second son of Peter Louis, was the especial object of his solicitude, and since the death of his bastard he had centered on him all his affections and his hopes. He at first proclaimed him duke of Parma, and entrusted him with the command of the pontifical troops, so as to place him in a condition to defend himself against Ferdinand Gonzagua, who, not content with the possession of Placenza, had invested the fortresses of San Dominico, of Val di Taro and of Castle Guelfo, and was, moreover, preparing to attack Parma.

The pope soon discovered the absolute incapacity of his grandson, and fearing lest he might permit the imperialists to seize on his duchy, he hastened to re-attach it to the domains of the church, and to send Camillus Orsini, the generalissimo of his armies, to place himself at the head of the troops, and to replace Octavius Farnese, whom his holiness recalled to Rome. Still, whilst transmitting his orders to him, the sovereign pontiff pledged himself to place Octavius in possession of the duchy of Camerino, as soon as he had concluded a treaty with either Spain or France. But the young Farnese, finding himself deprived at once of the duchy of Parma, by his grandfather, and of the state of Placenza, by his father-in-law, resolved on vengeance; and two days after having left Parma, when he supposed Camillus Orsini was no longer on his guard, he retraced his steps and fell upon the advanced posts, which he wished to carry, so as to re-instate himself in the city. This effort having failed, he entered into negotiations with Ferdinand Gonzagua, and engaged to abandon his claims of Placenza, and

to recognise himself as a vassal of the emperor, if he would aid him in reconquering Parma from the Holy See. The news of this defection so operated upon his holiness as to produce several fainting fits in a day.

Paul perceived that his last hour had come, and yet, through a sentiment of pride or ambition, he still wished to triumph over Charles the Fifth, and signed a brief to re-instate in the duchy of Parma, him who was the cause of his death, provided he would abandon the party of the emperor. This bull was not, however, executed; the bishop of Pola, to whom it had been entrusted, kept it until the death of the pontiff, which took place on the 16th of November, 1549.

Ciaconius affirms, that if Paul had lived some months longer, he would have excommunicated the emperor, and have declared in favour of France, in order to be revenged for the assassination of his bastard, Peter Louis Farnese. These dispositions of the pope were well known to Charles the Fifth, for when he received the despatches which announced to him the death of the pope, he exclaimed, "There is at length one Frenchman less at Rome," and handing the letters of his ambassador to Prince Philip, he added, "Learn this news, my son, and be assured, that should the Farnese open the body of the pope, they will find three lilies engraven on his heart."

Several ecclesiastical authors have eulogised this pontiff, and Henry of Sponda, in his Continuation of the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, after having exalted the virtues of this head of the church, thus terminates his panegyric: "We must admit that the holy father had a strange affection for his family, which led him to commit many crimes; but he repented in his last hour, repeating the words of the psalmist, 'if mine own had not ruled over me, I should have been without reproach,' and God has pardoned him." A singular mode of explaining facts and interpreting history.

JULIUS THE THIRD, THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1549.]

Intrigues for the election of a pope—Exaltation of Julius the Third—Commencement of his pontificate—His infamous amours with Bertuccino, the keeper of his monkeys—He makes his minion a cardinal—Edict of the emperor against the protestants—Negotiations with France—Bulls of the holy father in regard to the council of Trent—Progress of the Jesuits—Persecutions of the heretics in Italy—Affair of Parma and Placenza—Council of Trent—Truce between France and the Holy See—Death of the nephew of the pope—The council is suspended—His holiness negotiates a peace between the emperor and the king of France—Revolution in England in favour of the Roman church—The Jesuits are pursued in France—Julius sends a nuncio into England—His death.

THE funeral ceremonies of Paul the Third had been over for twenty days, when the cardinals entered into conclave. They first entrusted the care of Rome to Horace Farnese, who commanded four thousand infantry, and that of the Vatican, to the count de Pitigliano,

who had under his command five thousand Italian horse, and a troop of Swiss, ordinarily attached to the service of the pontifical palace. From the commencement, there were three factions in the sacred college; that of the imperialists, that of the French, and that of the Farnese family, of which Alexander was the head.

Each cardinal naturally used all his efforts for the success of his party, and after some ballotings, it was discovered that the Spanish and French parties were equal. Though Alexander Farnese had fewer voices than his competitors, his game was to make the balance incline for him, and he sought to gain them. A skilful man, the cardinal assembled his partizans, and discussed with them whether to ally himself with Charles the Fifth, or treat with the French. Opinions were then divided; some rejected every alliance with the emperor; they recalled his treasons, his deceit, and the recent assassination of Peter Louis Farnese, and concluded that it was preferable to declare for the French; they added, that by the assistance of a pope, who owed his tiara to them, they might obtain aid in men and money, which would place the Farnese family in a condition to recover the cities of Placenza and Parma, of which Octavius was despoiled. Others objected that it was dangerous to treat openly with the French, and to draw upon themselves the wrath of the emperor, who might easily destroy the Farnese; that they should judge of the future by the past; that if Francis the First, united with Paul the Third, had been unable to resist the forces of the empire, it was not probable that his son would be more successful at a period in which all the princes of Italy were leagued against the French; that besides, by his last treaties, Charles the Fifth was allied with Octavius, and would not fail to sustain him, since he had no longer to dread the ambition of a pope of their family. These last reasons determined the cardinal, Alexander Farnese, to support Pole, a cardinal of the blood royal of England, a man of merit, who was presented by the imperial faction. Unfortunately, Caraffa ruined his election, by accusing him of Lutheranism; this accusation made such an impression on the members of the sacred college, that they all withdrew their votes from him. Salviati, was also rejected on account of the severity of his morals; at last, the Farnese faction presented its candidate, who was one of the minions of the dead pope, the cardinal del Monte. The incapacity and infamous habits of this prelate were sure guarantees that he would not undertake any reforms; a majority of voices was obtained for him, and he was immediately proclaimed sovereign pontiff and father of the faithful, by the name of Julius the Third.

The cardinal del Monte was born at Rome, in the quarter del Perione, of a poor family, originally from Mont Sansavino, in Tuscany, a dependency of the diocese of Arezzo. He was, according to the expression of Bayle, a

true soldier of ecclesiastical fortune, who had gradually raised himself to the presidency of the council of Trent. He had first been metropolitan of Siponto, auditor of the apostolic chamber, twice governor of Rome, and then cardinal. As he was gifted with a very handsome person, adds the historian, it is easy to imagine what had procured him so many benefices, and such high dignities.

His language and manners were in harmony with the dissoluteness of his morals. Even in the conclave, he practised iniquity of the most bestial description, and instead of concealing it, permitted himself to be detected by his colleagues. Bayle has preserved for us a correspondence between his holiness and a courtesan of Rome, whose favours Julius shared with the cardinal Crescentius, and whose children were reared at a common expense. These letters contain recitals so disgusting, that it is impossible to put them in decent language.

As soon as he was consecrated, Julius acquitted himself of his engagement with Alexander Farnese; he restored the city of Parma to Octavius, and gave twenty thousand crowns to Camillus Orsini, to indemnify him for the loss of the command of the province. He was also careful to shield himself from the anger of Charles the Fifth, who might be enraged at him for disposing of that city without his consent, by giving him satisfaction of another kind, and he pledged himself by a solemn oath, pronounced in a public consistory, in the presence of the ambassadors of all the courts of Europe, to continue the council of Trent.

His Catholic majesty, satisfied by this concession, sent Louis d'Avila to the court of Rome, to congratulate the new pontiff on his exaltation, and to ask for a bull for the re-opening of the synod. Julius replied to the compliments, by great protestations of devotion and affection for the person of the emperor; but in regard to the convocation of the council of Trent, he made but evasive promises, and objected that he could not call it together without having first obtained the assent of the court of France, and of the principal states of Italy. "Besides," added he, laughing, "we have been but a few days on the throne of the apostle, and you will not complain of us for abandoning ourselves to festivals and pleasure, before surrendering ourselves entirely to business."

On quitting the reception, the ambassadors of his Catholic majesty wrote to the emperor, that the political system to follow with the court of Rome was that of intimidation, since it was presumable that such a pope would make all imaginable concessions, rather than be troubled in the midst of his rejoicings and debauchery. In fact, during his whole reign, Julius thought more of enjoying the pontificate, than of exercising it. "At the court of his holiness," says a grave historian, "the days and nights were passed in feastings and saturnalia. It frequently happened that the pope, after having become intoxicated in com-

pany with his cardinals and loose women, threw off his garments, compelled his guests, male and female, to do the same; then putting on an under vest, which descended scarcely below his breast, he placed himself at the head of this strange dance, and traversed the gardens of the Vatican, singing and dancing. When the holy father was tired, he re-entered the palace to continue the orgies." "Well," said he to his cardinals, "what do you think the people would do, if in the day time, with candles in our hands, we went in this accoutrement to the field of Flora, singing obscene songs instead of hymns?" "Stone us," replied a cardinal. "Then," replied the pope, "we owe it to our dress that we are not stoned, as we deserve to be." Nothing can give an exact idea of the impurities committed at the court of Julius the Third; the writer adds, "his holiness was almost always drunk, and passed his nights in orgies with courtezans and his cardinals."

It was at the close of one of these debauches, which had lasted from six o'clock in the evening until the next morning, that the pope took a fancy to elevate to the cardinalate a child of sixteen, called Innocent, who had filled about his person, when archbishop of Bologna, the double office of minion and keeper of the monkeys. Julius had such an affection for him, that not content with having him adopted by Baldwin del Monte, his brother, he had installed him in his episcopal palace, where he gave him absolute power, being even unwilling that his masters should constrain him to the slightest tasks, from fear of injuring his health. Some historians affirm, that this minion, whom they call Bertuccino, or the little monkey, was a natural child of the pope.

Since the exaltation of Julius the Third, the young Innocent continued to dwell at Bologna, and obstinately refused to come to Rome, unless a cardinal's hat were given to him, which, notwithstanding the strong desire of the pontiff to have his favourite with him, he had not yet dared to propose, from fear of exciting too violent an opposition in the sacred college, before his authority was well affirmed.

At last, one morning, in a debauch, whether his holiness thought himself in a situation to impose his will, or whether it had become impossible for him to remain longer separated from Bertuccino, or whether he had drank more than usual, he determined to make his Ganymede a cardinal, and convened the members of the sacred college in consistory. At the hour of meeting, Julius, with a head still weak, and with tottering steps, entered the assembly, and seated himself on the pontifical chair. He first commenced a strange speech, in which he lauded complacently the lascivious allurements, and extraordinary talents of his minion in debauchery, adding, that the astrologers had announced great wealth and high dignities for this child; and that it was, without doubt, to accomplish the oracle, that destiny had permitted himself to reach the throne of St. Peter; he finished by demand-

ing the hat of a cardinal, and a bishopric for his favourite

A lively opposition was at once manifested by the members of the consistory. Caraffa represented in energetic terms, that such a proposal dishonoured the purple, and that it would be disgraceful to the cardinals to admit a miserable keeper of monkeys among them, whom his holiness recommended solely for his expertness in corruption and impurity. That the pope could, at his pleasure, load him with riches, give him palaces, domains, abbeys, cities, provinces; but that they should abstain from profaning the dignity of a prince of the church, since, in the troubled condition in which Christendom was, the protestants would not fail to avail themselves of such a scandal, when attacking the papacy. Finally, he added, turning towards Julius the Third, "I appeal to the pontiff himself to be a judge in his own cause; is not his minion, from his vices and ignorance, unworthy of the cardinalate?"

At this apostrophe the holy father could not restrain his rage, and exclaimed, "By the womb of the Virgin, I swear my minion shall be cardinal. What have you to reproach him with, to refuse his admittance into your college? His vices! Are you not all devoured by shameful maladies, and plunged into all kinds of abominations? Let him among you, who has not prostituted himself carnally at least once in his life, cast the first stone at him! Ah! you keep silence—do you admit then that we are all of us a disgrace to humanity? Commence with me; what great virtues, what prodigious knowledge did you encounter in me, to make me pope? Am I not an execrable priest? Am I not a thousand times more infamous than my minion, the keeper of monkeys, whom I corrupted? Well then, should he be better than I, who am, thanks to you, sovereign father of the faithful; how dare you refuse to make a cardinal and a bishop of him?"

These reasons appeared so conclusive to the sacred college that all opposition ceased; the promotion of the Ganymede passed unanimously, and on the same day his holiness sent the hat to Bologna, with a draft for twelve thousand crowns on the apostolic treasury. Innocent set out at once for Rome, where his arrival gave rise to public rejoicings, which lasted for several days. From that moment the young cardinal never left the Vatican, now passing his days in the private apartments of his holiness, extended upon soft cushions, and contemplating the antics of a favourite monkey, whilst courtezans burned soft perfumes, and poured out enervating liquors about him; now filling the functions of head of the church, which had been surrendered to him with the title of first minister, and dispenser of grants, benefices, and prebends.

During the first months of his pontificate Julius the Third abstained entirely from business, and thought of nothing but his pleasures. The table was, according to John Crespin, one

of his most important occupations, and the choice of meats a most important affair. "His holiness preferred pork and peacock," says the historian, "on account of their aphrodisiac virtue; but, as he abused the use of them, the physicians forbid his steward from serving them at his table. It happened that one Friday, Julius, not finding his favourite dishes, sent for the bishop of Rimini, his major domo, and ordered him to bring him a roasted peacock at once, accompanying the order with terrible threats, and swearing by the womb of the Virgin, and the rod of Christ, his usual blasphemies, that he would have him hung if he did not obey him at once."

Cardinal Innocent, who was present at this scene, wished to appease him, and represented to him, that so small a matter was not worth so much anger, "Yes, my beautiful minion," said the pope, "since God got angry about an apple, may not I, who am his vicar, swear at my ease about a peacock, which is worth more."

Charles the Fifth soon saw from the turn of affairs, that he had nothing to fear from the policy of Rome, under the reign of a pope abandoned to drunkenness and debauchery. He, therefore, changed the course he had before followed to subdue Germany, and instead of favouring protestantism, as he had before done, he revoked the Interim and published a new edict, which inflicted rigorous penalties on such of his subjects as professed any other religion than the Roman Catholic; he then established tribunals, similar to those of the inquisition, in important cities, and which were commissioned to pursue the followers of Luther to extremities. He then solicited the pope, both by letters and through his ambassador Mendoza, to re-instate the council of Trent, or at least to give a categorical answer, which should dispel all uncertainty on that subject.

This request of the emperor having been made with every appearance of good faith, Julius the Third found himself constrained to reply favourably to it, and to permit the sessions to be re-commenced in the city of Trent. The court of Rome, moreover, was beginning to have less fear of the fathers of the council and even of the emperor, who had in fact, lost much of his influence; on one side the ecclesiastics of both communions were tired of the tyranny of Charles, and appeared to be on the eve of revolting; on the other, his son, brother, as well as his nephew, who all aspired to the empire, threatened to give him so much trouble, that it was not probable that he would have leisure for a long time to interfere in the affairs of his neighbours.

Besides these reasons, it was the custom of the pope to yield to the course of events, and to seek escape from a present embarrassment without troubling himself about the future.—He determined then to issue a bull for the convocation of the council in the city of Trent, granting full absolution to all converted heretics, excepting always, those of Spain and Portugal, his holiness being unwilling, out of

deference to Charles the Fifth, to trespass on the rights and privileges of the inquisitorial tribunals. Peter of Toledo, was deputed to carry the bull of the holy father to the court of Madrid, and the abbot Rosetto was sent to the king of France, for the same purpose.—This last legate was also instructed to thank Henry the Second for the assistance he had given him since his election, and to give him explanations as to the policy he had been compelled to adopt in defiance of his engagements with France.

The decree of his holiness was badly received in Germany; the Lutherans renewed their old pretensions of not submitting, but to a free assembly, over which the pope should not preside, either in person or by his legates, and on condition, that it should be submitted to the judgment of the fathers, as they themselves had offered to submit it. In France it met with no better success; the parliaments declared against the bull of convocation, and the king, at their instigation, recalled those of his cardinals and prelates, who were absent from the kingdom, to form a national council, which should be commissioned to choose a patriarch, to preside over the ecclesiastics of his dominions. As a provincial measure, he sent to Rome the celebrated James Amyot, abbot of Bellocane, with orders to protest loudly, in the presence of the ambassadors of all the courts of Europe, against every thing which should be decided on in the council of Trent. This vigorous determination had been taken by Henry the Second, notwithstanding the exertions of the Jesuits, who were commencing to enjoy great influence with the queen, Catherine de Medicis, and who already sought to open colleges of their order.

Julius the Third, like his predecessor, showed a great solicitude for the Jesuits, and confirmed their institution by the following bull:—"In consideration of the great advantages which Ignatius Loyola and his companions have procured for the Holy See, by their preaching, their great skill in business, and their devotion to the interests of our court, we confirm their institution, and declare that all those who would enter the Society of Jesus, should swear to combat beneath the standard of Christ, and obey unhesitatingly the orders of the sovereign pontiff, his vicar in this world. Though the gospel and the faith, teach that all the faithful owe an absolute obedience to the head of the church, still, to render the devotion of the members of this new society more perfect, we had determined that they should take an individual oath to the pope, and pledge themselves to have no will but his, to execute his orders, whatsoever they may be; and, finally, to be always ready to go to the ends of the world to crush his enemies."

The society testified its gratitude to the sovereign pontiff for the protection which he granted it, by endeavouring to procure the triumph of Catholicism in all the countries in which it was established, and by denouncing to the court of Rome, all whom it suspected

of heresy. His holiness thus produced information that a great number of theologians, curates, vicars, and mendicant monks, in the different provinces of Italy, were favourable to the reformed doctrines.

Julius immediately sent to the bishops of those countries, an order to interdict the administration of the sacraments, and the preaching of the word of God, to all who did not profess orthodox sentiments, conformable to those of the court of Rome. He also sent a writ to Francesco Donato, doge of Venice, and to the senate, commanding them to lend their assistance to the bishops and inquisitors charged to annihilate the partizans of the new ideas. In consequence of this order, the council of Ten, composed entirely of fanatics, resolved to superintend the inquisitors, and united with them lay judges, to examine the accusations and pronounce the condemnations. As the intervention of the secular authority, instead of forwarding the persecutions of the heretics, frequently interfered with the execution of the sentences pronounced against them, the Jesuits solicited a bull from the court of Rome, prohibiting laymen from cramping ecclesiastical liberty, troubling spiritual jurisdiction, and interfering with the processes against heretics. This ill-advised step irritated the Venetians, and a rupture took place between the most serene republic and the Holy See.

Julius, always occupied with his pleasures, did not interfere in political affairs, but by heedless acts; thus, in regard to Octavius Farnese, who had for a long time solicited from the court of Spain the restitution of Placenza, without being able to obtain it, he was imprudent enough to refuse to undertake his cause against the ambitious Charles the Fifth. It was in vain that the dispossessed prince represented, through his ambassador Antonio Venturi, that not only had the emperor, in defiance of his agreement, retained Placenza, and had fortified it, to place it beyond the reach of an attack, but was even concentrating troops to seize on Parma; in vain was it pointed out to him, that it concerned the honour and dignity of the holy father not to permit the spoliation of one of his feudatories; Julius obstinately refused to take the part of Octavius Farnese; he replied to the envoy of the duke, that his treasury was empty, that his fetes absorbed all his revenues, that he was in complete penury, and consequently unable to go to war; that he would judge what was best for his interests; that his good wishes were with him in his enterprise, but he could do nothing more, though, if circumstances became more favourable, he would not forget the grandson of Paul the Third.

As this reply was far from satisfying the exigencies of his position, and it was becoming urgent upon the duke to defend himself, the cardinal Farnese demanded a private audience of the pope, and besought his holiness to permit Octavius to place himself under the protection of princes sufficiently powerful to resist his father-in-law, to which he acceded.

Fortified by the assent of the holy father, Octavius signed a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Henry the Second, which excited the anger of the emperor. His Catholic majesty caused his holiness to be informed, that he must pronounce this treaty null, if he did not wish to break with him. Julius, always cowardly and pusillanimous, hastened to publish a decree prohibiting the duke of Parma from introducing foreign troops into a fief which pertained to the church, under penalty of being declared a rebel, and of seeing his property confiscated. The prince replied to the holy father, that it was not in his power to obey, since he had placed himself under the protection of France, by the authority of the Holy See, and that a foreign garrison was already in the place.

The pope then broke out into violent reproaches against the Farnese; he accused them of wishing his ruin, of wishing to create embarrassments for him; and to punish them, he decreed the confiscation of their fiefs, and drove from Rome the cardinals, brothers, or cousins to Octavius. He sent, at the same time, an order to his legate in France, to leave the court of Henry the Second, if he refused to recall the French garrison which was in Parma, and would not surrender, bound hand and foot, the duke, who was a vassal of the Holy See, to answer before the sacred college for his rebellion and his felony. These demands having been rejected, hostilities commenced between France and Rome. The emperor, who was unwilling to break openly with Henry the Second, at a moment when the lightest conflict might lose him Germany, appeared to remain a stranger to this war; the marquis of Marignan, one of his generals, under pretence, however, of taking the part of the Holy See against the Farnese, seized, in the name of Charles the Fifth, on Montecchio and Castel Nuovo.

The pope, alarmed at seeing the emperor thus seize on the places in Romagna occupied by the Farnese, and fearing lest he might take a fancy to keep them, proposed to Hieronymus Orsini, the mother of the Farnese, to the cardinals Alexander and Ranucus, who had retired to Urbino, as well as to Horace, who commanded the troops of Octavius, and to Carpi, who still held the legation of Viterba, to give up to him all the strong places which they had in Campania, so as to place them beyond the reach of the attacks of the imperialists, pledging himself to restore them to their original proprietors, as soon as the war was over. These measures, assented to on both sides, arrested the march of the marquis de Marignan, who having no longer any pretext to carry on the war in the states of the church, and not daring openly to attack the pope, fell back on Parma, whose siege he protracted, waiting for something favourable to turn up.

His holiness at last discovered that this war against France, was in reality only profitable to the emperor, and that it would ruin the finances of the court of Rome, if it were pro-

longed much longer; he accordingly assembled the cardinals in consistory, and informed them of his intentions in regard to the cessation of hostilities. The latter wrote at once to Alexander Farnese, and to the cardinal de Tournon, the French ambassador, who both hastened to Rome to confer with Julius the Third. They represented to the pope that nothing could be more agreeable to them, than to enter into an arrangement with him, and that it was equally for the interests of the Holy See, since his holiness would thus reattach to his party the people of Parma and Bologna, who had separated from him on account of his alliance with the imperialists. "Consider," added they, "the disasters which Clement the Seventh brought on Rome, and see if their cause did not lie in his crooked policy, and his alliances with the emperor. Consider, that that same pertinacity in sustaining Charles the Fifth, against Henry the Eighth, drew on the Holy See the irreparable loss of England. What then would be your despair, if a like motive should withdraw France from your jurisdiction? King Henry the Second has already prohibited his subjects from carrying money to Rome; he has already published an ordinance for the convocation of a national council, which shall appoint a French patriarch; already do the doctrines of Calvin, notwithstanding the address of the Jesuits, threaten to invade the kingdom, and replace Catholicism. Therefore, most holy father, hasten, for moments are precious. . . ."

Julius, as usual, sought to allay the storm, which appeared to him most imminent. He replied to the cardinal of Tournon, that he was ready to accept a peace with France, and he instructed him to negotiate it on such conditions as he judged best, maintaining always the honour of the Holy See. He, moreover, confided the legation of France to the cardinal Verallio, whom he knew to be acceptable to Henry the Second, so as to obtain authority from that prince to persecute the protestants, and permission to form some colleges of Jesuits in Paris.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola did not produce a great sensation in the capital of France, and notwithstanding the efforts of William Duprat, bishop of Clermont, their protector, and notwithstanding their hypocrisy, and their feigned humility, they had not yet been able to overcome the repugnance of the Parisian people, and they vegetated in obscurity, living by extortions, avarice, and pious legacies, and having but a dilapidated mansion for their asylum.

Though exercising no apparent influence over the mind, the Jesuits were indeed valuable auxiliaries to the Holy See, from their system of espionage, and the preponderance they had acquired over weak men, who confided to them, under the name of confessors, the direction of their consciences, and that of their wives and children. This hidden power, which they exercised, caused them to be felt, not only in Paris, but in every other country where they were. His holiness, thus counting

on their accustomed skill in procuring triumphs for the court of Rome, re-opened the sessions of the council of Trent, under the presidency of Marcel Crescentio, the cardinal legate, assisted by two adjuncts, Sebastian Pighini, the metropolitan of Siponta, and Louis Lipoman, bishop of Verona, without troubling himself about the appeal made to the Lutheran prelates of Germany by Charles the Fifth, who, having at heart a desire for vengeance on the pope, had exacted, that the protestants should be represented in the assembly.

The Jesuits opposed this demand of the emperor, and when it had been transmitted officially to the legates of the Holy See, they protested with energy against it, and raised a crowd of difficulties which rendered impossible, they said, the admission of Lutheran ministers into the council, especially those of Maurice of Saxony; they would only consent to receive pure Lutherans. This concession alarmed the pope, who dreaded the consequences of a debate between the protestants and his theologians, and he informed his legates that they must not authorise any public conference, nor any debate on religious matters, with the followers of Luther.

Violent disputes then broke out between the Catholics and protestants, and the latter, who were protected by the Spanish ambassadors, whose aim was to excite embarrassment at the court of Rome, to compel it to separate from France, ended by carrying it over the pope, and obtained that the Lutherans should be permitted to present the articles of their belief to the secretary of the council in a public meeting. The expressions which they used in their work, when speaking of the papists, and of the worship of the Roman church, were so irreverent, that they caused the greatest scandal among the Catholic fathers.

Whilst the theologians of the different communions were offering to the world the sight of their ridiculous quarrels, the emperor was still carrying on war with his son-in-law; and as Julius the Third feared it would end by the dutchy of Parma being taken from the Holy See, he determined to close the negotiations with France. He agreed with the ambassador of Henry the Second, that Duke Octavius should surrender his estates to the Holy See, receiving in exchange the principality of Camerino, and other domains; he pledged himself, moreover, to place a garrison in Parma, which should be composed one half of French and Italians, and he entered into a solemn engagement to keep this city against the emperor, and not to favour him in any difficulties he might have with France. But Duke Octavius having shown to Henry the Second, that this arrangement ruined his family, the king ordered the cardinal of Tournon to go to Rome to modify the terms of the treaty, and to demand that Octavius should be maintained in Parma, and the dutchy be placed under the protection of France. The cardinal could scarcely make Julius comprehend, that this last arrangement was the only one which

was advantageous to the Holy See, since it gave him always in Italy a powerful enemy to oppose to the ambition of the emperor.

They consequently agreed upon the following articles: 1. That the pope should preserve, for two years, a neutrality between France and the empire, and should not assist either party with men or money, nor in any other way. 2. The city of Castro should be restored to Horace Farnese, provided the cardinals Alexander and Ranucus, his brothers, should become surety for his conduct towards the Holy See. 3. That the pontiff should recall his nephew, John Baptist del Monte, and the troops which are still in the service of the emperor. 4. His holiness will inform Charles the Fifth, of the conditions of this treaty, and that he must evacuate the territory of Parma and Mirandola.

Notwithstanding the real advantages which resulted to the Holy See from these arrangements, they were on the point of being lost, by the obstinacy of the pope's nephew, who not only refused to treat with France, but even threatened to declare against the church, and in favour of Charles the Fifth, if they persisted in recalling the troops which were at Mirandola, under his orders. Fortunately, he was killed in a sortie, and his death raised the last barrier to the ratification of the treaty between France and Rome. Julius at once sent orders to his generals, Alexander Vitelli and Camillus Orsini, to lead back their troops to Rome. The siege was raised at once, and this courageous city, which had supported for two whole years the rigours of a siege, could at last be provisioned. Hippolyte d'Este, cardinal of Ferrara, took the command of the place, and with the assistance of some French troops, drove back on Placenza a corps of three thousand Germans, who had been sent by the marquis of Marignan, to attempt to retake the positions abandoned by the besiegers. The emperor was much discontented with all that had occurred, and threatened the court of Rome with his anger, if it did not hasten to break with France; but no regard was paid to his remonstrances. His power was already beginning to decline, his knavish actions were used up; his Machiavelian policy no longer made dupes; all, whether kings or people, had a like contempt for his person. He, moreover, found himself up to his arms in a war with the German princes, which he had been imprudent enough to bring on, and whose results could not but be fatal to him.

As soon as hostilities had broken out, the princes, Maurice of Saxony, and Albert of Brandenburg, hastened to inform the fathers of the council of Trent of it, that they might abandon their idle discussions, and return to reinforce their ranks; at the same time, they published a manifesto against the emperor, whom they justly accused of having violated the constitutions of Germany, and with having made attempts upon its independence. The king of France skilfully profited by these circumstances, and declared himself the de-

fender of the Germanic liberties, though at the same time, he was endeavouring to demonstrate to the pope that the Lutherans had been but instruments in the hands of Charles the Fifth, to abase the pontifical power.

A powerful league was spontaneously organised throughout all Germany, for the defence of religion, and an army of protestants marched toward the city of Trent. Then the Spanish, Neapolitan, and Sicilian prelates, who feared to be made prisoners, as the subjects of the emperor, if they fell into the power of his enemies, fled in haste from the council. The Italian bishops soon followed their example, and embarked on the Adige to go to Verona. At last, when only the nuncios and a few Jesuits remained, Julius the Third ordered the suspension of the council. His holiness could the better take this step as Charles the Fifth was no longer in a condition to alarm him, being himself attacked on all sides by the French and Germans. Finally, after several months of bloody strife, the emperor was conquered at Inspruck, and compelled to purchase peace.

By the treaty of Passau his majesty set at liberty John Frederick, the elector of Saxony, as well as the landgrave of Hesse, the father-in-law of the elector Maurice; he granted the free exercise of the worship prescribed by the confession of Augsburg, and the recall of the protestant ministers exiled by virtue of the Interim. He, moreover, consented, on the representation of the electors, to place the government of Germany in the hands of his brother Ferdinand, who was proclaimed king of the Romans. This prince already possessed the kingdom of Hungary, in full sovereignty, which had been augmented by the dominions of Queen Isabella and her young son, the king of Transylvania, in consequence of their forced surrender to him by their lawful masters. This spoliation had been done for the advantage of Ferdinand, and by the bishop George di Martinuzzi, who received, as a recompense, the title of viceroy and the hat of a cardinal.

In the end, through one of those reverses of fortune so frequent at the court of princes, the prelate became suspected by the new monarch, and his death was resolved upon. A certain marquis of Castaldo, a confidant of Ferdinand, was charged with the execution of the crime. One day, when the cardinal was going to a pleasure house he had at Winitz, Castaldo asked permission to accompany him, making no scruples at becoming the guest of his victim. All his measures were arranged by the marquis, that in case his failure, a troop of Spanish soldiers should carry him off. On the following morning, the secretary of Castaldo was introduced into the apartment of Martinuzzi, under pretence of handing him some despatches, and whilst the cardinal was stooping over the table to sign them, he stabbed him in the breast with his dagger. The prelate felt the wound, called for assistance, and threw himself upon the assassin to crush him, but at the noise of the struggle, Castaldo entered with his sword in

his hand, and at a single blow cleft his skull. As he still stood erect, four soldiers discharged their arquebuses at once at him, and he fell dead. The dead body remained for seventy days on the floor of the apartment, the Spaniards steadily refusing to bury him; at last, Count Sforza Pallavicini, who commanded in the province, permitted the Hungarians to inter it.

Independently of his desire to rid himself of a man whom he dreaded, the king of the Romans hoped he should put himself in possession of large treasures; he was greatly deceived; for the assassins found only a very small sum, which they divided among themselves, and Ferdinand received for his share only an ear, which the barbarian Castaldo sent him, as a pledge of his devotion.

As soon as the news of this murder reached Rome, his holiness became greatly enraged, and cited the monarch before his tribunal, and justified himself of an assassination committed on a prince of the church. In vain did the ambassadors of Ferdinand, and those of Charles the Fifth, interfere to have this decree revoked; the pope declared he would have justice on a sovereign, who was rash enough to kill one of his cardinals, and on the refusal of Ferdinand to go to Rome, he fulminated an excommunication against him and his accomplices, and ordered the sentence to be published in all the kingdoms of Europe. This act of rigour is the only one that can be cited during the reign of Julius the Third, and we are induced to believe that he only obeyed the impulse of the sacred college, which had the death of one of its members to avenge; for, in less than a month after the publication of this bull, he yielded to the threats of the Spaniards, and recalled his decree of excommunication. The ambassadors of Charles the Fifth knew so well how to tempt the cupidity of the pope by the promises of large sums, that they determined him to offer himself as a mediator between Spain and France. Prosper, of Santa Croix, one of the great dignitaries of the court of Rome, was sent to Henry the Second, to consult with him as to the mode by which concord could be re-established between the two sovereigns. The king of France was unwilling to enter into any agreement with the emperor; he would only consent to renounce his plan of invading the kingdom of Naples and to draw off the fleet of Soliman, his ally, which was cruising on the shores, on condition that the imperialists would leave the territory of Sienna, whose inhabitants were at war with the emperor, and that the independence of this flourishing city should be recognised by the prince. This concession not having satisfied any of the belligerent parties, hostilities recommenced in Italy; but the emperor soon found himself constrained to leave Tuscany with his army, to fly to the assistance of Naples, which the Turks were blockading closely. On parting, he gave full powers to the Holy See, and authorised Julius the Third to offer peace to the Siennese, on condition that they would recognise the cardinal Fabian, the nephew of

the pope, as their head, and receive a foreign garrison. These proposals were again rejected by the citizens, who did not want to be ruled by the pope or the emperor, and they continued to carry on the war to recover their independence.

Whilst the people of Italy were endeavouring to free themselves from the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, the Calvinistic theologians of Geneva, those implacable enemies of the papacy, those furious censors of the abuses and cruelties of the Catholics, became in their turn persecutors, and were erecting, on the public square of their city, the funeral pile which was to consume Michael Servetus, condemned as impious, heretical, and atheistical.

This celebrated man was originally from Villanova in Arragon. At the age of sixteen, he came to France to study law in the university of Toulouse; after having finished his studies he travelled through Italy, and became connected with the Socinians; he then visited Switzerland and Germany. At Basle, he had had public discussions with Ecolampadius; at Strasburg he had disputed with Capiton Bucer on the doctrines of the Trinity and consubstantiation; he had maintained to them that the reformers had not entirely accomplished their work of emancipation, since they feared to apply the hatchet and the hammer to the old edifice of superstition, and to beat it down to the last stone. His adversaries were alarmed at the boldness of his views, and Bucer, who was regarded as the least violent among the Lutherans, said one day, at the close of a conference which he had with the young Servetus; "this wretch is stronger than all of us, and if we do not cut him to pieces and wrench his bowels from him, he will devour us."

Shortly afterwards Servetus published his dialogues upon the Trinity, whose singularity excited all the protestants against the author. Alarmed by the dangers he ran in Germany, he took refuge in France, renounced the career of the bar, and studied medicine. He was not more successful in this new profession, for having put forth some new ideas on the circulation of the blood, which were in opposition to those of the faculty, they cried out heresy, forced him to leave Paris, and abandon his labours on a discovery which was afterwards regarded as one of the most splendid triumphs of man in the domain of science. He then retired into Dauphiny and entered the establishment of the brothers Frelon in the capacity of a proof reader. Charged with the superintendence of a reprint of the Bible, he added to it a preface and notes which Calvin called impious and impertinent. Michael replied to the attacks of the reformer, and entered into a correspondence with him on the different questions of their belief; their dispute soon became so envenomed, that their letters contained only the grossest invectives; they thus became irreconcilable foes. Servetus wishing to humble his rival, sent him a manuscript, in which he pointed out a great number of errors he had made in his "Christian Insti-

tution," the best of his works, which made Calvin so furious, that he wrote to Favel and Viret, two of his disciples, that if this heretic ever fell into their hands, they must use all their influence to destroy his life.

Michael then produced his famous treatise "*De Christianismi Restitutione*," of which there are now but two copies extant. Notwithstanding the care of the author to cover himself with an anonymous veil, Calvin divined him from the irony, with which he spoke of himself and his writings. From this moment the death of Michael Servetus was resolved on by the reformer; and to reach his end he did not hesitate to play the part of an informer; he sent to the archbishop of Lyons some leaves from the treatise of Servetus. The cardinal de Tournon, who filled the see of that city, at once set on foot inquiries, to discover the office from which the book had issued; but his researches having been fruitless, the author was on the point of escaping the danger which threatened him, when Calvin sent from Geneva the originals of some letters which had been addressed to him by Michael, and which had been printed in the treatise. Servetus was immediately arrested and confined in the prisons of Vienne, to await the day of his judgment. His friends, fortunately, found means to get him out, and they concealed him in the environs of the city. As he feared lest his retreat should be discovered, he determined to quit France and went to Geneva, to go from thence into Italy.

Calvin gave him no time; as soon as he heard that his enemy had taken refuge in a city in which he was all powerful, he caused him to be arrested, and as he did not wish to be submitted to the laws of the country, which provided, that in such cases, the accused and the accuser should share the same dungeon, he yielded the principal part to one of his domestics named Lafontaine, and reserved himself for the discussions on theological questions.

Servetus did not appear alarmed at the threats of his adversary, and when it was announced to him that the vice bailiff of Vienne had demanded his surrender, he threw himself at the feet of his judges, beseeching them to retain him in Geneva. These infamous magistrates appeared to accede to his demand, and at the same time instructed Calvin to extract from the works of the accused, the propositions which he considered condemnable. They then handed to Servetus the memoir drawn up by the reformer, that he might reply to it.

Instead of doing as he was ordered, the courageous Michael contented himself with adding marginal notes, some of which were injurious epithets, and he declared that he would not dispute with Calvin, except before the council of two hundred. The judges, taking no notice of this, finished the proceedings in the trial, and sent copies to Zurich, Berne, Basle and Schaffhausen, to procure the advice of the protestant ministers of those cities, all of whom were disciples of Calvin. Michael Servetus was declared guilty by each

of them; still no one pronounced penalty of death on him. And yet, disgrace to Calvin, on the 26th of October, 1553, the tribunal, yielding to his urgent solicitations, assembled for the last time, and condemned the accused to be burned alive.

When this sentence was announced to him, Servetus demanded to see the reformer, and had an interview of two hours with him. It is said that he sought to awaken some sentiment of equity in the heart of his implacable foe; that he represented to him, that his death would be an ineffable blot on him, which he could never wash out; that he sought to show him that the interests of his doctrine required of him, to attach to himself all who were striving against the papacy. Nothing could change the determination of Calvin, and on the next day Michael Servetus, the anti-trinitarian, was executed at a place called Champey, a little distance from the southern gate of Geneva.

The reformer afterwards endeavoured to justify his judicial crime, and published a work, in which he established the right of putting heretics to death. This book appeared at the very moment when the protestants were making just complaints against the barbarous treatment to which they were exposed in Roman Catholic countries. The court of Rome seized on the arguments of its dreaded adversary, to justify its bloody proscriptions, and in this point of view, the punishment of Servetus was a happy incident for it.

In England another still more important event was accomplished; the young Edward the Sixth, the son of Henry the Eighth, was dead, and the princess Mary, his sister, the daughter of Catharine of Arragon, had succeeded him. This queen, a devoted Catholic, was no sooner on the throne, than she recalled the Jesuits into Great Britain, abolished protestantism, which had been declared the religion of the state by her brother, Edward the Sixth, and commenced persecutions against the protestants. She then sent, as a deputy to his holiness, John Francis Commandon, a young Italian poet, who stood very high in her good graces, to hand a confidential letter to Julius the Third, and to inform him, that with the aid of God, she hoped soon to replace England in its obedience to the court of Rome. She also informed him of her plan of uniting the crowns of Spain and England, by her marriage with the son of Charles the Fifth.

The pope, perceiving that this marriage would make England a dependency of the house of Austria, was much disturbed by it, and took at once energetic measures to prevent its conclusion. He sent the cardinal Pole, the personal enemy of the emperor, to England, with the title of legate. This prelate started with the more hope of success in his mission, since he had formerly been the confessor of Mary, and knew that the queen placed great confidence in him. But Charles the Fifth foreseeing the opposition which the court of Rome would make to his plan, kept on his guard, and did not hesitate to arrest the

cardinal Pole on his journey through Germany, and to retain him as a prisoner against the laws of nations, without troubling himself about the safe-conduct he had obtained from his ambassador. The only favour he granted the prelate was, from a regard to his diplomatic character, to have him conducted to court, where he never lost sight of him, until the marriage of Philip and Mary had been celebrated. His majesty then set him at liberty, loaded him with honours, and permitted him to continue his journey to England.

Pole was received at London with great distinction. The chancellor of the kingdom, with a brilliant train of lords, came to receive him on his disembarkation, and conducted him to the palace, where the king and queen awaited him on the threshold of the door, in order to do him more honour. Some days after his arrival, the cardinal legate was introduced to parliament by the steward of the queen's household, four knights of the order of the garter, and an equal number of bishops. The two assembled chambers promised to revoke all laws passed against the authority of the Holy See, and he, in his turn, pronounced the absolution of the schism, which the whole assembly received kneeling, Philip and Mary setting the example. A pompous embassy was then sent to the court of Rome, to announce to the pontiff the reconciliation of England with the church, and to ask his approval of the renunciation of the royalty of Naples in favour of his son Philip, which Charles the Fifth had made.

Julius ratified the cession, granting, however, the investiture only on condition that the new king should produce, within a year, the license in favour of his right; that he should do homage to the church, and should acknowledge, in express terms, that the kingdom of Naples, and all the country situated beyond the light house, and up to the frontiers of the ecclesiastical states, except the city of Benevento and its territory, had been granted to him and his heirs and successors, solely by the liberality and favour of the apostolic see, without prejudice, however, to the rights of the princess Joanna, queen of Spain and the two Sicilies.

The Jesuits, who had laboured so successfully for the conversion of England, were rewarded by dignities as ridiculous as illusory. John Maynez, a Portuguese, was made patriarch of Congo; the father Oviédo received the title of bishop of Nicea, and Father Garnerio that of Hierapolis. His holiness had some time before recompensed in the same way, those who had been missionaries in Asia and Africa, among others St. Francis Xavier, who had been created patriarch of the Indies.

If the Jesuits made great progress in America, the Indies, and Congo, it was not so in Europe, for, with the exception of England, no nation was willing to receive them. Thus, in France, they were rejected by the people, the clergy, the parliament, and even the Sorbonne, that body which afterwards evinced such docility and complacency for them, when

they became the confessors of kings. The Jesuits had inherited for several years the property of William Duprat, their protector, and they asked in vain for letters patent from Henry the Second to take possession of their legacy. At length, the king, yielding to the solicitations of the cardinal of Lorraine, consented to give them authority to take possession of their inheritance, provided they would employ the funds, in accordance with the wishes of the legatee, in the foundation of a college. But when these letters patent were presented to the parliament to be registered, the members of that assembly protested against the establishment of a new religious order, maintaining that the number of convents in France was already too great. This opposition was strongly aided by the curates, whose rights the Jesuits usurped, and by the bishops, who were jealous at seeing them freed from their jurisdiction.

The Jesuits did not regard themselves defeated; they solicited new letters from the king, and presented a second request to parliament, which they took care to have backed by Catherine de Medicis and Diana of Poitiers, whose consciences they directed. They were again foiled in their effort, and sent before the Sorbonne. That assembly having taken up the matter, discussed it at length, and on the 1st of December, 1554, made the following decree:—"We declare this new society, which proudly styles itself the company of Jesus, to be impious and sacrilegious, because it receives into its bosom, with indifference and silence, all kinds of persons, no matter how infamous they are; because it possesses privileges dangerous to the administration of penance and the liberty of teaching; because it wishes to build up schools to the injury of the bishops; because it sets itself above the hierarchical order of the regular and secular clergy, and even beyond the jurisdiction of temporal princes and the universities. We also declare, that this society cannot but engender troubles and schisms in the states into which it shall be introduced; that it will annihilate the liberty of thought, to subject consciences to the pope; and, finally, that it will be equally redoubtable to kings as to people."

To strengthen this decision of the Sorbonne, the bishop of Paris, Eustache de Bellay, added a request for the exclusion of Jesuits from his diocese. The result was, that the disciples of Loyola were placed under interdict, and driven from the capital, notwithstanding the letters patent of the king. They then retired to the quarter of St. Germain, under the protection of the prior of the abbey, who maintained that he was independent of the bishop, from some private privilege. It was not in France only that the Jesuits were execrated. In Spain even, they had not yet been able to establish themselves on a solid basis, and were rather tolerated than protected at the court of Madrid; Charles the Fifth never admitted them to his private counsels, and was contented with employing them in his American

dominions. In England, notwithstanding the support of the queen, they were not acceptable to the lords, the people, or the clergy.—George Broussel, archbishop of Dublin, thus spoke of them in a sermon:—"A new congregation has arisen among us, which styles itself the company of Jesus, and proclaims itself the militia of the pope. These satellites of the pontifical tyranny live like the scribes and pharisees, and seek to replace truth by falsehood, light by darkness. They will, no doubt, obtain their ends, my brethren, by reason of their astuteness, which clothes them with a multitude of forms to be combatted; with the pagans they adore idols, with the atheists they deny God, with the Israelites they profess Judaism, with the protestants they call themselves reformers; and all this is done to discover the plans, thoughts, inclinations of their enemies, to lead men into the way of perdition, to induce them to say, 'There is no other God, but the pope.' They spread themselves over the whole earth, and obtain admittance to the counsels of princes, the more surely to rule the nations, to subjugate humanity, to bend it beneath the yoke of the bishops of Rome. But we hope that God will, one day, grow weary of such abominations, and will permit these miserable Jesuits to be pursued by those who have lent them assistance, by the popes themselves, for whom they have drank every shame; we hope that these satellites of Satan will become more miserable than the Jews, and that their name will be spit upon and reviled; we hope that they will be regarded as the most degraded and the most

object of the human race." This very remarkable prediction, which was accomplished in every particular, dates in the middle of the sixteenth century, some years after the foundation of the order.

The opinion of the English prelates had no influence, however, on their queen, and the bigot Mary, resolved to constrain her subjects to restore the tithes claimed by Julius the Third.

The Germans were not so docile; not only did they refuse to give any satisfaction to the holy father, but even declared their determination to assemble in a general council at Augsburg, to decree the liberty of conscience which had been guaranteed to them by the emperor, by the treaty of Passau, without any reference either to an œcumenical synod or a national council. The diet having been held at Augsburg, the Germans published a decree, which declared perfect equality between the Catholics and Lutherans, guaranteed to the protestant laity, legal proprietorship in the property taken from the Catholic clergy, and permitted those who had, up to this time, remained faithful to the Roman court, even priests, to embrace Lutheranism and marry. From that time the protestant religion was regarded as the religion of the empire.

When this news reached Rome, it caused a profound sensation; the pontiff had such a fit of passion that it brought on a violent fever, and as he was already very sick, in consequence of his excesses at table, he could not support this new shock, and died on the 23d of March, 1555.

MARCEL THE SECOND, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1555.]

Election of the cardinal of Santa Croix—His history before his pontificate—Commencement of his reign—His zeal for reform—He desires to institute a military order—His plan for the redress of abuses in the government of the church—His death and eulogy.

As soon as the funeral of Julius the Third was over, the thirty-seven cardinals who were at Rome, entered the conclave, and proclaimed the cardinal of Santa Croix supreme chief of the church, by the name of Marcel the Second. He came originally from Fano or Monte Fano, a small town situated on a high mountain between Osimo and Macerata; his father, whose name was Richard Cervin, of Monte Pulciano, was the apostolic treasurer or receiver for the Holy See, in the March of Ancona.

Marcel studied in the city of Sienna; having reached manhood, he went to Rome, where Clement the Seventh conferred on him some subaltern employments. On the advent of Paul the Third, he had been appointed first

secretary to the apostolic chamber; afterwards the cardinal Farnese attached him to him in the capacity of secretary of legation, when he was ambassador to the court of Henry the Second, and on his departure from France, had left him to continue the negotiations between the Holy See and the king. As he succeeded as the sovereign pontiff desired, Paul the Third gave him, on his return, the hat of a cardinal and the bishoprics of Nicastro, Reggio, and Eugubio.

Some days after his exaltation, Marcel received the pontifical crown from the hands of the cardinal de Bellay, who was then at Rome; but instead of spending, as his predecessors had done, enormous sums in artificial fêtes, illuminations, festivals, and concerts, he dis-

tributed among the poor all the money which he found in the apostolic treasury. He was then occupied with the introduction of useful reforms into the administration of the government of the church, and as he was convinced that the only mode of restoring consideration to the papacy was, to change the system pursued by his predecessors, he announced that he should exact from the officers and great dignitaries of the court of Rome, the practice of the virtues taught by Christ. The pontiff also informed the sacred college, of his intention to form an order of knights, chosen alike from the highest and lowest classes of society, to second him in his labours, and with a well-formed resolution, to admit none into it who had not merited the great distinction, either by real talent or by their virtues. His holiness counted on using these knights for embassies, legations, negotiations with sovereigns, and all matters which were important to the Holy See, in case the cardinals should evince hostility to his generous plans. He then disbanded the guards of the Vatican, saying, that the vicar of Christ had no need to be surrounded by soldiers; that it was disgraceful for a sovereign, and especially for a pope, to be surrounded by wretches whose business was to murder their fellows; that it was better for a virtuous pontiff to be put to death by the wicked, than to give a proof of pride and cowardice, and to wish to impose on people by terror.

He drove from his court all the courtiers who were called valets; he suppressed the pensions which were allotted to them; finally, every thing, even to his table, underwent important reforms; the number of dishes which were to be served up to him was limited, as well as the duration of the repast. The gold and silver service was suppressed and sold to pay the debts of the Holy See. Marcel had such a disgust for flattery, that he one day informed the auditors of the rota, who came to pay their respects to him whilst he was at table, that he wished they would employ themselves with the care of their churches, and not lose their time in making useless

bows; and as one of them, when retiring, uttered some murmurs, he exclaimed, "What, is the Holy See so covered with thorns and sown with briars, that we cannot follow the right path without being pricked at every step? Is it then true that one cannot reconcile the care of his own safety, with a dignity so fatal as that of the head of the church?"

A virtuous pope could not live long; thus Marcel died, after a reign of twenty-one days, on the 30th of April, 1555, from an attack of apoplexy, according to some ecclesiastical authors, or from the consequences of a poisoned beverage, if we are to believe the testimony of contemporary historians.

The death of the venerable Marcel adds new force to the fact we have already pointed out in the course of this history; it is, that among the small number of holy prelates who have occupied the chair of the apostle, none has been able to preserve the tiara long enough to put in execution plans of reform among the clergy or the ecclesiastical orders, and that all, without exception, have perished by a violent death.

Are we then to conclude, that in order to be pope, one must possess every vice, and have committed every crime? Are we to suppose that cardinals and princes of the church only regard those popes worthy of their admiration, who sacrifice dutchies and kingdoms to their bastards; or those who compose their courts of but minions and harlots; or those who abandon themselves to the most shameful debaucheries; or those, finally, who, like hyenas, delight in the sight of dead bodies, and bathe in blood? Alas! is it not but too true, that in the eyes of the adorers of the Roman purple and of the satellites of the theocracy, the greatest popes are those who, during their lives, have yearly swallowed up millions in the pleasures of the table or debaucheries; or even still more, those who have burned on the funeral pyres of the inquisition whole people, and who have invented new torments to add to the already so frightful sufferings of their victims.

PAUL THE FOURTH THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1555.]

Election of Paul the Fourth—His history before his pontificate—He increases the power of the inquisitors—Death and epitaph of Ignatius Loyola—His holiness demands from Queen Mary the restitution of the property taken from the church—League between the pope and France—Pride and insolence of the pontiff—His hypocrisy and dissimulation—He opposes the abdication of Charles the Fifth—Legation of the cardinal Caraffa, nephew of the pope, to the court of France—Persecutions of the Colonna—Paul the Fourth rekindles the war in Italy—Disgrace of Cardinal Pole—Violent accusations against the reformed of France—Proceeding of the pope against his nephews—Insolence of Paul the Fourth to Queen Elizabeth of England—Quarrel between the emperor and the pope—His holiness burns protestant books—His death.

As soon as the death of the holy pope Marcel was known in England, ambassadors immediately started from London, to procure the election of Cardinal Pole as sovereign pontiff,

he being, unquestionably, the ecclesiastic who was most capable of filling the Holy See; but though they used all diligence, they could not reach there in time, and when they arrived in Rome the cardinal Chieti had already obtained a majority of the suffrages in the college, and had been proclaimed pope by the name of Paul the Fourth.

The new pontiff, John Peter Caraffa, was born at Naples, of a family originally from Hungary. He had entered a convent of Dominicans in his earliest youth, where he had imbibed the cruel and inexorable character, which was the distinctive badge of that order of monks. When he had finished his studies he went to Rome, to the cardinal Oliver Caraffa, his cousin, who initiated him into the intrigues of the apostolic court, and recommended him to Julius the Second. The pope gave him the bishopric of Chieti, and sent him to the city of Naples, to congratulate Ferdinand the Catholic on his arrival in the kingdom. Leo the Tenth then gave him the appointment of nuncio to England, with the charge of collecting Peter's pence; for three years he pillaged the kingdom of England; after this he was sent to Spain, to Ferdinand, whose good will he obtained by the ingenious modes which he taught him of increasing the number of the victims of the inquisition; and consequently his treasures. Adrian the Sixth recalled him to Rome, and entrusted him with important offices. During the pontificate of Clement the Seventh, he created the order of the Theatins, to combat the heretics; but this institution of religious was eclipsed by that of the Jesuits, and he himself abandoned them to become the protector of the company of Jesus. At last Paul the Third gave him a cardinal's hat, in testimony of his gratitude, and as a recompense for the assistance he had given him in establishing the tribunals of the inquisition of Italy. He finally became grand inquisitor at Rome, and presided over that odious tribunal, which was called the nerve of the power of the Holy See.

As soon as he was crowned, Paul the Fourth occupied himself in giving new energy to the religious persecutions; he increased the prisons, doubled the number of the judges, and took measures to give the executioners no repose. He first published a bull of excommunication against those who separated themselves, by the slightest word, from the doctrine professed by the Roman Catholic church; he then pronounced the most terrible spiritual and temporal penalties which had ever yet been promulgated against the faithful who were suspected of heresy; he declared that princes, kings, emperors, bishops, archbishops, and even cardinals should be put to the torture and led upon the scaffold, if they were pronounced guilty by the holy office.

Such a beginning spread consternation through Christendom, and excited the indignation of the people and clergy; the Jesuits alone shouted forth the praises of the pontiff, and announced every where that the throne of the apostle was at last occupied by a great

pope, who comprehended this sublime truth, "It is better to annihilate mankind, than permit it to continue in error." His holiness evinced gratitude to his satellites; he loaded them with honours and wealth; built, in the enclosure of the city, two superb colleges for them, called the Roman and the German, and gave them magnificent villas in the environs. It was in the midst of all these triumphs that Ignatius Loyola died, exhausted by fatigue and sickness. Afterwards, one of the successors of Paul called him blest, and another, Gregory the Fifteenth, placed him in the ranks of the saints. His disciples inscribed this proud inscription on his tomb: "Thou who regardest Pompey, the great Cæsar, and Alexander, as extraordinary beings, open thy eyes to the truth, and thou wilt see that Ignatius has been greater than all these conquerors."

After the death of Loyola, the learned Jesuit Laynez, one of his cherished disciples, was chosen to succeed him in the generalship of the order.

Paul was then occupied in giving an audience to the ambassadors of Queen Mary, who were commissioned to take the oath of fidelity between the hands of his holiness. The English deputies were received in a public consistory, and constrained to a humiliating ceremonial; they were compelled to kiss the feet of the pope, to place themselves before him on their knees, and to confess to him in this position, one by one, all the alleged crimes of the English nation against the papacy. They avowed humbly that their fellow subjects had paid with ingratitude the kindness of the sovereign pontiff, and they demanded absolution for their transgressions. Paul, satisfied with their abasement, then permitted them to rise, and received the letters of Mary from them; but he no sooner perceived, on opening the letter, that the princess styled herself queen of England and Ireland, than he fell into a rage, exclaiming, that their mistress was very bold to dare to take the title of queen of Ireland without the authority of the pope; and he at once drove them from the Vatican.

In this same session his holiness created three cardinals out of his own family; among others one of his great nephews, who was scarcely sixteen years old, and whom he had already made archbishop of Naples. As the cardinal of St. James wished to make some observations on this, and to represent to the pope that he had not kept the engagements he had made at the time of his election, Paul, who was vigorous and active, sprang from his seat, caught the prelate by his hood, tore him from his seat, dragged him into the midst of the room, and struck him so hard a blow that the blood gushed forth and inundated his face and garments. After this scene of outrage, the cardinals retired tumultuously, and announced that they would not appear again in the consistory; the fear of punishment, however, caused their resolution to fail, and the usual sessions were recommenced.

Since their expulsion from the Vatican, the

English ambassadors had avoided appearing before the pope; but an order from their cowardly sovereign soon constrained them to make new approaches to his holiness, to obtain a brief for the investiture of Ireland; this act of degradation cost the people of England two hundred thousand crowns. The bull was given by the holy father to the envoys of Queen Mary at a solemn audience, who also gave them his blessing. Paul added, however, before dismissing them: "It is as a testimony of the paternal affection we have for Mary and Philip, that we erect Ireland into a kingdom, in the exercise of the supreme power which we have from God, who has placed us above thrones and nations. We, however, reserve to ourselves the revocation of the decree of investiture, if your queen does not hasten to restore to the clergy all the property which has been taken from them, and if she does not cause Peter's pence to be paid; for we will be forced to place Great Britain under interdict to show the English that the apostle will not open to them the gates of heaven, if they have the sacrilegious audacity to retain his patrimony on earth."

Notwithstanding this threat of interdict, the English lords refused to consent to restore the church property, and the fanatical Mary dared not employ violence to constrain them; she contented herself with restoring to the church the domains which her father, Henry the Eighth, and her brother, the young Edward the Fourth, had seized and united to the crown property. Perhaps we may attribute the coldness which the queen showed, to the influence which Philip, her husband, exercised over her, who was already advised of the threats of the court of Rome, and of the ambitious projects of the new pope on the kingdom of Naples.

In fact, his holiness, under the pretext of wishing to deprive the protestants of the privileges granted them in the last diet of Augsburg, broke with Charles the Fifth, and openly sought the alliance of Henry the Second. At the same time the cardinal, Charles Caraffa, and his brother John, his nephews, whom he had created, the one, duke of Palliano, the other, captain general of the church, as well as his third nephew, Antonio, who was in possession of the marquise of Montebello, taken from the counts Guidi, secretly united their troops and prepared to invade the kingdom of Naples, which Mendoza then governed. Fortunately, the spies of the emperor informed him of what was preparing against him, and he had time to write to his son Philip, to send the duke of Alba at once into Italy, with the title of viceroy, to replace Mendoza.

The duke started at once for Italy, and went to Rome under the pretence of congratulating the pope on his exaltation in the name of Charles the Fifth, but in reality to sound the intentions of his holiness. He was not long in discovering the true sentiments of Paul, for the pontiff interrupted him as soon as he commenced speaking, broke out upon the emperor, pronounced him a traitor and a felon, and

ordered the viceroy to leave Rome immediately. He did not disobey his holiness, and as he was fearful of being arrested, he vaulted on his horse on quitting the Vatican, and gained the open country. He sent a relation of what had occurred at once to Philip, that he might understand that a rupture between the courts of Rome and Madrid, was imminent.

This hatred of Paul to the emperor was increased by the information conveyed to him by the cardinal Caraffa, of a pretended conspiracy organised by the Spaniards, and whose object was an attempt upon his person. He no longer preserved any bounds in his attacks on Charles the Fifth and his son; not being able to reach them, he seized on their partisans; he cast into the dungeons of the inquisition Camillus Colonna, who was accused of favouring the Spanish party; he proscribed his family, and confiscated the property of this illustrious house; he arrested the couriers of the emperor and King Philip, who had to pass through his states, and opened the despatches addressed to the duke of Alba; he then assembled troops and seized on Palliano and Neptune, which belonged to the Colonna.

These first hostilities were followed up by a declaration of war against Charles the Fifth, and the holy father, who wished, after the example of his predecessors, to trample emperors beneath his feet, wrote to him: "That he would rather set the four corners of the world on fire, than yield any thing to him." The duke of Alba, however, who commanded a veteran army, soon invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, and the Spaniards were before the walls of Rome before Paul had dreamed of opposing any resistance to them.

His holiness turned to France, and promised to Henry the Second, the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, if he would promise to enter Italy to repel his enemies; moreover, as the pope knew that his majesty was very superstitious, and might object that the last treaty concluded with the emperor prevented him from taking up arms, under penalty of being regarded by the world as traitorous and perjured, he sent him a bull freeing him from his oaths.

Octavius Farnese, duke of Milan, who was a party to the same treaty, was unwilling to break it, either because he did not believe his conscience in safety, notwithstanding the authority of the pope, or because it was not to his interest to do so, as it was to that of the king of France; he thus incurred the penalty of excommunication, and he was anathematized by Paul the Fourth, on account of his refusal to unite with the French to fight the Spaniards, as he had formerly been by Paul the Third, for refusing to aid the Spaniards in making war on the French.

The sovereign pontiff also threatened King Philip with the ecclesiastical thunders if he did not abandon his pretensions on Naples in favour of his nephews. The prince, who was not desirous of detaching this magnificent

kingdom from his crown, decided on a vigorous measure, and resolved to assemble at Pisa fourteen cardinals who had sold themselves to his agents, and who had promised to declare the election of the pope contrary to the holy canons, and to depose him as an intruder on the Holy See.

An extraordinary event arrested Philip in the execution of this plan; he received the news that his father, Charles the Fifth, had solemnly abdicated and surrendered to him the government of his immense kingdom. Henry the Second, dreading the consequences of a war with this prince, who was, from the emperor's abdication, the most powerful monarch in Europe, hastened to conclude a truce with Spain. But the obstinate pontiff was unwilling to accede to any proposition for an arrangement, and brought all the resources of his policy into play to prevent the conclusion of peace between France and Spain. The holy father first sent his nephew to present to Henry the Second, a sword and hat which had been blessed by him, and at the same time to renew the promise of the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. He then took a solemn engagement to make as many cardinals as his majesty desired, so to assure him a majority in the conclave, and to render certain the election of a French cardinal, if he died before the accomplishment of his vengeance on their common foe.

The cardinal of Caraffa had hardly arrived at Fontainebleau, where the king held his court, when he received information from the Jesuits, the natural spies of the pope, and learned from them, that if he wished to succeed at the court of France, he must obtain the support of the Guises, and flatter their ambition on account of the beautiful Diana of Poitiers, the dutchess of Valentinois, the mistress of the king, who was sold to them, body and soul; and that moreover, he should not neglect to get into the good graces of the marshal Strozzi, the queen's lover.

Caraffa conformed to the recommendations of the Jesuits, and thanks to their advice, he had, in a month after his arrival in France, again brought Henry into the party of the pope, and had induced him to declare war on Spain. He then accompanied the court to Paris, and was so successful in the conferences he had with Diana of Poitiers and Catharine de Medici, that the gallant cardinal became the lover of both of them. Thus when the queen gave birth to twin daughters, it was openly said that the king was a ridiculous husband and lover, and he was much blamed for permitting the cardinal to be the godfather and father of his daughters.

Whilst the nephew of his holiness was advancing his business at the court of France, he was repulsing the Spaniards from his states, and thanks to the intervention of the troops of Henry, he was in a condition to dictate his terms.

As it was his intention to cause division among his enemies, he availed himself of the abdication of Charles leaving the imperial dig-

nity vacant, and declared by turns for Ferdinand and Philip, the two pretenders to the crown of Germany, in order to increase the difficulties. He at first appeared favourably disposed towards Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, and assisted his nomination with the electors to the prejudice of Philip; then when the German princes had proclaimed him the head of the empire, he receded from his first decision and refused to grant an audience to the ambassadors who came to announce it to him, declaring that he did not recognise the new emperor, since the abdication of Charles was not lawful without the authority of the Holy See.

Ferdinand immediately recalled the deputies who had been sent to Rome, and to punish the pope for his insolence, confirmed the diet of Augsburg, which assured the religious liberty of Germany. By way of reprisal, Paul assembled the most skilful theologians among the Jesuits, consulted them upon the measures to be taken concerning Charles the Fifth, and obtained this decision, entirely in conformity with his sentiments, to wit: "That God having given to St. Peter and his successors an absolute authority over the kingdom of heaven and the thrones of the earth, no emperor could lay aside the diadem without the permission of the pontiff,—that Charles had taken the oath of obedience to the Holy See, and could not abdicate without being perjured; that he consequently might be anathematised, interdicted, deposed, and burned as a heretic, if he did not continue to bear the weight of government on his shoulders, as long as the holy father judged it proper for the interests of the Holy See."

Paul then published a bull against Charles the Fifth, explaining at length the motives of God in prohibiting kings from choosing their successors, and concluded with this singular doctrine, that the free disposal of crowns belonged to the popes alone, as the supreme heads of the Christian republic. Such a declaration was equivalent to a manifesto of war, and without longer delay his holiness commenced hostilities against the house of Austria, and arrested, not only the ambassadors of Spain, but also those of England, on the pretext that Philip, having married their queen, they were necessarily in intercourse with the enemies of the Holy See. He levied troops every where and united them with those which the duke of Guise had brought him from France; he even took the protestants of the Grisons into his pay, and when it was represented to him what scandal his admittance of heretical soldiers into his army afforded the faithful, he replied, "What, is it bad? They will fight with the more bitterness to kill our Catholic enemies."

The persecutions against the Colonna were recommenced with extraordinary rigour; the partizans of that family were mercilessly torn from their dwellings, thrown into the prisons of the inquisition, and handed over to the executioners. No day passed in which the great square of Rome was not illuminated by new

funeral pyres raised to consume the victims of pontifical tyranny. Unable to save their friends, Ascagnus Colonna and his son Mark Antony, desired at least to revenge them; they organised bands of Calabrian soldiers, and made incursions up to the very walls of Rome. These bold attacks excited still more the anger of the pope, who was unable to guard against them, his enemies always arriving suddenly and retreating into the territory of Naples when he took the offensive. Not being able to reach the Colonna, he resolved to alarm their protectors, and on the 23d of July, 1556, having assembled the cardinals in consistory, it was decreed, "That his holiness, after having excommunicated and placed under interdict Ascagnus Colonna and Mark Antony, should also prohibit all Christians from giving them assistance and asylum, under penalty of the same censures; that in defiance of this bull the emperor Charles the Fifth and his son Philip, having dared to furnish men and money to these children of perdition, were for that reason excommunicated, interdicted, and deposed, unless they immediately put an end to their relations with these enemies of the Holy See.

This manifesto changed in no wise the progress of affairs; Philip did not appear to be moved, nor Charles the Fifth, who had then retired into a convent. The duke of Alba demanded, with no less energy, the ambassadors whom Paul had thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition, threatening to march on Rome, if they were not immediately surrendered to him. Instead of obeying, the pope prepared to fight; he informed the duke that no fear of danger would prevent him from maintaining the dignity of the tiara; that Christ having confided to him the care of his flock, he knew how to defend it, and that moreover he placed the care of his triumph in the hands of God. Still his confidence in celestial succour was not such as to prevent his making certain useful dispositions in the event of a siege. He distributed arms to the citizens of Rome, divided them into companies, each under the orders of the chief of its quarter; he raised the old walls, furnished several neighbouring fortresses with cannon, and increased their garrisons. Montluc also led three thousand French troops to his aid, and the marshal Strozzi came to take the command of the troops destined for the defence of Rome, until the army he was forming beyond the Alps should enter Italy.

The duke of Alba, informed of all these things, sent to the pope, as a plenipotentiary, Pino Loffredi, marquis of Trevizo, to make a last effort for peace; but the ambassador had scarcely entered Rome, when he was arrested and thrown into the dungeons of the inquisition. This violation of the laws of nations exasperated the duke; he immediately crossed the land of Labour, and marched on the holy city to punish the pontiff. The latter, who was informed of the movement of the hostile army by the Spanish Jesuits, hastened the work on the fortifications, pulled down

churches, razed convents, destroyed cemeteries, and was ready to repel the attacks of the assailants. On the other side, the duke of Guise approached Rome with his division, and came to concert with Paul on the plan of the campaign. As money was wanting, in consequence of the profuse expenditures of the nephews of the pope, and it was necessary to have some to send supplies to the army, his holiness sold at auction ten cardinal's hats, a great number of benefices, and made forced loans from the richest citizens. All these measures occasioned a delay of two months, and when the duke of Guise had obtained means to penetrate into the Abruzzo, to attack the Spaniards, he found that the duke of Alba had turned the flank of the French army, had fallen on the city of Signia, which he had carried by storm, and upon Palliano, which he was pressing vigorously, in order to gain a point on Rome. Whilst the duke of Guise was making war on the Abruzzo, King Henry was defeated at St. Quentin by the English, who had joined the party of the husband of their sovereign.

His majesty was then obliged to recall his army from Italy and leave the Holy See to the mercy of the Spaniards. Paul, irritated against the bigot Mary of England, the cause of the departure of his allies, wrote to her to reproach her for her cowardly complaisance towards her husband; and not being able to avenge himself on her, he let the whole weight of his anger fall on Cardinal Pole, the favourite of the queen. He lanced a decree against all the nuncios in Great Britain, and particularly against the cardinal Pole, whom he called a traitor to the church, because he had been unable to prevent the princess from declaring against France. In vain did the sacred college represent to him that such a step would compromise the authority of the apostolic see in Great Britain; he would not change his determination; he recalled the confessor of Mary, the Jesuit Payton, to the court of Rome, created him a cardinal, and gave him the legation of England. But the queen of England, who had until this time shown a stupid submission to the pope, refused now to obey him, and informed Payton, who was already on the way to his post, that she prohibited him from setting his foot in the kingdom, under penalty of his life. This order so alarmed the Jesuit cardinal, that it brought on a violent fever, of which he died some months afterwards.

The pontiff, however, relented nothing in his persecutions of Pole, and would not consent to listen to proposals for peace, until he found himself pressed by the imminence of the danger and the victories of the duke of Alba; he was even then unwilling to make any concession of his pride. His holiness demanded that the Spanish general should come to ask pardon from him for having pillaged the patrimony of the church, and beseech him, on his knees, to grant him absolution for his faults and those of his master, Philip. The conqueror, who saw that the pontiff was

on the edge of the tomb, consented to this humiliating ceremony, and a peace was signed between Spain and the Holy See. From that day Paul became the enemy of France, of which he had no longer need, and sought to excite troubles in the kingdom, by accusing Henry the Second of favouring the reformed in his capital, and permitting them to hold assemblies.

The following fact gave rise to this extravagant accusation:—"During a night in autumn," says Mezerai, "the Jesuits were informed that about two hundred persons of the reformed religion of Calvin, were praying together in a private hotel in the faubourg St. Germain; they immediately collected a crowd before the house in which the heretics were, exclaiming scandal, abomination. The latter, alarmed by the yells of their enemies, wished to fly, but before they could do so, the doors were broken in, and the Catholics penetrated into their retreat, and arrested more than an hundred of these unfortunate persons, whom they dragged to the dungeons of the officialty."

The disciples of Loyola became their accusers, and produced against them accusations as strange as false; they said that the Calvinists roasted young children, and ate the flesh in their frightful repasts; after which men and women, in the obscurity of the night, were mixed up in horrible embraces; in fine, renewed against the reformed the accusations we have already related, against the ancient sects who separated from the primitive church. These calumnies sent a large number of protestants to the stake; some, however, obtained permission to appear before judges who were not under the influence of the Jesuits, and as, in the interval, the Swiss, the prince Palatine, and several electors, had addressed violent complaints to Henry the Second, threatening to withdraw from him the support of their arms, if he continued to persecute their co-religionists, he had been forced, having need of their assistance, to put an end to the persecutions.

This act of moderation had been loudly blamed by the court of Rome, and the pope, in a public audience which he gave the French ambassadors, did not hesitate to say to them:—"It was natural that affairs went badly in a kingdom, in which rigour was used towards the holy priests, to compel them to reside in their churches, as had been seen in the affair of the Jesuits, and in which the prince carried irreligion so far as to publish ordinances concerning the sacraments, and permitted himself to proscribe clandestine marriages. In fact," added the holy father, "your master inspires so profound a terror in the clergy of the Gallican church, that the ecclesiastics of his kingdom dare not even complain of his tyranny; but we who dread no power on this earth, we will undertake their defence; we will convene them in a general council in Italy, and we will prepare things for the trial of the despot called Henry the Second."

His holiness expressed himself with as lit-

tle restraint concerning Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, who sent ambassadors to him, to inform him of the death of her sister Mary, and to notify him of her advent to the throne.

Paul received the deputies with inconceivable haughtiness; he declared to them, that he did not recognise Elizabeth as queen, since Great Britain was a fief of the Holy See; that the usurpation consummated by this woman was still more impious, as she herself was a bastard and had not the slightest right to the crown. This vapouring of the holy father determined the queen to withdraw from the obedience of the Holy See, and to recall her ambassadors from Rome; but Paul opposed their departure, and prohibited them from quitting his court.

Whilst the sovereign pontiff was so immoderately abusing his spiritual authority, his nephews were equally using, for the interests of their ambition, the temporal power which had been confided to them. Their spoliations became such, that complaints arose from all sides against them. They then wished to prevent the complaints of their victims from reaching the pope, and they surrounded him with creatures who kept him in a kind of private confinement. His holiness, whose impetuous character could not accommodate itself to any restraint, revolted against this excess of boldness, took violent measures against the members of his family, deprived them of all their dignities, and exiled them from Rome.

New ministers were installed in the Vatican, and placed under the presidency of Camillus Orsini and of the cardinals of Trani and Spoleto. Paul the Fourth abandoned to them the government of the church, only reserving to himself the administration of the inquisition, "that impregnable fortress of the papacy," as he called that execrable institution.

Whilst this proud, violent, and cruel old man was becoming embittered against the unfortunate reformed, and was putting them to the torture in the dungeons of the inquisition, the two kings of France and Spain were treating of peace, and were cementing their union by the double marriage of Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Second, with Philip the Second, and of his sister Margaret with the duke of Savoy. This peace was signed at Cateau Cambresis.

On learning the cessation of hostilities, Paul fell into a violent fit of anger and exclaimed, "It is all over with the power of the Holy See, Germany and England are for ever lost to us, and that through the fault of the cardinals, those vampires who think only of their own private interests, and nothing of that of the papacy. May the demons of hell, if there be any, carry them all to hell, with the kings of France and Spain, and with all my relatives! May they leave upon earth but people to oppress, Jesuits to defend me, and Dominicans to serve me." His holiness was in a grievous error, for the two kings had only concluded a treaty to enable them to act with

more efficacy against heresy, and to conform to the pontiff's desires for extermination, which they soon made known by continuing a rigorous persecution of the protestants of their dominions. Henry the Second built heated chambers in all the cities of his kingdom, and Philip introduced legions of inquisitors into the Low Countries. This last prince even sent to Rome a theologian from the university of Louvain, to obtain from Paul precise rules as to the nature of the functions of the tribunals of the holy office, and the crimes of which they were to take cognizance. The sovereign pontiff then recovered some confidence in the success of his plans, and hastened to expedite bulls which authorised the establishment of the tribunals of the inquisition, as well as the regulations which were to be followed by the offi-

cers. His holiness was preparing to give new energy to the persecutions, when a fever of irritation freed Rome, on the 10th of August, 1559.

Scarcely had Paul the Fourth closed his eyes, when the people, no longer restrained by fear, rushed to arms, burned the palace of the inquisitors, delivered the prisoners from the holy office, demolished the new prisons, and even attempted to burn the convent of Minerva, which contained the Dominicans. Throughout the whole city, they threw down the statues of the deceased pope, broke his armorial bearings, and were scarcely restrained from executing a decree made at a meeting of the citizens, which ordered that his dead body should be dragged on a hurdle through the streets of the city, and then be cast into a sink.

PIUS THE FOURTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1559.]

Election of Pius the Fourth—His origin and character—Commencement of his pontificate—Elevation of his family—He persecutes the Caraffa—He recognises Ferdinand, the brother of Charles the Fifth, as the lawful emperor—Bull for the continuance of the synod of Trent—Letter from Catherine de Medicis to the pope—Opening of the new sessions of the council of Trent—League proposed by the pope—Cruelties committed in the city of Orange by the Catholics, at the instigation of his holiness—Council of Trent—Maximilian king of the Romans, refuses to take the oath of obedience to the pope—The king of France protects the queen of Navarre against the pope—Conspiracy of the Spaniards against that queen—France refuses to receive the acts of the council of Trent—Establishment of the Jesuits in that kingdom—Conspiracy against the pope—He labours to enrich his family—Concessions from the court of Rome to the protestants of Germany—Interview of the queens of France and Spain to prepare the extermination of the Calvinists—Death of the holy father.

WHEN the anger of the people of Rome was appeased, the cardinals entered into conclave to give a successor to the fierce Paul the Fourth. Before, however, electing the suffrages, they exacted, according to custom, a capitulation, which the new pontiff was to swear to; it contained these two articles:

"To recognise Ferdinand as emperor, in order to arrest the progress of the schism in Germany.

"To continue the council of Trent to advise on the measures to be taken for stifling the Reformation in France and the Low Countries."

Each member of the assembly having pledged himself to ratify, by oath, all that the capitulation contained, the rein was given to the intrigue, and the pretenders could, at their ease, knit and unknit their schemes according to their interests. The cardinal de Medicis, thanks to his immense fortune, carried it over his competitors, and was proclaimed pontiff by the name of Pius the Fourth.

There is no agreement as to the ancestors of the pope. Some historians affirm that he was of the illustrious family of the Medici of Florence; others maintain that his family oc-

cupied a very low rank in society; that his patrominic was Medequin, and his father's name Bernard. Be that as it may, this Bernard Medequin or Medicis, had married a young girl named Cecilia Serbellon, and had by her six sons and seven daughters. Pius the Fourth, who was the second of their children, had embraced the ecclesiastical state, and had raised himself gradually to the highest dignities of the church, and finally, to the throne of St. Peter.

In the interval which separated his nomination from his coronation, the pope showed clemency and pity. He published a general amnesty, in favour of those who had insulted the memory of Paul the Fourth, and to appease the murmurs of the Jesuits and monks, he offered to repair their colleges and convents at his own expense, and pledged himself to take an account of the losses they had sustained during the troubles; he appeared, in all his actions, to be humble, good natured, patient, and liberal to excess. But as soon as he was consecrated he was an entirely different man; greedy of gold and power, cruel, and debauched, he surpassed even his predecessor in perfidy and crimes.

Moreover, like Julius the Third, who had dishonoured the chair of the apostle before him, Pius the Fourth was very fond of good cheer and wine. The table was, say historians, the only thing for which this pontiff departed from his habits of sordid avarice; for with all his taste for licentiousness, adds the chronicle, he found means to possess the handsomest women, and most beautiful youth of Rome, without its costing him any thing. He was obliged to make them large presents, in order to attract them to the Vatican; but when he had enjoyed them, he put them to the torture, and forced them, by frightful punishments, to give up all they had received. As to his table, it was a different thing; no expense was spared; the rarest dishes, the most exquisite wines, were served up in ridiculous profusion, and the pope did the honours of his feasts so well, that he was carried dead drunk to his apartment every night.

His holiness had, moreover, the misfortune to have a very numerous family, which he wished to provide with benefices, abbeyes, bishoprics, and cardinals' hate, which caused many remarks. But without troubling himself about them, he raised to the post of general of cavalry, his nephew, the count Frederick Borromeo, of the family of Serbellon, and confided to him the most important functions of the state. He gave the archbishopric of Milan to another of his nephews, named Charles Borromeo; he provided a third nephew with the government of the castle of San Angelo; he appointed Gabriel Serbellon, one of his cousins, captain of his guards; he raised to the bishopric of Spoleto the abbe Borromeo, another of his relatives, and, finally, he married to Count Frederick, Virginia, the eldest daughter of the duke of Urbin, and he married one of the sisters of the latter, to Don Cæsar de Gonzagua. "We must," he said to the magistrates of Rome, who besought him to have a little reserve in the distribution of places to his family, "do to-day for my relatives all that is in my power, for to-morrow death may overtake me, and there will be no more time."

In accordance with this principle of not putting off until to-morrow what can be done to-day, his holiness was unwilling to leave with the Caraffa too much authority in Rome, and he determined to rid himself of them, before they rendered themselves too formidable. One day, when the cardinals of this family were assembled with their suite in the consistory, without suspecting that the pope, who owed his election to them, was plotting any thing against them, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by a band of archers, bound, gagged, and carried off to the prisons of the Vatican. At the same time, the palaces of John Caraffa, the count of Montorio, Leonard of Cardino, his brother-in-law, and the count d'Alise, were surrounded by soldiers, and their lords carried off by force, and confined in the castle of San Angelo. Pius the Fourth then commenced proceedings against this family, to compel them

to restore the property and riches they had received from Paul the Fourth; then, as his purpose was to distribute their spoils among his relatives, he condemned them to death, giving, as a pretext for this terrible sentence, that he was determined to leave to the popes his successors, an example which might deter them from nepotism.

Charles Caraffa, after having been degraded from his titles and dignities, was strangled in prison; the count de Montorio, Leonard de Cardino, and the count d'Alise, were beheaded in the court yard of the castle, by the light of torches, and their dead bodies were cast into the Tiber. The young cardinal Alphonso of Caraffa, was alone spared, and purchased his liberty by paying to the pope the sum of a hundred thousand crowns, which he had, very fortunately, deposited out of the church, and on which Pius could not seize without his authority. Still this sacrifice only retarded for a time the death of Caraffa; for three months afterwards he was poisoned by a Jesuit at Naples. These bloody executions inspired such terror in the sacred college, that the cardinals could not sustain the look of Pius without growing pale, as the Roman senators formerly trembled before Tiberius. On his side, the holy father, who doubted the effects of this concentrated hatred, sought to place himself beyond the reach of the vengeance of the princes of the church, by placing himself under the protection of kings.

He first sent to Ferdinand bulls of investiture, and proclaimed him the lawful emperor of Germany, before he had taken any steps on this subject; which so surprised the prince that he feared a snare, and in this apprehension refused to receive the decree of the pope. But when he was assured, that it was a serious matter, he sent to thank the pope for his good intentions towards him, representing, however, that it would be very ridiculous for a pope to give an emperor authority to govern heretics. Pius was then occupied with a demand the king of France had made of him, in regard to the convocation of a national council, which he wished to hold in his kingdom, in order to arrest the progress of Calvinism, and to declare war on the city of Geneva, that hearth-stone of religious rebellions, where, for twenty-five years, were elaborated the great question of reformation and emancipation.

Calvin, who had adopted this city as his second country, had made it the metropolis of the reformed religion, and the centre of a very active trade in books, which were almost all hostile to the court of Rome; he had besides, made it one of the most remarkable cities of Europe for instruction in literature and science. Notwithstanding the multiplied occupations which the civil and political organization of this new republic necessarily gave to Calvin, he did not the less continue his religious preaching; he even gave three public lessons a week in theology; he assisted at all the meetings of the company of pastors, and carried on a correspondence with

mark of submission, by proposing to the deputies to take an oath of obedience in the name of Maximilian, as king of Hungary, which, according to them, they could not refuse to do, since it was incontestable that Ladislaus the First had received this kingdom as a fief from Gregory the Seventh. This concession having been refused, Pius the Fourth went further, so much had he it at heart to appear to be the dispenser of the imperial crown, and he sent to Germany letters of confirmation, which had not been asked for, and in which his holiness declared Maximilian to be the lawful emperor, by virtue of his all power, which supplied any irregularities which might have occurred in his election.

The policy of the pontiff was no more successful in France; Pius the Fourth, informed by the Jesuits that Catherine de Medicis thought of granting peace to the Huguenots, in order not to leave the Guises in command of the Catholic army, and to weaken that family, which had become yet more powerful since the assassination of the duke of Guise, endeavoured to change her resolution, and wrote a long letter of remonstrance to her on this subject. The queen paid no regard to it, and merely replied to the cardinal of Santa Croix, who brought her the despatches from the court of Rome, "Tell your master I have not made peace with the heretics, and that I am preparing for a terrible war with them, and that the day of vengeance will soon come."

This avowal advised the holy father that Catherine was meditating some great project for the extermination of the Huguenots, and he was the more rejoiced at it, as he supposed that nothing would oppose his excommunication of Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, the avowed enemy of the court of Rome. He consequently issued a bull against that princess, assigned to her to appear at Rome to be judged there, proclaiming her to be deprived of her throne in case of disobedience, and giving her estates to the first occupant, that is, to King Philip, who was only awaiting the time to enter Navarre. As the court of France had nothing more at heart than to prevent the family of Spain from establishing itself in these provinces, Catherine found herself compelled to disapprove of the conduct of the pope, and to send a plenipotentiary to Rome, to represent to the sacred college that Jane d'Albret must be regarded as the sovereign of Bearn, and the lawful possessor of the lordships of Albret, Foix, Armagnac, Comines, and Bigone; that she had been recognised as queen by all the princes of Christendom, and, consequently, that none but God could take them from her, and that she could not be in any way brought within the jurisdiction of the Holy See; moreover, that her kingdom being a fief of the crown of France, Charles the Ninth was too much interested in the matter to suffer his provinces to be given to the first occupant, and that the king must assist with his arms, his ally, his vassal, and his near relative, the widow, and the mother of the two first princes of his blood; finally, if the

holy father was unwilling to revoke the proceedings commenced against the king of Navarre, he must not think illy of it, if France interfered in the matter, and used the extreme measures which had heretofore been successful, when the Holy See wished to usurp too much authority over the monarchy.

Pius the Fourth, who dreaded an invasion of the French into Italy, promised to stop all proceedings against the queen of Navarre, which he did ostensibly, though he pursued her no less actively than before in the shade of his audacious efforts. At his instigation, the Jesuits secretly spread themselves through the dominions of this princess, and led her Catholic subjects into a conspiracy, whose object was to seize Jane and her children, and hand her over to the tribunals of the inquisition of Spain, to be condemned as a heretic. This infernal machination was fortunately foiled by the Huguenots, who were informed of it and who took precautions to avert it.

Though once more unmasked, the pope did not abandon his plan of exterminating the reformed, but before taking other steps with the court of France to bring it into a new league, he wished to close the sessions of the council of Trent, and issued, through his creatures, bulls as ridiculous as impious, which this assembly of simoniacal priests declared to be obligatory on all kingdoms. His holiness did not, however, obtain from this measure the success he desired. In Germany they refused to submit to the decrees of the cabal of Trent, and Maximilian the Second placed himself at the head of the opposition.

In France, notwithstanding the efforts of the Jesuits, the acts of this assembly were rejected; the chancellor de l'Hopital demonstrated that the court could not sacrifice the liberties of the Gallic church to the ambition of the pope, without deserving the blame of men, and the accusation of ignorance and cowardice; unfortunately he did not show the same independence in the proceedings which took place shortly after, between the university and the Jesuits. The following was the occasion; these fathers had purchased secretly, from the rector Julian de St. Germain, scholastic letters, that is, authority to keep school with all the privileges of the university. During the temporary magistracy of Julian, they had taught publicly without being disturbed; but after the retirement of their protector, the members of the university assembled in council, and cited before them the Jesuits who had opened a college in the capital. They presented themselves resolutely on the day fixed in the citation, and replied thus to the questions of the new rector. "Are you regular monks? No, for our society is not a religious one, and we are not perfect enough to possess a vocation so holy. Are you secular priests? No, since we live in congregations under certain laws approved by the pope. What are you then? We are Jesuits."

As no other reply could be drawn from these reverends, the university refused to admit them into its bosom, erased the scholastic

letters which had been purchased from Julian of St. Germain, and the affair was then brought before the parliament. Peter Versoris defended the Jesuits, and the advocate Stephen Pasquier spoke in the name of the university. On the pleadings of this latter, the attorney general concluded on the expulsion of the Jesuits, sustaining his decision chiefly on the fact, that these fathers, having taken an oath of obedience to a foreign general, were unfit to be entrusted with the education of French youth. The pope immediately interfered; he wrote to French cardinals, the bishop of Paris, the king and queen; he besought them all to sustain the Jesuits, who were, according to him, courageous soldiers, destined especially to combat the heretics. His legates seconded him so well, that most of the judges were gained, even the first president Christopher de Thou, the brother of the historian. Still the parliament dared not allow them to gain their cause, and only permitted them to employ the heritage of the bishop of Clermont, William Duprat, in the foundation of a college.

The triumph which the fathers had obtained over the university rejoiced the pope the more, as this first success prepared the way for the future execution of an infernal plan, of which he and Catherine de Medicis were alone in the secret, and in which the execrable Charles the Ninth was afterwards associated.

At the same time died Calvin, worn out by study and labour; this intrepid athlète, this implacable adversary of the papacy, died as he had lived, combatting for the intellectual emancipation of the human race. Calvin would unquestionably have occupied the first place among the apostles of the Reformation, if the punishment of Michael Servetus did not show us, that with him the vanity of the writer triumphed over the convictions of the reformer. For disinterestedness, few men have shown a self-denial equal to his; for during his whole life, his annual income did not exceed an hundred and fifty livres in money, twenty-seven bushels of grain, and two tons of wine, and he would never receive more. At his death, when the magistrates took an inventory of his property in books, furniture, dishes, and plates, and money, they found it amounted to the small sum of only one hundred and twenty-five crowns.

Whilst his holiness was rejoicing over his deliverance from so terrible a foe, and dreaming of the mode of taking some advantage from this fortunate event, a plot was then organised against his life; so true is it, that we are never so near danger, as when we think ourselves farthest from it. Peter Accolti, a rich citizen of Rome, had formed a secret society with some of his friends, who were, like him, indignant at seeing their country submitted to the despotism of Pius the Fourth. The conspiracy being organised, Accolti made several efforts, and under various pretexts, to introduce himself into the pontifical palace, to stab the execrable pontiff. But unfortunately one evening his holiness was apprised that he persisted strongly in obtaining an audience.

This awakened the suspicions of the pope; immediately, and by his order, the house of Accolti was surrounded, the doors forced, and the rooms examined; as it was the time when the conspirators met, all his accomplices were seized, bound, and plunged into the dungeons of the inquisition. After having suffered there dreadful tortures, they were burned alive on the great square of Rome, for the edification of the faithful.

Although the plot of Accolti had been ward off, it was the cause of two great sources of grief to the pontiff; one of his nephews, Frederick Borromeo, became seriously ill, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in instituting proceedings against the accused, and died; another of his nephews, the cardinal Charles Borromeo, whom the church has since canonized, after having exhibited an incredible bitterness against the unfortunate conspirators, became horror-stricken at himself, abandoned the court, and retired to Milan, of which he was the archbishop.

Deprived of his dearest nephews, Pius bestowed all his affections on the sons of his sister, Hannibal and Mark Alteams; he gave to the first the government of Rome, and destined the widow of Frederick Borromeo, with a large dowry, for him in marriage. He abandoned to the second, who was already a cardinal, by the title of Sitico, the direction of religious matters, and as he foresaw that he would not have the power long in his hands, on account of the advanced age of his uncle, and his habitual debaucheries, he resolved to profit by the time. He first burdened the people with extraordinary imposts, and laid forced contributions on the nobility and clergy; he publicly sold dispensations and canons; he then borrowed large sums, under the pretext of levying troops, and seized on the sums destined for the equipment of the recruits.

Pius the Fourth, freed from all care and inquietude, reposed from the agitations of his past life, regaling his sight by day with the punishments in the halls of torture of the inquisition, and by night plunging into drunken debauches with his favourites, minions, and mistresses. He was at last drawn from his apathy by the ambassadors of Spain, who, to recall him to a sentiment of his political existence, summoned him to renew his efforts against Germany, and to have the proceedings of the synod of Trent adopted in that country. He then sent nuncios to the court of Bavaria, and to that of Maximilian, to engage the sovereigns of those countries to take steps in conformity with the decisions of the fathers. The duke of Bavaria, Albert the Third, called the Magnanimous, who had been for a long time under the influence of the Jesuits, made no difficulty in receiving the decrees of the pretended œcumenical council, and even declared to the apostolic ambassadors that he intended to massacre three-fourths of his subjects, to constrain them to obey the pope, and re-enter the bosom of Catholicism. He commenced by compelling the professors of Ingolstadt to sign the creed, under penalty of

might, with his own hand, after the example of Samuel and St. Peter, seize the sword and strike his enemies. When the unfortunate man had placed his name to this, they used his own avowals against him, and Pius caused him to be hung before his eyes.

The acts of barbarity which signalled the commencement of this pontificate, produced such alarm, that in less than six months more than a third of the population had abandoned the holy city; and as the cardinals essayed one day in the consistory, to make some remonstrances with Pius, to induce him, for the interest of the church, to show clemency: "No, no," he replied, "we are inexorable; no pity, no mercy for heretics; better to annihilate the present generation, than bequeath error to those which are to come."

In fact, instead of departing from his severity, he became more terrible, and more implacable than ever; and on the mere suspicion that several Calvinist females had enrolled themselves among the prostitutes, to avoid being handed over to the inquisitors, he published an edict enjoining on the courtizans of Rome to marry in less than a month, or to leave the city, under penalty, in case of disobedience, of being publicly whipped by the executioner. This decree was not, however, executed, and the cardinals induced him to revoke it, by representing to him that the forty-five thousand prostitutes who inhabited Rome were necessary for the ecclesiastics, and that if he suppressed the brothels, his clergy would fall into the shameful disorders of sodomy, and that he would, moreover, deprive the apostolic treasury of the most productive source of its revenues. This last consideration determined Pius to substitute for afflictive penalties a simple mark of infamy; he decided that these women should in future dwell in one quarter, and that they should not appear by day or night in the streets of Rome. He preserved to them, however, the privilege of being buried in a consecrated ground, situated near the Flaminian gate, behind the leaning wall called *muro torto*. The holy father also evinced severity towards *torredores*; he prohibited, under penalty of excommunication, those who died in bull fights from being buried in holy ground. Finally, he urged his cruelty so far, as to enjoin on physicians to quit attending the sick who refused to receive the sacraments at the third visit, and to denounce them to superior authority.

Pius the Fifth limited himself to no bounds, that he might make Italy groan beneath the yoke of fanaticism and terror. Already master of Spain, in which reigned Philip the Second, his worthy rival in ferocity, he wished to assure the triumph of the inquisition in the Low Countries, and excited the king of Spain to pursue the heretics of those countries to the utmost. Margaret of Parma, the sister of Philip, and regent of the Low Countries, did her best to second the fury of her brother, and caused many of the reformed to be arrested. But whether the judges tacitly favoured the new doctrines, or whether they discovered

the danger of pushing a warlike people to despair, almost all the accused were set at liberty. In the principal cities of the province, at Tournay, Lille, Valenciennes, the followers of Baius, and of John of Lovain, who were moderate Calvinists, were counted by thousands. Assemblies of five or six hundred persons, protected by the prince of Orange, met ostensibly to sing the psalms of the celebrated Clement Marot, the poet of the French court, and if Margaret of Parma desired to restrain the heretics, or to close the halls which they used for their temples, the people ran to arms and drove away the soldiers.

Philip the Second, at the instigation of the holy father, issued new edicts against the heretics, and ordered the princes and lords of the Low Countries, to have the decrees of the council of Trent adopted in the fiefs dependent on their jurisdiction, under penalty of being deprived of their property and dignities. Instead of being intimidated by this threat, the Flemings determined to rid themselves of Spanish tyranny, and swore to perish to the last man in regaining their independence. A vast conspiracy was formed, under the direction of Philip Maruix, of Sainte Aldegonde, and on the appointed day, more than thirty thousand peasants, burghers, or nobles, assembled in a vast plain without the gates of Brussels, and made several important decisions. At the close of this first meeting, five hundred deputies, having at their head Henry de Brederode, the counts of Nassau, Berg and Culemburg, traversed the city in silence, went to the palace of the regent, and demanded, in the name of the people, to present a request to her.

Margaret, alarmed by such an imposing manifestation, received the envoys with every appearance of kindness, and promised them to suppress the tribunals of the inquisition, and grant them freedom of conscience. But, as they were retiring, the count de Barlemont, her intimate confidant and lover, exclaimed with the insolence of a favourite: "Take courage dutchess, you have only to deal with a crowd of beggars, whom it will be easy to bring to reason." On the next day Brederode seized the word, and proposed to the conspirators, to name their association the confederacy of beggars. The rebels then fastened to their girdles a wooden porringer, and around their neck a medal, representing on one side King Philip, and on the other a wallet; with this motto, "Faithful to the king to beggary." On their side, the Catholics adopted a medal, representing the Holy Virgin with her son in her arms.

Pius the Fifth, informed by Margaret of Parma of this badge, had a ship's cargo of medals made at Rome, which he sent at once to her, with a brief, which granted plenary indulgences to those who wore them, for all the crimes they had committed or might in future commit. His holiness wrote at the same time to the governess, to praise her for the zeal she had exhibited, and to exhort her to be pitiless in the exercise of her power. The

conspirators of Flanders, however, tired of waiting uselessly for the execution of the promises of the sister of Philip, resolved to summon that sovereign to decide the matter, and sent a deputation to him in Spain. The pontiff, informed of this step, sent at once a mandate to Peter Camajan, bishop of Ascoli, his nuncio at Madrid, to watch the deputies of Flanders, and to set every thing to work to induce the king to burn them alive as heretics. The money of the holy father found no difficulty in inducing the sanguinary Philip to adopt a measure in accordance with his morals and his habits; and on the day of the arrival of the deputation of the beggars, the unfortunate Flemings who composed it were arrested, handed over to the tribunals of the holy office, and put to death.

As soon as the news of this atrocious action reached the Low Countries, a general cry of indignation arose against the infamous monarch. Fifty thousand insurgents rose as one man, traversed the boroughs, villages, cities, carrying fire and blood every where, breaking the statues of the saints, pillaging the churches and monasteries, murdering the priests and monks. "In the city of Antwerp," say the Catholic historians, "deplorable scenes occurred; the cathedral was pillaged for three days, and the beggars, not content with destroying the images, used, in derision, the holy oil to smooth their hair and beards. We cannot too much applaud the preaching of the Franciscan, Corneille Adriaensen, and repeat with him 'yes, we must hang, burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle, bury alive, those infamous heretics; we must rip up the stomachs of their women, and crush their infants against the walls, in order to annihilate for ever their execrable race.'" We will add what the Catholic writers have passed by in silence, that the better to kindle the pious ardour of the bigots and fanatics who followed the sermons of Adriaensen, that preacher assembled the youngest and handsomest of both sexes, stripped them of their clothing and whipped them mildly and gently with osier twigs.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the regent, the revolt of the beggars soon became so threatening, that Margaret was compelled to grant liberty of conscience, and suppress the tribunals of the inquisition. From that time, the reformed preached their doctrines freely through all Flanders, and bands of eight or ten thousand religionists left the cities of Tournay, Lille, Valenciennes, and Antwerp, to listen to the preaching of the ministers Hessels and Baius in the open country.

Pius the Fifth, furious at this concession, wrote to Margaret, that she must revoke the edict she had made in favour of the beggars, under penalty of the most terrible censures, and ordered her to march her best troops at once against the rebels. He also wrote to Philip the Second, that he relaxed nothing in his rigour against the heretics of Flanders, and that he would refuse his sanction to the measures of his sister.—"We must make all these wretches swim in a sea of blood,"

added he, in his letter to the prince; "fire and sword must transform those fertile plains and proud cities into deserts, that the faithful may applaud our orthodox zeal, and rejoice in the triumph of the faith." The king of Spain, as usual, obeyed the pope, and sent the duke of Alba into Flanders, at the head of a powerful army, to take the government of that province, and fortified with orders so severe, that the apostolic nuncio wrote to Pius the Fifth, that that sovereign had so much love for religion, that it was necessary to arrest him, rather than to urge him on.

As soon as the duke entered Brussels, the regent placed all her powers in his hands, and left the Low Countries. He, finding himself invested with unlimited authority, wished to exercise it with the rigour which had been commanded him. He immediately created a chamber of justice, which he called the council of troubles, but which the people called the council of blood. He then arrested thousands of citizens, without distinction, and filled the prisons with them; he then proscribed all the nobles, confiscated their property, sold it for the use of the prince, and employed the proceeds in building bastilles, forts, and citadels around the cities, and, finally, when he thought himself beyond the reach of new efforts at insurrection, he proceeded to the execution of the prisoners.

John Vargas, one of the favourites of the new governor, was appointed president of this tribunal of blood, which condemned all the accused without exception, and without regard for sex or religion, since, wrote Philip, all the Belgians deserved death; the heretics for having pillaged the churches, and the Catholics for not having prevented them from doing so. During whole months, gibbets, scaffolds, and funeral pyres covered the public squares of all the principal cities, and each day brought around for the Belgians new executions, or new punishments.

It was computed that in a single day, between the rising and the setting of the sun, the duke of Alba, burned, flayed, and roasted more than six hundred persons. The alarm was every where at its height; the prince of Orange, a great number of lords, and more than thirty thousand Calvinists fled, fortunately, into England, France, and Germany, and escaped death; but those who had not time nor the wish to emigrate, amongst others, the counts of Horn and Egmont, and twenty-three of the most illustrious lords of the nobility of Flanders, were arrested and mercilessly executed.

At last, as the representative of Philip continued his murders and massacres, the emigrant Calvinists determined to free their country from the monster who oppressed it. Seconded by Queen Elizabeth of England, who hated Pius the Fifth, aided by the Huguenots of France, they assembled in arms under the command of the prince of Orange and count Louis of Nassau, his brother, and marched on Brussels. Unfortunately, the duke of Alba, at the head of his veteran and numerous

troops, conquered these intrepid chiefs, and forced them to fall back on France. This victory was attributed, by the Catholics, to the prayers of the pope; Te Deums were chanted in all the churches of Italy, to return thanks to God for the defeat of the heretics; at Rome they illuminated; his holiness even caused cannon to be fired, to celebrate the triumph of the Catholics, and in the effusion of his joy, he sent to the executioner of Flanders a sword and a cap of honour, with this address, "To the glorious conqueror of heresy." The duke of Alba was so pleased with this title, that he had it engraved on the pedestal of a statue which was erected to him at Antwerp.

Flanders subjugated and the heretics crushed, the pope turned his attention to Scotland, where the new doctrines had been proclaimed by parliament the religion of the state. He thought it would be easy for him to bring back the people of this country beneath the pontifical yoke, by flattering the irregular passions of their queen, the beautiful Mary Stuart, the widow of Francis the Second, and again married to a Scotch gentleman named Darnley. He accordingly proposed to give her as much money as she wanted, provided she would erase the decree of her parliament, and would put to death her natural brother, the earl of Murray, a lord named Morton, and her own husband, who had all three been imprudent enough to declare openly against the court of Rome. The queen entered into this bargain the more willingly, as her new spouse was disfigured by the smallpox; and as his beauty alone had procured him the throne, it was natural his homeliness should lose it for him. Mary Stuart then organised an infernal plot with Bothwell, her new favourite, who had succeeded the Italian Rizzio, assassinated in her sight by Darnley. She herself conducted her convalescent husband to a house which belonged to the provost of the college of St. Mary, under a pretence of a change of air, and on the same night she left him, to assist at the marriage of one of her maids of honour, leaving no one with him but a valet de chambre. What occurred during that night? No one knows; only that towards two o'clock in the morning, an explosion was heard, the house of the provost fell down from the explosion of a mine, and when the bodies of the king and his domestic were found, both bore marks of strangulation. Some months afterwards the court of Rome sent three hundred thousand crowns of gold to pay for the festivities of the third marriage of the queen of Scotland with her favourite Bothwell; and a nuncio went towards Scotland with a legion of Jesuits and Dominicans, to organise inquisitorial tribunals. But the Scotch did not permit the two assassins to fulfil the conditions of their infamous treaty; they took up arms every where; a formidable insurrection broke out at all points at once, and an army besieged Mary and her accomplice in the castle of Bothwick. At the very moment they were about to be forced in this retreat, they received succour

from without and facilitated their flight. Mary threw herself into the fortress of Dunbar; Bothwell escaped to the Orkneys, and went to Norway, where he died miserably.

When the nuncio was informed of these events he was at Ansero and preparing to embark for Scotland; fear of danger caused him promptly to renounce his mission; he hastened to retrace his steps, with his horde of inquisitors, and returned to Italy. Pius the Fifth, furious at having spent so much money only to murder a king, when he desired the extermination of a people, would no longer hear of Mary Stuart, and abandoned her to her unfortunate fate.

His holiness had however found in France a compensation for this check; the general of the Jesuits, Laynez, had been dead for two years, and his successor Borgia, duke of Candia, one of the descendants of the infamous pope, Alexander the Sixth, had marvellously restored the situation of affairs in that country.

In order to obtain an idea of the folly, fanaticism, and ignorance of this new chief of the Jesuits, it is only required to read the strange discourse he delivered on the day of his election. Among other things he said, "The favour I beseech you to grant me, most reverend fathers, who have made me your chief, is to use me as muleteers use their beasts of burthen; they are not content with placing on their backs the load they are to bear, they still direct them. If they stumble, they solace them; if they go not fast enough they whip them; if they fall down they raise them. I wish to be truly your beast of burthen; use me then as these animals are used, that I may be enabled to say, 'I look upon myself as an ass in your company.' Raise up, then, your beast by your prayers; if it goes too slowly, excite it by your charitable advice; finally, if you see me bend beneath the burthen of my charge, remove the weight of my panniers." Pius the Fifth soon discovered what advantage he might derive from such a general; thus he spurred him on unceasingly to give a more active impulse to the society; and soon, thanks to his efforts, the disciples of Loyola spread themselves through all the provinces of France, organised brotherhoods of penitents, congregations of devotees, into which princes, lords, barons, and burghers entered, all pledged, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to live and die for the defence of the Catholic faith; all sworn on the consecrated host, to sacrifice their property and their lives to protect it, to extend and avenge the Roman religion; finally, all swearing, between the hands of the chief of these partial associations, to obey blindly the orders which were transmitted to them in the name of the pope. Whoever refused to enter one of these fraternities, was declared an enemy of God, and as such the Jesuits designated him for the daggers of fanatics.

As soon as these religious societies had taken a certain development, the holy father resolved to use them to form a vast league which should embrace all France; he

then informed Charles the Ninth, through the cardinal Lorraine, that he was unwilling to endure much longer that the Calvinists should outrage God by praying in their houses; that he consequently recalled the solemn engagements which he had entered into with the glorious duke of Alba at the interview of Bayonne, and the promise his mother had made in his name to exterminate all the protestants of his kingdom. The king replied that he entered fully into the views of the court of Rome, and that he was as anxious as his holiness to put an end to the Reformation, and that he only waited for a favourable moment to strike a great blow. But things transpired otherwise than as he hoped. Instead of waiting for the Catholics to attack them, the Huguenots, whose distrust had been excited by the armaments of the court, became the assailants, assembled under the orders of the prince of Condé and commenced hostilities. In fifteen days they carried fifty places, pushed their success as far as Monceaux, where the court was, and evinced a disposition to carry off the young monarch. A panic seized the courtiers, and they all fled with the cowardly Charles the Ninth, and cast themselves into Meaux, from whence they reached Paris, under the protection of six thousand Swiss and the light horse of the guard. As soon as the bulk of his army arrived, they commenced the blockade of Paris, to starve it; for this purpose he burned the mills, made himself master of the Seine, and placed garrisons in the neighbouring chateaux to intercept the convoys of provisions which were arriving by land. This measure produced the result the reformed expected; the people, brought to bay, murmured and threatened to open the gates of the city to the prince. In this extremity the king determined to make a sortie in person to repulse the Huguenots and free his capital; he still however remained prudently with the rear guard, so as not to expose his person, and gave the command of the troops to the constable, Anne de Montmorency. The action was fought with equal fury on both sides; but the constable having been mortally wounded, the day was decided in favour of the Calvinists, Charles fled at full speed to Paris, and the Catholic soldiers, following his example, abandoned the field of battle.

The prince of Condé, without loss of time, moved his camp nearer, and enclosed the place so that it was no longer possible to afford it any succour. Catherine de Medicis then demanded a conference with the besiegers; she offered to grant them the free exercise of the reformed religion throughout the kingdom; she engaged to pay the arrears due to the German troops, and employed threats and promises so well, that she induced the Huguenot leaders to sign a peace. This treaty, imposed on them by circumstances, did not satisfy either the court, or Catherine de Medicis, or Pius the Fifth, who saw his plans of extermination annihilated; thus the Catholics made no scruple at not observing its clauses, and the Jesuits continued as before, to make

the chairs in the schools and the pulpits in the churches, resound with furious declamations against the heretics. Catherine de Medicis and Charles the Ninth, excited assaults upon the reformed and encouraged assassinations, so that in less than three months, more than ten thousand of the reformed fell victims to these hateful manœuvres.

Urged on by despair, the latter retook their arms, equipped a fleet, and sent to ask for aid from the queen of England and the princes of Germany. On his side, the pope spared no pains to render the war between the Catholics and protestants most bloody. He sent large sums to Catherine de Medicis, to assist her in levying troops, and also a body of Italian cavalry, to reinforce her army. Some generous citizens, among others the chancellor de l'Hospital, represented to the king, that he was obeying, without knowing it, the suggestions of the court of Rome; that it was impolitic for a sovereign to exterminate his subjects for the interests of the pope, and that the safety of his kingdom demanded toleration. But this beardless monarch, this fanatical devotee, was unwilling to listen to any advice; he drove these virtuous men from his presence, took the seals from the chancellor, and exiled him from the court.

Freed from the inconvenient supervision which the chancellor de l'Hospital exercised over them, the Jesuits gave a new impulse to the religious associations which they had organised in all parts of the kingdom. Catherine de Medicis entered into an arrangement with them, so as to give more unity to her plans, and sent, through them, to the heads of the fraternities, the form of an oath, by which each of them bound himself to obey no orders but those of the king, and to abstain from any enterprise which had not his formal sanction. She then issued a decree prohibiting the Huguenots from assembling for worship, under penalty of death.

Charles the Ninth, still at the instigation of his mother, issued a second edict, which enjoined on the reformed to abstain from their employments; and the parliament of Paris, in verifying this decree, had the cowardice to add, that from henceforth no one should be admitted to the magistracy, who did not first swear to live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith. These obligations were even imposed on the university, and by order of his majesty, the doctors of the four faculties were held to swear absolute obedience to the wishes of the pope, with their right hand on the gospel and their left on a crucifix.

When the royal army was in a situation to keep the field, the marshal Saulx de Tavannes took the command of it, though the title of generalissimo had been given to the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, a young debauchee of sixteen. The Catholic army first endeavoured to seize the prince of Condé and the admiral Coligny; but these two leaders, warned in time, escaped from the troops which had been sent against them and took refuge in Ro-

chelle, the bulwark of the Calvinists, where they found the succours which had been sent to them from Germany and England.

The Huguenots then took the offensive, and though inferior in number to the Catholics, they thrice offered them battle. Unfortunately, numbers prevailed over courage, and in these two days the reformed met with terrible losses. At Jarnac, Louis of Bourbon, prince of Condé, was slain with ten thousand of his co-religionists. At Moncontour, more than twenty thousand protestants remained upon the field. On this last day, the Catholics showed so much cruelty, say the chronicles, that they massacred entire bodies who had laid down their arms; and if they made some prisoners, it was because they were tired of murdering. Pius the Fifth blamed the marshal de Tavannes very much, however, for sparing a single life, and to repair this fault he wrote at once to the king of France:—"In the name of Christ, we order you to hang or behead the prisoners whom you have made, without regard to learning, rank, sex, or age, without human respect or pity. Since it is well known that peace can never exist between the sons of Satan and the children of light, this race of impious wretches must not in future be permitted to multiply. Exterminate to the last these wicked heretics; the holocaust most agreeable to God, is the blood of the enemies of the Catholic religion; make it flow in floods upon his altars; and if you do not obey, remember the fate of Saul and the vengeance which that prince drew upon himself, because he did not put the king of the Amalekites to death."

In consequence of these recommendations, his majesty sent an order to the generalissimo of his army to put all his prisoners to death; which was done. The duke de Montpensier, one of the Catholic leaders, not having the courage to put to death the unfortunates who were entrusted to his keeping, handed them over to his almoner, the Jesuit Babelot, to do as he pleased. This wretch had the cruelty to trample children at the breast beneath his feet, to have the females violated, and to murder them himself, whilst the soldiers were assuaging their execrable licentiousness upon them; as for the men, he had them merely flayed alive or burned.

Pius the Fifth thought that the protestant party was ruined in France by the battle of Moncontour, and that the king could do the work alone; he then recalled the count de Santa Fiore, who was a burthen on his treasury. The entry of these troops into Rome, was celebrated as in the triumphal days of the generals of the republic. His holiness went, with all his clergy, two miles to meet them; he then had the flags taken from the Calvinists suspended in the church of St. John of the Lateran, and terminated the ceremony by announcing the end of heresy, and the triumph of Catholicism as certain.

Notwithstanding the predictions of the pope, the reformed, whom he had regarded as crushed, raised their heads and re-established their

affairs so successfully, that the court trembled anew for the issue of the war. Then Catherine de Medici, who dreaded to be besieged in Paris, had recourse to negotiations, and offered peace to the reformed with such advantageous conditions, that they would not have been able to impose others, even had their party triumphed over the Catholic army. Besides a general amnesty, they obtained the free exercise of their religion, the restitution of confiscated property, the privilege of presenting six judges in parliament, and the choice of four strong cities, with power to place garrisons in them.

It is just to say, that the fear which the Huguenots inspired, was not the sole motive for peace. The emperor Maximilian the Second, had made it one of the conditions he had imposed on the court of France, in exchange for his consent to the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth of Austria, with Charles the Ninth. The cessation of hostilities again excited great discontent at Rome, and the holy father even dared to express his sentiments on the subject to the French ambassador, and to threaten the queen mother and her son, with excommunication, if they did not keep the oath they had taken to organise a vast conspiracy, to exterminate all the heretics of their kingdom. Catherine de Medici and the cowardly Charles the Ninth, hastened to write to his holiness, that they had not renounced their plans, and were only taking their measures, so that none of their enemies could escape them.

Pius the Fifth appeared to be satisfied with the assurances they gave him, he blamed, however, the respect shown to Henry of Navarre, the admiral Coligny and the young Condé, and disapproved of the concessions which had been made to the heretics. Then, in order to punish Maximilian, whom he regarded as the principal author of this peace, he interfered in a question of precedence between the dukes of Ferrara and Florence, and which had been submitted for some years to the arbitration of the emperor, and usurping a right which did not belong to him, he decided the affair in the following bull:—"We, Pius the Fifth, the successor of the apostle Peter, the vicar of Christ, seated on the elevated throne of the church militant, and set by the Lord over nations and kings, order that our dear son, Como de Medici, should wear a royal crown, and be called grand duke of Tuscany, by virtue of the supreme authority with which we are invested, and which gives us the right to distribute titles to princes, in the same manner that our first father Adam received from God the right to give names to animals." Maximilian, who did not share in the belief of the holy father on this subject, protested against this bull, and called his two vassals to his tribunal. Como de Medici, in whose favour the decree was, declared the matter to be adjudicated, and refused to appear before his sovereign; the result was, a war between the two princes. This success emboldened the holy father, and determined

him to strike a great blow, not in Germany, but in England; the object was no less than to have Queen Elizabeth assassinated, and to place the triple crown of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the brow of Mary Stuart, then a prisoner in the castle of Fotheringay, and who was pledged by oath, to re-establish the Catholic religion in Great Britain. The Jesuits mutually entered into the views of the holy father, and organised a vast conspiracy. Unfortunately for them, on the eve of its execution a traitor sold them, and all paid with their heads for their participation in the plot. Pius the Fifth, furious at finding his plans discovered, immediately fulminated a bull against Elizabeth; he declared her excommunicated, freed her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave her kingdom to the first occupant.

This bold excommunication was affixed by John Felton, to the doors of the episcopal palace of London, and this intrepid disciple of Loyola, obtained as a recompense, the crown of martyrdom. An order of Elizabeth then declared all Jesuits banished from the kingdom, under penalty of death, if they dared to re-appear. Notwithstanding this edict, these courageous satellites of the Holy See, remained in Great Britain, concealed under different disguises, and ready to execute the orders of their general. Thus, before such devotion, Pius exclaimed, "Yes, with such men, will I triumph over kings, and exterminate people, if God will only grant me some years of life." In fact, the power of this society had so increased, that it threatened to substitute itself for the secular authority every where. In the Low Countries, thanks to the protection of the ferocious duke of Alba, the Jesuits had founded a colony at Anvers, and laboured openly for the ruin of Flanders and Holland. In Portugal, they had taken the regency from Queen Catherine, to give it to Cardinal Henry, who was affiliated with their society, and had even forced King Sebastian to take a member of their order as his preceptor, and another as his confessor, and the grand inquisitor as his minister. When this young prince, arrived at the age of manhood, wished to make an effort to free himself from odious tutelage, they threatened to burn him alive as a heretic, and became stronger than ever. In Germany, they had been enabled to establish colleges, notwithstanding the active opposition of the people, and although they were convicted of practising sodomy on the children confided to their care. In Spain they had become so powerful, that Philip the Second, fearful of displeasing them, authorised them to abandon themselves to strange and frequently obscene practices.

If any other than a Jesuit had left us an account of the means they employed to excite terror in the hearts of the faithful, we would accuse him of calumny; but it is a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, Father Orlandino, who speaks, "at certain festivals during the year, we traversed the streets by night, exclaiming in lugubrious and prophetic tones, 'Hell, hell,

for men and women, who are now committing the sin of licentiousness.' In other solemnities our superiors order us, through a spirit of humility, to despoil us of our garments, and to go from door to door asking alms; we pay our devotions from church to church, without garments, flagellating each other, whilst the young novices thunder forth psalms."

In Sicily, adds another historian, they gave every year the spectacle of an allegorical procession, of which the subject was the power of death over all creatures. "On that day, all the Jesuits formed an immense troop; in front they carried a great image extended on a coffin; around this effigy of the Saviour, marched four ranks of angels, virgins, and saints, represented by lads or young girls, having no clothing but wings or garlands of flowers; behind them came lean and meagre horsemen, entirely naked, and mounted on horses without bridle or saddle; then came Death, represented by a skeleton of more than a hundred feet high, holding a scythe in his right hand, carrying a bow and arrows on his shoulders, and having shovels, mattocks, and all the implements of a grave digger at his feet. This gigantic skeleton was placed on a car, decorated with black drapery, and drawn by twelve bulls, which the dean of the Jesuits, who represented Time, conducted. Other fathers, disguised as demons, surrounded the car, uttering terrible cries, and brandishing torches of rosin. Behind the car of Death pressed a crowd of spectres, representing all the conditions of life, and monks who sung hymns of death."

In Venice the Jesuits were held in great honour, and had it not been for their ardour in confessing women and young girls in their private apartments, it is probable they would have maintained it; but their great zeal in administering the sacrament of penance to the young dames, drew on them the hatred of the senators; and the doge having learned that his wife had been called to her confessor three times in one day, to obtain absolution from him, it was decided by the supreme council of Ten, that they should be expelled from its territory. They left it, to retire to Milan, to Charles Borromeo, the archbishop of that city, who avowed himself their protector, and gave them the direction of a college at Braida, and the control of a seminary, until they could return to Venice.

In the dominions of the duke of Savoy they had seized on all employments, and could, with impunity, violate women, or use young boys in their infamous pleasures. Moreover, one of them, Father Possevin, had placed himself at the head of bands, paid by the money of the pope, and was executing severe justice on the heretics of the dutchy. They triumphed in Poland, Sweden, and Norway; every where, in fine, they knew how to exercise their execrable sway, by becoming the confessors of princes and lords, and by selling their secrets to the court of Rome.

Pius the Fifth, finding himself so well served by his cohorts of Jesuits, conceived the plan

of renewing the massacres of the Sicilian Vespers through all Europe, and of annihilating, at one blow, all the enemies of the Holy See. He accordingly wrote to Charles Borromeo, to employ himself in organising bands of murderers in Piedmont and Switzerland; he sent the cardinal Commandon to Poland to make overtures to Sigismund Augustus for the same end; he hastened his nephew, Cardinal Alexandrin, to the court of France, to arrange with Charles the Ninth on the means of exterminating the Calvinists of his kingdom; another legate went to Portugal, and another to Madrid, to induce those two sovereigns to enter this sacrilegious league. Venice even, could not resist the fatal influence of the court of Rome; she recalled the Jesuits, and they, from gratitude, organised a plot, and prepared to make rivers of blood to flow. Germany alone resisted the general impulse; Maximilian refused to associate himself in this work of iniquity, not from a sentiment of humanity, but from prudence, and because he felt a lively resentment towards the pope, for having pronounced judgment in the question of precedence between the dukes of Ferrara and Florence. Pius the Fifth was so enraged at being unable to surmount this last obstacle,

which alone prevented him from putting his monstrous plot into execution, that he was attacked with a nervous fever, of which he died on the 1st of May, 1572, at the age of sixty-eight.

His death was a subject of joy for Italy, and especially for Rome. In one day, the holy city, which had been almost deserted, saw thousands of emigrants re-enter it; all the citizens embraced and congratulated each other on having escaped the terrible scourge which had decimated the population.

Still the sanguinary Pius the Fifth, that monster, who, according to the historian de Thou, had improved in refinements of punishments on the fabulous ferocity of Proustes and Gergon; that pope who had the execrable glory of surpassing the atrocities of the Neros, the Caligulas, the Domitians, and the Galbas; that executioner of humanity; that murderer of women, children, and old men; that organizer of the most frightful plot which has alarmed the world, of that Saint Bartholomew, which, four months later, was to cover France with a hundred thousand corpses, has found priests who have made a saint of him, and who, after having canonised him, have held him up as an example for the kings of Europe.

GREGORY THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1572.]

Election of Gregory the Thirteenth—His history before his pontificate—The massacre of St. Bartholomew—Discourse of the cardinal Montalto on it—Fetes and rejoicings at Rome in honour of it—Gregory receives the head of the admiral Coligny at a public audience—He continues the work of Pius the Fifth—Organization of the league—Gregory conspires against Elizabeth of England—Revolt in Ireland—The Jesuits endeavour to foment troubles in England—Philip seizes the crown of Portugal—New edict of Elizabeth against the Jesuits—The pope is occupied with the interests of his bastard—He labours to reform the calendar, and causes the Gregorian calendar to be adopted in Europe—He calls the knights of Malta before his tribunal—His admonition to the archbishop of Cologne—Famine and seditions at Rome—Quarrel between the courts of France and Rome—The pontiff wishes to excommunicate the princes of Navarre and Condé—His death.

As soon as the ferocious Pius the Fifth had breathed forth his last sigh, the Camerlingo took measures to prevent the people from forcing the gates of the palace and carrying off the dead body, to drag it through the streets of Rome, which they would not have failed to do, so great was the hatred this monster inspired. After the obsequies, the conclave formed, and the intrigues began; it was soon seen that the Spanish party had the majority. The candidates proposed by Charles Borromeo, and the cardinal Alexandrin, were all successively defeated, and the suffrages were given to the cardinal Buoncompagno. Monseigneur de Verceil then went to the chamber of this cardinal, took him by the hand, besought him to follow him to the chapel of the conclave, there to receive the adoration, and imme-

diately proclaimed him sovereign pontiff, by the name of Gregory the Thirteenth.

The new pope was born at Bologna, about the beginning of the sixteenth century; his father was named Christopher, and his mother Agniola Marescalchi. He at first studied the law, and obtained the grade of doctor at the age of twenty-eight; he then taught as a professor in the university of his native city until 1539. At that period he renounced his professorship, to embrace the ecclesiastical state, which was in fact much more lucrative, and led more quickly to honours and power. He came to Rome, and obtained from Paul the Third the post of abbreviator, then that of keeper of the seals; it was in this capacity that he assisted at the council of Trent. As a recompense for the services he rendered the

Holy See in this assembly, the pope appointed him auditor of the chamber; Julius the Third afterwards raised him to the post of secretary of the apostolic chamber, and gave him a vice legation in the territory of Rome. During the reign of Paul the Fourth he bought the dignity of bishop, and finally, under the pontificate of Pius the Fourth, he became rich enough to pay for a cardinal's hat.

The first use which he made of the supreme power was, to grant to the envoys of France a dispensation, which was solicited by Charles the Ninth, for the marriage of his sister Margaret with Henry of Navarre. "This union," the king had said to Cardinal Alexandrin, the nephew of Pius the Fifth, "assures to us more than ever, the success of our plans for the extermination of the heretics."

Indeed, Catherine de Medicis, and her execrable son, far from having abandoned their criminal designs, waited but for the moment when they could finish with their enemies by a general massacre. To attain this, they stopped at nothing; knavery, deceit, treason, every thing was set to work. At last, to draw the chiefs of the Huguenots into their power, they had proposed to Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, to marry the prince of Bearn, her son, to Margaret of Valois; and they offered to admiral Coligny, to place him at the head of an army of invasion, destined to conquer the Low Countries from Philip the Second. Seduced by all these marks of confidence, the Huguenots abandoned their habitual reserve, and came to Paris; the admiral himself, flattered in his vanity, came to court, without paying regard to the advice of his friends to distrust the Guises. The queen of Navarre followed his example, yielded to the solicitations of the king, and came also to Paris, to assist at the wedding of her son. The welcome she received, the infinite attentions, the marked courtesies of which she was the object from Catherine de Medicis and Charles the Ninth, served to dissipate her apprehensions, and she abandoned herself in full security to the carresses of her assassins. Twenty days afterwards she died from poison.

Henry of Navarre, become king by the death of Jane, scarcely waited until the funeral of his mother was over, when he consummated his marriage with Margaret of Valois.

At last, all having been prepared for the extermination of the Huguenots, on a fixed day, couriers were despatched in all directions, and bore secret orders to the governors of the provinces; then, on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, a night for ever memorable, at a signal given from the Louvre, troops of murderers rushed upon the houses inhabited by the protestants, and in less than forty-eight hours, thirty thousand French, men, women, children, and old men, fell beneath the blows of these wretches.

In the provinces the butcheries were prolonged for two months, and more than seventy thousand Calvinists were assassinated by the Catholics. Thus was accomplished the infernal work which the sainted pope, Pius the Fifth, had prepared with so much solicitude.

This general massacre of the Huguenots, followed so closely on the election of Gregory the Thirteenth, that it was destined to serve as a fête for his coronation. The pontiff received the news with inexpressible joy; he caused the cannon in the castle of San Angelo to be fired, commanded public rejoicings to celebrate the triumph of the holy cause, and then published a jubilee through Europe, "in order," he said, "that the Catholics might rejoice with their head at that magnificent holocaust offered to the papacy by the king of France."

When the envoys of Charles the Ninth reached Rome, his holiness wished that they should hand to him, in a solemn audience, the letters of the court of France, and the strange present which Catherine de Medicis sent him. "It was the head of the admiral Coligny," says Brantome, "whom the mother and son, those crowned murderers, had sundered from his noble body, and which they sent to the pope, as the most agreeable offering they could make to the vicar of Christ."

Gregory received this head with transports of ferocious joy, and in testimony of his gratitude to the king, he sent him a magnificent blessed sword, on which was represented an exterminating angel. The cardinal Flavius Orsini was, on this occasion, appointed legate à latere for the kingdom of France, and was commissioned to prevent the prince from leaving the path on which his mother had induced him to enter. Then every where, in the churches of Italy, at Rome, Naples, Florence, and even Venice, yet always at the instigation of the Jesuits, the preachers thundered forth a concert of extravagant eulogiums on the king of France and the queen mother, in order to excite the fanaticism of other sovereigns. Ecclesiastics were found, who, in their sermons, went into extacies over the infinite mildness and merciful clemency of the murderer of the Huguenots, admired the skill and persevering obstinacy which he had exhibited in carrying out a plot, which was, according to them, the most glorious, most sublime, and most extraordinary exploit which had ever been accomplished by kings. "Oh! admirable resolution," exclaimed one of these furious preachers, in a moment of inspiration, "Oh, truly royal soul! glory, eternal glory to Charles the Ninth, the greatest of kings, who did not recoil before the massacre of his subjects! may his name descend to posterity with the admiration it inspires in me, and may his example be followed by all the princes of the earth."

Gregory, desirous of perpetuating the memory of this bloody triumph, called to him the most skillful painters, and ordered from them several pictures representing different episodes of the St. Bartholomew. Amongst other things, there were represented in the hall called the Hall of the Kings, in the Vatican, three frescos; the first represented the time when the admiral Coligny was assailed on leaving the Louvre; the second represented a scene of carnage by the light of torches, and the third showed Charles the Ninth presiding

over parliament, and glorifying himself for having exterminated a hundred thousand French heretics.

Whilst the holy father and his cohorts of Jesuits were exalting the virtues of Charles the Ninth and his infamous mother, the Spaniards were continuing their ravages in Flanders, and were committing such atrocities, that it appeared as if the duke of Alba had sworn to surpass the king of France himself.

Malines was abandoned to pillage for three days, and the soldiers committed excesses, before unknown, on the unfortunate inhabitants; to the sack of this city succeeded the massacres of Zutphen and Haerden; after the ruin of these unfortunate towns, took place the butchery of Harlem, in which more than ten thousand Belgians were slain on the ramparts, nearly two thousand burned or tortured, and double that number drowned in the river, the executioners having no longer strength to murder. At last blood flowed so abundantly, that the cruel Philip himself wished to suspend the executions, from fear lest his terrible governor should finish by annihilating the entire population, and he recalled the duke of Alba to Spain. It is said, that this monster before quitting the Low Countries, boasted, at a sumptuous banquet which he gave his officers, of having put death more than a hundred thousand Belgians by the swords of his soldiers, with having tortured or beheaded twenty thousand, and with having stolen from the inhabitants more than eight millions of ducats yearly.

Gregory the Thirteenth, faithful to the encroaching policy of the Holy See, was not content with the mere defeat of the heretics; he wanted his share of their spoils, and to have the decrees of the council of Trent adopted in France, which had been until now rejected by the parliament, as prejudicial to the national liberties. But the urgency of his holiness became baneful to the cause of Catholicism; the pretensions of the court of Rome excited a general discontent; the Huguenots profited by it to retake the offensive, and when Catherine de Medicis thought them crushed, they rose every where, fell upon the cities which were ungarrisoned, fortified them, and announced that they were going to the Louvre to demand a terrible reckoning for the massacre of their brethren.

Charles the Ninth, justly alarmed by these threats, became cowardly and suppliant before those whom he had just endeavoured to murder; he threw the horrors of the St. Bartholomew on the Guises and the court of Rome; he employed solicitations and promises with the reformed; he ordered the confiscated property to be restored to them, notwithstanding the opposition of the legate, who claimed a part of it for the Holy See, and even offered to declare himself the protector of the reformed religion.

The Huguenots, who knew from experience the value to be set on the oath of a king, refused to lay aside their arms, and the war commenced terribly. The duke of Anjou,

with a formidable army, came to lay siege to Rochelle, the bulwark of the protestants, but at the first assault was repulsed with the loss of more than twenty thousand men, although his troops were much superior in number to the protestants. In his retreat, the prince, like a worthy brother of Charles the Ninth, revenged himself, for his disgrace, on the unfortunate city of Saucerre, whose inhabitants he put to the sword. He would, doubtless, not have been content with the massacre of a single city, if he had not been recalled to Paris by his mother, Catherine de Medicis, to receive the crown of Poland, which deputies from that kingdom had come to offer him.

The pope, who knew the depraved character of Henry of Anjou, a mixture of baseness, fanaticism, and cruelty, hastened to send him a nuncio, to congratulate him on his election, and on the massacre of the heretics of Saucerre. He offered him, at the same time, a rose of gold, in testimony of his high esteem, and to encourage him to show himself a worthy son of the church, by subjecting his new subjects to the court of Rome. The duke of Anjou then went to his kingdom of Poland. The queen mother then finding herself alone in opposition to the Guises, and fearing lest they should have too much power in the kingdom, took the side of Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and showed herself favourable to the reformed. This conduct naturally discontented the legate, who leagued himself with the cardinal Lorraine. He promised him, in the name of the holy father, to favour the family of the Guises, and aid them in their plans of usurpation, should the throne become vacant by the death of Charles the Ninth, which his constant sickness rendered probable, if, on their side, they would pledge themselves to employ all their efforts to make the papacy triumph over the heretics. These conditions being agreed to, the Jesuits at once received orders from their general, to work under the direction of the cardinal Lorraine, "that debaucher of women," as Brantome calls him, "that grand master of lewdness, who by largesses, flatteries, or promises, secured, ensnared, or debauched all the girls or women who came to court."

He pursued the old plans of the league with more ardour than ever; and to increase the number of the affiliated, they gave a political and religious aim to the association. The Guises accordingly engaged "to restore to the provinces of the beautiful kingdom of France, the old rights, pre-eminences, franchises, and liberties, as they existed in the time of king Clovis." . . . and even yet better and more profitable, if they could invent them.

When all the articles of this new compact were agreed upon, the cardinal of Lorraine sent them to Gregory the Thirteenth, to obtain his sanction, and to cause him to have them adopted by the legions of monks and priests who covered France.

Soon, in all the churches, nothing was preached but the necessity of a league against the protestants. The priests exacted from

their penitents that they should join this holy association; they represented it as the only way of safety, and refused to grant absolution to those who were not inscribed on the list of the affiliated. It was under these circumstances, that the execrable Charles the Ninth surrendered his infamous soul to the devil. Before dying, he had appointed his mother regent of the kingdom, and confided the sovereign authority to her. But Henry of Anjou did not leave the power long in her hands; as soon as he heard of the death of his brother, he abandoned his kingdom of Poland, and returned to France, where he was crowned by the name of Henry the Third.

The pope did not appear to be troubled by this change of sovereigns; he let the Guises manage matters, and was occupied in organising new massacres in other places, in order to advance what he called the extirpation of heresy. For this purpose he furnished large sums to Philip the Second and the emperor, to place them in a condition to render the papacy triumphant in Germany and the Low Countries; he gave a hundred thousand ducats to the archduke Charles, for the same purpose—as many to the knights of Malta, and seven thousand ducats to the duke of Brunswick.

As his holiness was impatient to see the war re-kindled between the Catholics and Calvinists of France, he then offered four hundred thousand crowns of gold to Henry the Third, that he might second the views of the court of Rome. The prince took the money, and promised all that was required, without, however, advancing matters any; for, instead of levying troops, and placing himself in a condition to make war, he continued to spend the treasures of the nation in female ornaments, jewelry, laces, feasts, carousels, masquerades, and orgies. Thanks to the infamous Catherine de Medicis, the court of France had become a sink of impurities, in which hypocrisy disputed with licentiousness, and the most ignoble saturnalia succeeded burlesque representations of devotion. The young lords lived together in scandalous intimacy, had witnesses to their strange amours, and intrigued for the illustrious honour of being distinguished by the king, and of sharing his bed. There was nothing going on but duels, rapes, adulteries, murders, and incendiarism; there were only balls, feasts, and orgies, at the end of which, Henry the Third, with his court of minions, traversed the fairs, markets, and public squares, insulting women and girls, offering violence to young boys, and striking with their daggers, fathers or mothers who dared to defend their children.

Then, to do penance, those debauchees clothed themselves in red, black, white, green, or blue frocks, and hoods, and went to the churches to pay their devotions. After this, they went, young and old, to the astrologers and diviners; the old to buy talismans which should make their mistresses love them, the young to have philters composed, which

should rid them of old husbands; for, at this period of demoralization, all men or women made no scruples at using a dagger or poison to rid themselves of a rival. Thus, the duke of Guise did not hesitate to stab, even in the antechamber of the king, a gentleman whom he had surprised with his mistress; Villequier had the boldness to kill, in the midst of the Louvre, his wife, big with child, whom he had found in his own bed with her lover; a dutchess dared to boast of having killed her husband, by enervating him with pleasures and rejected caresses. Such was the court of France, when poison freed the kingdom from the execrable cardinal of Lorraine, the head of the league, and the soul of the party of the Guises.

The reformed party availed themselves of the confusion into which this event had thrown the Guisards, to wrest great advantages from the king. They obtained, among other things, that France should declare against Spain, and take measures to succour their co-religionists in the Low Countries, and to drive the armies of Philip from Flanders; which was the more urgent, since Louis Resquesens, the successor of the duke of Alba, appeared to endeavour to rival that monster in fanaticism and atrocities.

In the meantime, the period fixed by Gregory for the universal jubilee arrived. As usual, a considerable crowd of fanatics came together from all parts of Europe, and brought heaps of gold to the successor of the apostle. The prince of Cleves, the prince of Parma, and the grand duke of Tuscany, distinguished themselves by their liberality, and, thanks to them, the sovereign pontiff found himself in a condition to subsidise new bands of murderers, to assure the triumph of the papacy.

In France, the leaguers had raised their heads, and no longer troubling themselves about the death of the cardinal of Lorraine, had chosen for their chief, the young Henry of Guise, the son of Francis of Guise, assassinated during the reign of Charles the Ninth. The clubs of the Jesuits re-commenced their sessions, and occupied themselves with political questions, as if they had been recognised by the nation. In consequence of their preaching, troubles broke out, and threatened to disturb the public tranquillity seriously. Henry of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Allençon, took advantage of these disorders to escape from Paris, where they had been kept in sight since the St. Bartholomew, and put themselves at the head of the reformed.

Henry the Third, abandoned to the mercy of the Guises, knew not to what party to unite himself; if he declared war on the Calvinists, he feared to succumb in the strife; if he pronounced for peace, he dreaded to draw on his head the hatred of the Guisards. In this extremity, he determined to assemble the states-general, and to do as they decided; he accordingly convened the deputies of the provinces at Blois, and demanded from them what was the surest means to re-establish tranquillity in the kingdom. They who were, almost all of them, affiliated with the congregations, and placed under the inspirations of

the Jesuits, replied, that his majesty had no other part to take but to reduce France to an unity in religion, that is, to the exclusive exercise of the papist, and for that purpose he should continue the massacres of the reformed. Henry the Third then joined the league, and was proclaimed its chief. Still, however, he was careful to change its ancient statutes, and to strike out the clauses which were hostile to the royal dignity; he then caused the new regulations to be accepted by the states, and ordered that they should be promulgated as obligatory through the whole extent of his kingdom. After so solemn a declaration, we should suppose that the war with the Huguenots would have recommenced with new fury; it was not so, however; the king had no money to levy troops, and the states refused to grant it. Henry, alarmed by his position, seeing himself the head of a league which hated him, and the but of the duke of Guise, who in every circumstance affected to treat him with contempt, entered into negotiations with the Huguenot princes, and concluded the peace of Poitiers with them. By this treaty the reformed acquired the right of building churches and holding synods; the enjoyment of their wealth and dignities was moreover restored to them; the memory of the admiral Coligny, as well of that of the other victims of the St. Bartholomew, was restored; finally, his majesty authorised the marriage of priests.

X—This edict, loyally executed, would have doubtless restored prosperity to the kingdom; but no one believed in the sincerity of Henry the Third; and moreover, the pope and the duke of Guise were too much interested in perpetuating the disorders, not to use their efforts to kindle a more active and bloodier civil war than ever. His holiness first sent to France the Jesuit Henry Sammier, a man full of finesse and astuteness, accustomed to take all kinds of disguises, to play all kinds of parts, who was in fine the most skilful diplomatist of that period, and he instructed him to kindle the fire of revolt. Henry of Guise, also recruited a number of ambitious men, of people without occupation, taken from all classes in society, whom he knew how to attach to himself through hopes of pillage, and he formed an army of them. The duke assumed the airs of a king more than ever, and showed his disdain for Henry the Third, so that the latter feared lest he should make an attempt on his life, and to guard against this danger, he instituted an order composed of an hundred persons of the first nobility, which he called the order of the Holy Spirit. He appointed twenty-seven knights and four great officers, who were all bound by oath to expose their property and their lives in defence of the king and religion. He inaugurated this society at Pentecost, the day of his birth, and which through a strange coincidence was also the anniversary of his coronation as king of Poland, and that of the death of Charles the Ninth. He gave the title of commanders to the members of this order,

designing to provide them all with commanderies and rich benefices.

The example of the king of France was followed by the court of Rome, and Gregory the Thirteenth sought to create new defenders of it. He re-established the order of St. Basil, which had once counted five hundred monasteries in the kingdom of Naples alone, and decreed that all the Hieronimites in the west should hereafter form but one congregation, submitted to a single abbot who should receive his instructions from the Holy See; he then founded twenty colleges or seminaries at Rome, governed by the Jesuits, who were under his jurisdiction, and who were destined for the English, Germans, Greeks, Maronites, Jews, atheists and repentants; finally, he extended his foundations into Bohemia, Moravia, Lithuania, Transylvania, and even Japan. The care which Gregory gave to the organization of these establishments, which were to prepare the subjugation of new generations to the Holy See, by rendering it the master of the education of youth, did not, however, hinder him from exciting people against each other, and from preparing bloody revolutions in all the kingdoms of Europe. Thus he used to advantage the sojourn of Don Juan of Austria at Rome, to induce that prince to adopt a plan of conspiracy against Elizabeth, which consisted in nothing less than having her assassinated, so as to deliver Mary Stuart, and to arrange a marriage between him and the new queen of England. The only obstacle which prevented the execution of the designs of the pontiff, being the interference of the Hollanders, he advised Don Juan to take the government of the Low Countries, so as to keep the prince of Orange, who was then sovereign of all Holland, in check, and to prevent him from succouring the heretics of Great Britain. The prince assented to his reasoning, and went in haste to assume the government of his province to recommence the massacres of the ferocious duke of Alba.

From that time the efforts and intrigues of the court of Rome became very active in England, and all the Catholics made ready to second the reactionary movement. But Elizabeth was on her guard, the plot was discovered, and several Jesuits paid with their heads for their devotion to the pope. The queen did not confine herself to some partial executions; she renewed the laws against the Catholics, took their churches from them, drove them from their convents, prohibited them from assembling, and deprived them of the free exercise of their religion.

Gregory was not beaten down by this first reverse; he did not renounce the hope of placing Mary Stuart and Don Juan on the throne of England, and of re-establishing Catholicism in the British isles; he only made a change in his policy, and determined to begin by crushing the protestants of Holland before attacking those of Great Britain. For this purpose he sent to Don Juan a nuncio named Segá, who was the bearer of large

sums, which were to be used in levying troops and subsidising spies and assassins. This ecclesiastic had moreover an ample provision of briefs to grant plenary indulgences to the fanatics who should combat beneath the standard of the Roman church, whatever might have been the enormity of their crimes.

It was time for Don Juan to receive aid, for he was absolutely without money, and almost without soldiers; his precarious position had already even forced him to enter into an arrangement with the Belgians, and to give his approval to an edict which had been decreed by an assembly of the states at the city of Ghent, and which was called the edict of the pacification of Ghent. But he scarcely believed himself in a condition to resist the Belgians, when he broke the treaty consented to by the reformed in Holland and Zealand, and retook all the pride and insolence of a tyrant. It turned out illy for the governor; the people of Brussels took up arms, drove him with his soldiers from their city, called in the prince of Orange and conferred on him the dictatorship of the Low Countries. The Catholic nobles alone refused to recognise the prince of Orange as their chief; as, however, they bore an equal hatred to the Spaniards and the reformed, they ranged themselves under the banners of the archduke Mathias, the brother of the new emperor Rodolph, who had succeeded Maximilian the Second. The burghers, wiser than the nobles, preferred the public safety to the triumph of their cause, and in order to give no pretext to the latter for retiring from the struggle, they gave the exercise of power to Mathias, and contented themselves with placing the prince of Orange in his council as his lieutenant.

Philip the Second, finding himself on the eve of losing the Low Countries, from having wished to follow the counsels of the pope, then determined to conduct his affairs his own way. He first sent Duke Alexander Farnese, with a numerous army, into Belgium, to reconquer the provinces and cities which had revolted. This unfortunate country then found itself rent by four factions, which all disputed for the territory with arms in their hands. On one side, the republicans sought to overthrow the party of the priests; on the other Mathias and Don Juan, both making powerful efforts to sustain themselves on a bloody throne. In this strife the wary Mathias gained ground upon his adversary daily. Understanding the necessity he was under of sustaining himself by the people, he was careful to declare in favour of freedom of conscience, and to rebuild the protestant churches which had been burned in Brabant, Flanders, and Gueldres. This act of tolerance excited, it is true, the anger of the Jesuits, the priests, and the monks; but he did not disturb himself about them, and contented himself with banishing those who refused to take the oath of obedience to the constitution.

In the mean time Don Juan of Austria died, and was replaced in his government by Prince Alexander of Parma, a bigoted Catholic, who

aspired to the glory of surpassing the duke of Alba in cruelty. He first murdered twelve thousand inhabitants of Maestricht, to punish them for having defended their walls for eight months of a rigorous blockade. He then turned his attention to exciting discord among the Flemings, by flattering the Catholic nobility, and ratifying the perpetual edict; this succeeded marvellously, and induced the desertion of the lords, and consequently that of the Catholic soldiers, who were designated by the nickname of the soldiers of Pater Noster. This defection determined the United Provinces to take a vigorous resolution to deprive Mathias of the government, to offer it to the duke of Alençon, become duke of Anjou, since the elevation of Henry the Third to the throne of France: the deputies of the states made him swear to a constitution, which was equally favourable to Catholics and protestants, and declared themselves for ever freed from the sway of Philip the Second. Thus, this time, did the efforts of the court of Rome against the reformed of Belgium and Holland, meet with a complete check. Gregory then fell back on Great Britain, with which he had not ceased to carry on communications. By his orders, bands of Jesuits passed over into Ireland to prepare an insurrection against the queen, and when all was ready, Italian troops embarked at Civita Vecchia, under the leading of an English Catholic, to make a descent on the shores of Ireland.

His holiness did not confine himself to this demonstration against Elizabeth; he instituted an order of missionaries to go into England to preach revolt, and formed a cohort of sixty-four English, Scotch, and Irish Jesuits, who took an oath to employ all their efforts, and even to suffer martyrdom, in order to wrest life and crown from the heretic princess who reigned over the British isles. These fanatics left Italy, and went to London, to seek the glorious palm which was to place them among the saints. But only three of them perished; Campian, Skerwin, and Bryant, denounced as instigators of a plot against the life of the sovereign, were strangled, beheaded, and quartered. The pope canonised them at once, and ordered the survivors to organise a new conspiracy, taking their measures better.

In Portugal the children of Ignatius had greatly advanced their affairs, and had become so formidable, that the imbecile Sebastian, the king of that country, not daring to resist their solicitations, made a descent on Africa, and was slain at the battle of Alcacar. The sceptre passed from the hands of this unskilful king, into those of an old priestly debauchee, the cardinal Henry, the uncle of Sebastian, moulded, like his nephew, into a blind obedience to the Jesuits. As soon as he was king, he conceived the singular fancy of having heirs, and solicited a dispensation from Rome to enable him to marry a young mistress, whom the Jesuits had given him. Gregory, who coveted the heritage of the kingdom of Portugal for his family, represented to the cardinal king, that it would be giv-

ing a dangerous advantage to the heretics, to grant to a man of his rank, who had been so many years an ecclesiastic, permission to break his vow of continence openly, in order to espouse his concubine. Philip the Second, who also had pretensions on this kingdom, influenced the opinion of the court of Rome, and threatened the old cardinal with an invasion of Portugal, if he did not submit to the prohibition of the holy father. Henry languished for eighteen months, balancing between the two, when he died, and left the field open to their ambitious views.

Philip sent an army at once into Portugal, and seized on it, notwithstanding the clamours of the Jesuits, and the wrath of Gregory the Thirteenth, who destined this crown for his bastard, James Buoncompagno. His holiness dared not, however, excommunicate the king of Spain, whose assistance he required to strengthen the manœuvres of the Catholic league in France, to assure the triumph of religion in the Low Countries, and to overthrow Elizabeth of England. He even cloaked his resentment, and sent to congratulate Philip on his new conquest, excusing himself for not having favoured him, and only claiming some pensions and towns for his son James, which were liberally granted him.

Thus Gregory, though pre-occupied with the interests of the Holy See, did not forget his family. We must also do him this justice, that he gave more assistance to the progress of science than any of his predecessors had done. Among the reforms which the learned demanded, there was one most necessary, since it produced great trouble in chronological arrangement—it was the revision of the calendar. From bad calculations, errors so gross had glided into the computation of time, that the festivals of the church were inverted. Several popes, scandalized at seeing Easter come at the period fixed for the festival of the Trinity, had already endeavoured, but in vain, to correct this error of calculation. Gregory had the good sense to call to his aid the learned of all nations, and they published, under the superintendence of the celebrated doctor Louis Lilion, the calendar we now use, and which is called the Gregorian. All the Catholic states immediately adopted this new division of time.

Gregory purchased this feeble service to the sciences by so much wickedness, that hatred was stronger than gratitude, and a concert of curses rose against him from every quarter. In the states of the church the misery was at its height; Milan was desolated by two terrible scourges, the plague and its archbishop Charles Borromeo; Rome even was in a state of famine, in consequence of the avarice of the sovereign pontiff and his bastard, who had monopolised the corn, to carry on a scandalous traffic in it. Bands were soon formed, which infested the highways, robbed travellers, carried off convoys, and made incursions up to the gates of the holy city. The unfortunate, whom hunger and despair had urged on to crime, were

abetted by some powerful lords, who hated the tyranny of Gregory, and gave an asylum in their palaces to the banditti. As soon as his holiness was apprised of this, he ordered his provost to make minute examinations in all the residences in the environs of Rome, and particularly in the palace of Raymond des Ursini, who had been denounced to him. The sbirri of the pontiff executed the orders they had received, and arrested several inoffensive persons whom they found in the residence of Raymond des Ursini. As they were about to bind them to conduct them to the castle of San Angelo, the master of the palace arrived with some of his people; he entreated the provost to set at liberty his prisoners, who were illegally arrested in a palace which enjoyed the right of asylum. The latter replied, insolently, that no consideration would prevent him from executing the orders of the pope, against such miscreants as him and his friends. This insult exasperated Raymond; he seized the arm of the provost, and struck him with a small stick he held in his hand; his sbirri immediately fired, killed this lord, and wounded five of his people. This act of hateful brutality excited a violent sedition at Rome; the people ran to arms, and threatened to besiege the Vatican, unless Gregory beheaded at once the provost and soldiers, who had assassinated Raymond des Ursini.

Gregory, cowardly as are all despots, had the sbirri who had executed his orders seized and shot, to save his own life. The provost, who had escaped, having been arrested, was beheaded. But as the real criminal was not reached, the brother of Raymond excited a new sedition, attacked the palace of Vincent Vitelli, the grandson of the pope, and son of James Buoncompagno, and slew him with his own hand. He then left Rome with a crowd of discontented persons, organised them into free companies, and made incursions at their head upon the territories of the church, and exercised cruel reprisals to avenge his family. The disquiet which this partizan war caused the pontiff, did not prevent him from pursuing his projects on the Low Countries, in which, whilst appearing to sustain the interests of Philip, he was secretly favouring the duke of Anjou. The money required to pay the French troops beginning to fail him, he determined to finish the war at a blow, and to have the duke of Orleans, the most formidable of the enemies of the Holy See, assassinated. At his instigation, the Jesuits armed a fanatic, named Jaregué, who was born in Biscay; and one day, when the prince was leaving his hotel, he shot a pistol at him, which fortunately only grazed his breast. This wretch was massacred on the spot by the people. His accomplices were sought out, and among others, a Dominican named Anthony Timmermans, who had given him absolution before he made the attempt.

The duke of Anjou was at first accused of having participated in this plot; but the prince of Orange exonerated him before the states-general, and showed them that the blow had

come from Rome. The consequences, however, showed that the good sense of the citizens had not been at fault, and the conspiracy of the duke of Anjou against the liberties of the United Provinces proved, that the Belgians had been properly inspired, when accusing the brother of the king of France with connection in the attempt at assassination. This worthy son of Catherine de Medicis, this felon and disloyal duke, not satisfied with having received the titles of count of Flanders and duke of Brabant, was still willing to wrest from his new country its dearest liberties, and to reduce it to despotism. Fortunately, his attempts on Antwerp were repulsed by the republicans, and the Belgians would, beyond doubt, have slain his soldiers to the last man, if the prince of Orange had not come to his aid and appeased the anger of the Belgians, by recalling to their recollection the services which the reformed in France had rendered them, and by representing to them that it was very unjust to punish the soldiers for the faults of their leaders. These remarks saved the remains of the French army from a general massacre; but the duke was none the less obliged to return to France, where he went to conceal his shame, and where he died poisoned.

His holiness, exasperated by this check, which retarded the success of his affairs in the Low Countries to an indefinite period, redoubled his efforts to organise new plots against the life of the duke of Orange, and aided by the Jesuits, he found a madman, named Gerard, who, to gain the crown of martyrdom, consented to assassinate the enemy of the pope. The attempt succeeded this time, and William of Nassau fell beneath the dagger of the fanatic Gerard, in the city of Delph. Freed from his most formidable adversary, Gregory went on to other efforts, and armed a wretch, named William Parry, of Venice, to murder Elizabeth of England. Fortunately for this princess, the satellite of the pope, on arriving in London, was indiscreet enough to impart his plan to one of his relatives who dwelt in that city; he was immediately arrested, put to the torture, and punished for high treason.

This new effort determined the queen to publish extremely severe edicts against the Catholics, and especially against the Jesuits, who were banished from the British isles, as abettors of the conspiracy, with a prohibition to re-enter them under penalty of death. Gregory, comprehending the necessity of not leaving this warlike militia to suffer beneath the blow a reverse, and the shame of an expulsion, sought to raise their courage by introducing them as the heroes of a farce which he was about to exhibit, and which had been in rehearsal for some years. He was preparing for the solemn reception of some pretended Japanese ambassadors, in imitation of the famous deputation of Abyssinian kings, which took place during the reign of Clement the Seventh, only that instead of negroes, Gregory had procured four fishermen, who

had been sent to him by the Jesuits, from a small commercial establishment in Japan. They disembarked in Spain, in company with a Jesuit, who passed them off for the sons of the king and persons of the highest distinction, and had great honours rendered them by Philip the Second. He then re-embarked with them, gained the shores of Italy, and sailed up the Tiber to Rome.

As soon as the Japanese landed, a deputation of cardinals came to congratulate them, and conducted them in great pomp to an audience of Gregory. They presented three letters from the kings of Japan to his holiness, of whom they announced themselves as the representatives, and which were translated into Italian by the Jesuits. The first was subscribed, "To the adorable who holds on earth the place of the king of heaven, the greatest, the holiest pope." The second letter began thus, "Let this missive be borne to the great and holy lord, whom I adore, and who holds the place of God on earth." The third was as follows, "I offer this letter with adoration, with hands raised towards heaven, to our most holy father, the vicar of Christ! . . ." In the body of the letters, the three princes who signed them, excused themselves for not coming in person to render their homage to the successor of the apostle Peter, on the plea of their age and business; they bestowed an extravagant eulogium on the Jesuits, and besought the pope to recompense these devoted workmen, who cultivated with so much zeal the vineyard of the Lord. Gregory feigned great joy, and exclaimed, "Glory, glory to the courageous children of Jesus! Glory to the disciples of Ignatius Loyola! I have now lived long enough, since I have seen their triumph! Lord, call your servant to yourself."

No one was, however, the dupe of this gross jugglery, nor of the enthusiasm of the pontiff, and the Jesuits obtained no more consideration than before. After all, what did the holy father care for the opinion of the people? He had succeeded in rekindling the zeal of the Jesuits; he asked for no more. He commissioned them to embitter the leaguers of France against the duke of Navarre, who had become, by the death of the duke of Anjou, the nearest heir to the throne, and thanks to their efforts, the leaguers rose against Henry the Third, and proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon as sovereign.

This prelate, seduced by the glitter of a crown, consented to become the chief of the enemies of his house, and published a manifesto, in which he declared the dukes of Lorraine and Guise, the lieutenant generals of the Catholic league, and invested with the command of the troops by the different members of the Catholic league, the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the princes of the house of Austria, by those of the family of Lorraine in France, by the archbishops of Cologne and Mayence, the dukes of Nemours, Nevers, Savoy, Ferrara, Cleves, and Parma, the cardinal of Vendome, the count de Vaudemont, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Lucca, the

duke of Florence, and the prince of Scotland. After which he gave the signal for the civil war and raised the standard of revolt.

Before so formidable a league Henry the Third followed the counsels of fear; and although he knew perfectly well that the leaguers were his personal enemies, he rejoined them and apologised for their conduct. He revoked the edicts made in favour of the Huguenots, compelled their ministers to leave France, and decreed that hereafter no citizen could fill public functions nor private offices unless he was a professor of the papist doctrines. He finally pushed his cowardice so far as to give strong places to the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, as pledges for the sincerity of his protection.

The latter, having nothing more to fear from

the king, commenced war on Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and demanded their excommunication from Rome. Father Matthew, the courier of the league, made several journeys into Italy to obtain this bull, which was impatiently waited for in France, and to solicit a brief authorising the Guises to assassinate Henry the Third. Whilst Gregory was preparing the bill of excommunication he was to hurl against the Huguenots, he was struck with an attack of apoplexy, which carried him off on the 10th of April, 1585. His body was buried in a chapel which he had constructed in the church of St. Peter. Thus died this pope, who had given an example of every vice to the world, and who had so well pursued the work of extermination commenced by his predecessors.

LIBRARY
SIXTUS THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-
FIFTH POPE. UNIVERSITY OF
[A. D. 1585.] CALIFORNIA.

History of the cardinal of Montalto—He is chosen sovereign pontiff by the name of Sixtus the Fifth—Commencement of his reign—He excommunicates Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé—The two princes take vengeance on the pope—Negotiations of Sir Henry Carey at Rome—policy of Sixtus towards England and Spain—The cardinal his nephew sends his portrait to Elizabeth—The pope and the Jesuits—The legation in Switzerland—Affairs of France, Spain, and England—Death of Mary Stuart—His holiness becomes dangerously sick—Intrigues of the Jesuits in Poland—His holiness excommunicates Elizabeth—Anecdotes of the amours of the pope—He betrays Spain in favour of England—Assassination of the duke and the cardinal of Guise—Sixtus excommunicates Henry the Third—Quarrels between the pope and the emperor—The pontiff and the league—Trickery of the holy father—Conduct of the pope to Henry the Fourth—Pretensions of the pope on the kingdom of Naples—He declares against the Jesuits—He is poisoned by them—Reflection concerning them.

FELIX PERETTI, cardinal of Montalto, was born on a small farm attached to a castle called the Grotto, situated in the province of la Mancha. His father, a vine dresser of a rich proprietor, had espoused a servant of his master, and had three children by her, two sons and a daughter. The young Felix saw his poor cabin suddenly invaded one day by a troop of sbirri, who came to arrest his father for having violated some game law. The repulsive aspect of these men, and their rude oaths, so alarmed him that he ran and concealed himself in an upper story. But he had scarcely concealed himself in a corner of the room, when the floor gave way beneath him, and carried him down in its fall. The sbirri, who were already leading away their prisoner, returned and drew out the poor child half dead, and having his arms and legs broken by the fall. They carried him at once to a surgeon, who took care of him from pity, and in three months restored him to his mother entirely cured.

Felix then entered the service of a farmer and kept his pigs. Michael Angus Selleri, a monk of the order of St. Francis, was accidentally passing near the Grotto on his way to

Ascoli, a town of la Mancha, and met the young swineherd. The latter, perceiving the embarrassment of the good father, offered to show him the way, and even to accompany him as far as Ascoli. During the walk he talked with his young guide, questioned him about his relatives, and learned his whole family history. He was much touched by it, and regarding this fortunate rencontre as a warning from God, he determined to take Felix to his convent and present him to his superior, which he did.

He immediately clothed his protegee in the dress of a lay brother, and placed him under the charge of a very learned monk. Felix exhibited, from the first, an extreme facility in study, and a vivacity of mind beyond his years. His character felt the effects of this last faculty; for it sometimes pushed his vivacity into anger; but his irritation being as quickly calmed as raised, his young comrades called him a Will-of-the-wisp. Apart from this slight defect, Felix was remarkable for his solid qualities, amongst others for a perseverance in his studies which amounted to obstinacy: thus his progress was rapid in every science.

At the age of twenty-six he obtained the bonnet of a doctor and the title of professor. Eight years afterwards, he was distinguished as a preacher. From that time the career of the monk, Peretti de Montalto, which was the new name by which the former swineherd was known, is easily traced. He thundered against the heretics; drew the attention of the Jesuits to himself, and obtained through them the post of inquisitor at Venice. His implacable character, and the cruelty which he exercised in that city at the instigation of Pius the Fifth, who was then inspector general of the tribunals of the holy office, excited all the population. He was constrained to fly during the night in order to avoid being stoned by the people. He is stated on this occasion to have replied to one of his colleagues, who rallied him on his flight, "I have vowed to be pope at Rome; I ought not then to have suffered myself to be hung or stoned at Venice."

On his return to the holy city he attached himself to the cardinal Buoncompagno, whose high fortune he foresaw, and accompanied him to Spain. He then sought to gain the friendship of Pius the Fifth, and obtain in succession the rank of general of the Cordeliers, that of bishop of St. Agatha, and, finally, the hat of a cardinal. The reason why he obtained such high distinctions from the sanguinary Pius the Fifth, was the perfect accordance which appeared to exist between their two natures—the same conformity of opinions, the same ferocity of character, the same thirst for blood, the same ardour in theological disputes. Brother Felix Peretti de Montalto appeared to be a second part of the pope, and to have determined to make his life a counterpart of that of his master. But when he was clothed with the purple of the cardinalate, when he found it was not even in the power of the pope to raise him higher, he changed his behaviour and his habits. From being violent, he became mild and modest; from cruel and sanguinary, compassionate and merciful; finally, he appeared transformed as if by a miracle, and became an entirely different man. It was simply a serpent changing its skin, without losing any of its deceit or venom.

On the death of Pius the Fifth, the cardinal of Montalto left his palace, and retired with a few servants to a small house situated near the church of St. Maria Majora. During the whole reign of Gregory, he appeared to have no other care than that of his salvation. He stooped, played the part of an old man by false wrinkles, and by rendering his voice tremulous, so as to give him all the appearance of one who had but a short time to live. In the sessions of the sacred college he had such an air of candour and simplicity, that they nicknamed him the Ass of la Mancha. On every occasion he recalled the obligations he was under to Pius the Fifth, and his nephew, the cardinal Alexandrin, one of the most influential of the princes of the church, and added, with an air of perfect simplicity, that if he were the lord of several worlds, he would never be rich enough to show his gratitude for

the benefits his protectors had conferred upon him. He did the same towards Philip the Second, and as he knew that the Spaniards dreaded more, than any thing else a pope whose mind was too enlightened, he affected an absolute incapacity.

Finally, when Gregory the Thirteenth died, he had got so far as never to go out, except leaning on a stick, and his pretended infirmities had so increased, that he appeared to have reached the most extreme state of decay.—After the funeral, the cardinals, to the number of forty-two, entered the conclave; the swineherd of Montalto, who saw the hope of reaping the fruits of eighteen years of hypocrisy, took his way to the Vatican, leaning on his stick. On his entering the Vatican, it was remarked, that he walked with more difficulty than usual, and he himself asked leave to retire to his chamber, pretending that he had not strength to support himself. On the next day, the intrigues for the election of a pope commenced, and the candidates came to urge him to join their parties; but the poor Montalto contented himself with replying, that he was not in a situation to mix himself up with the things of this world, and upon some cardinals saying to him, ironically, that he must occupy himself with affairs of this world, if he should be proclaimed pope; he replied, that his head bent towards the earth, could never sustain the weight of a tiara, and that should such an honour be offered to so unworthy an individual as himself, he would be obliged to refuse it, or to lay the burthen of public business on the sacred college. They paid no more attention to him, and proceeded to redeem the engagements the cardinals had made before the election; after which faction went to work and full rein was given to ambition.

There were as many as fourteen avowed candidates. In such a conflict, in which every elector wished to be pope, it was difficult to play into each other's hands; this was precisely what Montalto had hoped for; he guarded himself well from showing any mark of ambition, any desire of being chosen by the cardinals; on the contrary, he pledged himself to serve every one, and never left his apartment, but to go to mass to the Pauline chapel, to assist at some countings of the votes. He laboured, however, none the less, by some skilful steps, to increase the division in the conclave, so as to tire out the electors and lead their choice to him. He succeeded perfectly; the cardinals Alexandrin, d'Este, and de Medicis, tired of caballing, abandoned their candidates in favour of Montalto, on condition that he would surrender the government of the church to them, which the wary cardinal agreed to do. They, duped by his jugglery, and fearful lest he should suddenly suffocate in a fit of coughing, or that his death should deprive them of the advantages promised them, hastened to rally their partisans to secure the election of the Ass of la Mancha.—The cardinal of Montalto dragged himself by the aid of his cane into the Pauline chapel,

and voted like the rest; then, when the ballot was over, they proceeded to count the votes. Then took place a strange scene, which no one expected, and which caused alarm in the conclave. As soon as Montalto found two-thirds of the votes were for him, he stood bolt upright, and throwing his cane into the midst of the assembly, he expectorated from a full breast like a young man of thirty. The cardinals, confounded, looked at each other anxiously, and especially Medicis and Alexandrin. As the dean perceived that the cardinals repented having done their work so quickly, he exclaimed, "Do not press on us, my brethren, there is an error in the ballot." No, replied Montalto, in a firm tone, "the thing is done and in due form." And this same man, who an hour before, could scarcely speak without coughing, thundered forth the *Te Deum* in a voice so strong and clear, that the roof of the chapel resounded; he then went to kneel, according to custom, before the altar to say his prayers. But the cardinal de Medicis, who was beside him, remarked, that he made no motion with his lips, but contented himself with looking at the crucifix placed opposite to him in the sanctuary. When he arose, one of the cardinals approached him, and congratulated him on the singular metamorphosis which had been produced in him. "I bent myself," replied Montalto, "to seek on earth the keys of Paradise; now that they are in my hands, I can look God in the face." The master of ceremonies having approached him, to ask, as was usual, if he would accept the sovereign pontificate, "I could not do better than accept that which has been already offered me," he replied, "but I will do so the more willingly, since I feel myself strong enough to govern, not the church, but the whole world," and seizing on the pontifical ornaments, he put them on, without requiring any assistance from his chamberlains, which appeared so extraordinary to the cardinal Rusticucci, that he could not help saying, "most holy father, I see that the pontificate is a sovereign remedy to restore youth and health to old sick cardinals."—"I am as well persuaded of it as you are," replied Montalto, "from my own experience." When he had finished costuming himself, he placed the tiara on his head, and was enthroned by the name of Sixtus the Fifth.

The new pontiff, in token of his joyous advent, raised four scaffolds before his palace, and instead of granting an amnesty to criminals, according to the custom usual at each election, he caused sixty of the most obstinate heretics to be hung on the day of his coronation. He showed some little benevolence for the ambassadors of Japan, not that he was ignorant of all the springs of this pitiful farce, since he would have unfolded it as smartly as the deceased pope, but because he considered it good policy to conceal all the knaveries which might injure the Holy See. He expressed great regard for these pretended princes; he allowed them to kiss his feet before the cardinals; he embraced them with tender affec-

tion, and wished them to discharge honourable functions at his coronation, that they should carry the canopy, that they should present to him water and linen for his ablutions, and should hold his stirrup to mount; he made them knights of the golden spur, gave them, himself, the sword and girdle, and caused them to be created Roman patricians by the senate and people; finally, he celebrated divine service for them only, administered the communion to them with his own hand, and gave them a splendid banquet. After this, he loaded them with presents, gave them letters for their sovereigns at a public audience, and embarked them—what happened to them at sea? It was never known. Some historians say, that his holiness had a secret audience with the Jesuit who was to accompany them on the day of their departure, and that the worthy child of Loyola, on leaving the Vatican, went to the general of his order, to repeat to him his conversation with the pope, and that the latter replied, "The farce is played; execute the will of the head of the church, and let the sea serve for their tomb."

As soon as Sixtus the Fifth was installed on the pontifical throne, he brought his sister Camilla, with her three children, to Rome. Out of the landress which she was before, he made a princess; he loaded her with caresses, gave her a palace, land, and a considerable pension, prohibiting her, however, from asking for any favour or place. On the day succeeding this reception, the statue of Morforio asked the statue of Pasquin, "why do you wear a dirty shirt?" Because, replied Pasquin, "my washerwoman has become a princess." The pope immediately caused him who had made this allusion to the former occupation of his sister, to be sought out, in order to bestow justice upon him, and published that he would give forty thousand Roman crowns to him who denounced him.

The guilty man himself claimed an audience of the pope, thinking to make a good speculation of it, and claimed the promised sum; "Count out to him forty thousand crowns," said Sixtus, addressing his treasurer; then turning towards the executioner, who was always near by, "and thou cut off his tongue and his right hand, for fear of a repetition of the offence," which was done.

A cold and implacable cruelty was the principal trait in the character of the pontiff, of which we shall see him give a thousand proofs in the various actions of his pontificate. Thus he himself announced, in full consistory, "that he had come, like Christ, to bring a sword, not peace, and that he wished his reign to be renowned as among the most vigorous." He began by deposing the judges, who, during the preceding pontificate, had shown indulgence for the fault of heresy; he then reformed the laws and ordinances which regulated the internal police of the states of the church, and issued sanguinary edicts, which placed the lives of the citizens at his mercy. Among other things, he ordered, that

every adultery should be punished with death, and he made so severe an application of this decree, that it was feared lest it should end by making Rome a great desert.

A lord of Salerno, named Charles Tasca, not being a subject of the Holy See, did not think that the laws of Sixtus the Fifth could concern him, and took no pains to conceal his amours with the wife of his steward. The holy father, furious at finding that a stranger dared to brave him in his capital, ordered the governor to execute the law of adultery against the guilty; and to the remark of the latter, that the lord of Tasca and his mistress, being subjects of the king of Naples, could only be judged by the laws of their own country, he replied, "What matters that? But since you have scruples, hang the lover, the wife, and the accommodating husband, with ropes made at Naples."

Sixtus was also desirous of suppressing the disorders of his clergy, and particularly of the cardinals, who had, for a long time, abused their privilege of inviolability, by contracting debts which they never paid; an usage which had descended to their valets. He ordered that in future, no priest, bishop, or cardinal, should refuse a just satisfaction to his creditors, and to set them an example, he paid the debts which had been contracted during the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth. Moreover, under the pretext of putting the business of the apostolic chamber in order, he loaded the inhabitants of Rome with taxes, and displayed unusual rigour in the collection of imposts; which so much discontented the people, that a sedition was dreaded.

According to the custom of tyrants, he sought to guard against the danger which surrounded him, by a new act of arbitrary power; he prohibited the citizens from carrying arms in the city, and punished, unmercifully, those who contravened this ordinance. It is related even, that a child of sixteen years old, having been brought before his tribunal, accused of having drawn a dagger on some *sbirri* who insulted him, he condemned him to be hung, and as his advocate was invoking the text of the law, which prohibited the application of the penalty of death to so young a person—"Well, by virtue of my own omnipotence, I give him ten of my years," exclaimed the pope, "and let him be led to punishment."

If we regard in Sixtus the Fifth, his inflexible zeal in the maintenance of the principles of the theocratic authority, his disdain for the human species, his cold and inexorable cruelty, his boldness in the employment of violent means, we will find that he had many points of resemblance to Gregory the Seventh. If we study this pontiff in his political measures, in his diplomatic intrigues, we will see in him a man tormented by an insatiable thirst for power, wealth, and reputation; we will see him sacrificing, unceasingly, justice to vain glory, and sometimes doing great things to immortalise his name; protecting the city, and persecuting men of letters; anathematizing kings, and then turning against the peo-

ple; exalting the doctrines of the Jesuits, making common cause with the league, then declaring himself the enemy of the disciples of Loyola, and banishing them from the Roman states; and, finally, setting aside all shame, glorying in having been a swineherd, and then declaring himself to be the first of the princes of the earth! Strange existence, mysterious destiny, which had taken a simple swineherd to make of him, successively, a monk, an inquisitor, a cardinal, a sovereign, and more than a sovereign—a pope!

Sixtus the Fifth, after having assured tranquillity in Rome, prepared for his strife with kings, and soon showed that he spared not even Philip of Spain; thus the ambassadors of that prince having come, on the 29th day of May, to present to him the usual tribute of a purse of seven thousand crowns of gold, carried on a white hackney, as the right of vassalage for the kingdom of Naples, the pope replied to the harangue, "Your discourse is very eloquent my lords, but we do not yet see, but that our predecessors made a foolish bargain, in swopping a kingdom for a horse."

The Spanish ambassadors thought this pleasantry had a hidden meaning, and they advised Philip the Second of it, so that he might take measures to repel the efforts which the new pope was projecting on the kingdom of Naples. But it did not enter into the views of Sixtus to embroil himself so speedily with the king of Spain; France claimed his attention above all else; he took up the business in this country at the point at which Gregory the Thirteenth had left it, he declared the family of Bourbon bastard and detestable, calling the king of Navarre a relapsed heretic; as such, depriving him of all his domains, and decreeing that he was incapable, both he and his descendants for ever, from succeeding to any kingdom and sovereignty whatever, and particularly to the crown of France. His holiness also freed his subjects and vassals from the oath of obedience they had taken to him, and prohibited them, under ecclesiastical penalties, from obeying him. The same censures were applied to his cousin, the young prince of Condé, and to all the Huguenots.

Although excommunications were already in such great discredit at the close of the sixteenth century, that a bishop of Chartres wrote, that the thunders of the pope froze in crossing the Alps; still, such a demonstration, at the moment when the kingdom was on the eve of a general combustion, must necessarily increase the confusion. Thus, from all parts, arose a cry of shame, and the different civil and religious orders hastened to address requests to the court of Rome for a revocation of the bull.

Henry the Third, who was always cowardly and pusillanimous, dared not take any energetic measures against a decree derogatory to the independence of the nation and the dignity of the crown; he contented himself with prohibiting the bull from being published in France in legal form. The parliament, bolder than the king, wished to resist the mere pub-

appearing in the street with bare arms without sleeves to their dresses. This strictness of morals did not, however, prevent him from protecting the arts and literature; thanks to his munificence, the library of the Vatican was prodigiously increased; a hospital, a masterpiece of architecture, was built to receive fifteen hundred sick; new streets were opened; the chariots of Praxitiles and Phidias were restored, the statue of St. Peter was placed on the column of Trajan at Monte Cavallo; an aqueduct of thirteen thousand paces brought water from a limpid source to the celebrated Sixtine fountain. At his command five Egyptian obelisks, which had laid on the ground for ages, and whose restoration had frightened the genius of Julius the Second and Paul the Third, rose on their bases and opposed their hieroglyphics to the mysteries of the Catholic religion; so that now the learned can read upon their pedestals an inscription engraven in the time of the Roman emperors, in honour of Cesar, sovereign pontiff, who had brought these monuments from old Egypt, and another inscription in memory of Sixtus the Fifth, sovereign pontiff, the restorer of the obelisks.

Then, what was no less a work, he undertook to purify the text of the Old and New Testaments, which was full of gross errors. The majority of the cardinals agreed with him, and they proceeded to a first revision, in which five thousand errors were discovered, and on a second, two thousand more in dates, names, and figures were brought to light; after which, the consistory decided that the Bible thus purified was the only canonical one. Sixtus gave it the name of the Vulgate, and prohibited by a bull, any one, under penalty of the greater excommunication, from changing, adding to, or retracting a syllable from the text of the word which God had revealed to Moses; this did not, however, prevent Clement the Eighth, one of his successors, from again correcting the Old Testament some years afterwards.

Whilst the holy father was bestowing his attention on the correction of the Old Testament and the holy gospels, the civil war had broken out in France, more terribly than ever. The Guises, seeing between them and the throne, but a king enervated by debauchery, and an imbecile cardinal, redoubled their efforts to crush Henry of Navarre, the only competitor who was capable of disputing the crown of France with them. They rallied around them all the nobility of Champagne and Burgundy, whom they reinforced by Spanish troops, and declared war. Lyons, Toul, Verdun, and many other cities opened their gates to them at the instigation of the Jesuits; they then seized on Orleans, Bourges, and Angers, and finished by becoming the masters of Paris, which they made henceforth the centre of their operations. The clandestine meetings of the leaguers were transformed into actual deliberative assemblies, in which the conduct of Henry the Third and his ministers was audaciously censured. The

leaders, who, from their number, were at first called the council of Sixteen, organised a new government in the state, levied imposts, established relations with the revolted provinces, and, finally, governed in the name of Catholicism and the cardinal de Bourbon.

But what was most extraordinary in this war, called that of the three Henrys, was the strange part which the holy father played. Whilst seeking to excite the parties against each other, he refused to give his approval to the league, from hatred to the Jesuits; he also blamed the fury of Henry the Third, and anathematised the king of Navarre. This strange policy is explained by his desire to see the three factions annihilate each other, and the sway of Rome be established on their ruins. He also did the same towards England, and the great esteem he affected for Queen Elizabeth, did not prevent him from entering into a conspiracy organised by the Spanish ambassador and the Jesuits, the object of which was to place the crown of England on the head of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who had been Elizabeth's prisoner for eighteen years.

A numerous fleet was already collected in the ports of Spain, and only waited a signal to set sail towards the shores of Great Britain; this signal was to be sent from England on the very day of the assassination of Elizabeth. A Jesuit named Ballard, was charged with the job, and had induced a young gentleman, named Babington, of a turbulent and hasty spirit, to strike down the queen of England. It is even affirmed that Mary Stuart had several secret interviews with Babington, that she had promised him her hand, and that the latter had sallied from her arms intoxicated with love, and burning to merit so magnificent a recompense. But the plot was discovered on the eve of the day fixed for its execution; all the conspirators were seized, put to the torture, and obliged to confess their crime. Elizabeth pardoned none of the guilty, and the head of Mary Stuart rolled beneath the axe of the executioner. Such was the result of the new plot, contrived by Sixtus the Fifth and Philip the Second; neither of them was moved by the death of the queen of Scotland. Leti even maintains, that his holiness, after having listened to a circumstantial account of this mournful tragedy, exclaimed, "I envy thy lot Elizabeth! thou art judged worthy by God to see a crowned head roll at thy feet, whilst I have only been permitted as yet to shed the blood of miserable lords, or poor poets." He did not, however, turn the less towards Spain to excite Philip to take a brilliant vengeance for the death of Mary of Scotland.

Philip, who was interested in making war on the English, promised to conform to the desires of his holiness, as soon as the pope should have given a cardinal's hat to William Alleyn, a traitor, who had sold himself to Spain, and as soon as he should be furnished from the apostolic treasury with the assistance in money of a million of Roman crowns. Six-

tus hastened to send a message to Alleyn to come and receive from his hand the hat of a cardinal, with the title of St. Martin of the Mount. He, moreover, appointed him his legate a latere, and immediately after the ceremonies sent him as his legate to Spain, to hurry the armaments against England. At the same time, he instructed him to hand to the king a secret treaty, in which he entered into an obligation to pay a million of crowns as soon as the Spaniards were in possession of a single city in England, and still more, to levy extraordinary dimes in his states, except the kingdom of Naples, of which his holiness coveted the possession. Philip agreed to the proposals of the pope, doubled the number of ships which he had for a long time collected, increased the number of troops to be embarked in them, by more than fifty thousand men, and openly announced that he destined this fleet, which he surmamed the Invincible, for the conquest of England, and which was in fact, the most formidable one that had yet covered the ocean. He did not, however, wish to attack Elizabeth definitely; until he had placed the court of Rome in such a position, that it was impossible for it to betray him and go over to his enemies, and he exacted that the pope should solemnly excommunicate the queen of England. Sixtus, who was anxious to bring these two great powers to blows, so that by the assistance of their dissensions he might seize on the kingdom of Naples, gave to the prince the satisfaction he required, and fulminated in full consistory, all the cardinals being assembled, the following bull:

"We, Sixtus the Fifth, the universal shepherd of the flock of Christ, the supreme chief, to whom the government of the whole world appertains, considering that the people of England and Ireland, after having been so long celebrated for their virtues, their religion, and their submission to our see, have become putrid members, infected, and capable of corrupting the whole Christian body, and that on account of their subjection to the impious, tyrannical, and sanguinary government of Elizabeth, the bastard queen, and by the influence of her adherents, who equal her in wickedness, and who refuse, like her, to recognise the authority of the Roman church; regarding that Henry the Eighth formerly, for motives of debauchery, commenced all these disorders by revolting against the submission which he owed to the pope, the sole and true sovereign of England; considering that the usurper Elizabeth has followed the path of this infamous king, we declare that there exists but one mode of remedying these evils, of restoring peace, tranquillity, and union to Christendom; of re-establishing religion, and of leading back the people to obedience to us, which is, to depose from the throne that execrable Elizabeth, who falsely arrogates to herself the title of queen of the British isles. Being then inspired by the Holy Spirit for the general good of the church, we renew, by virtue of our apostolic power, the sentence pro-

nounced by our predecessors, Pius the Fifth and Gregory the Thirteenth, against this modern Jezebel; we proclaim her deprived of royal authority, of the rights, titles, or pretensions to which she may lay claim over the kingdoms of Ireland and England, affirming that she possesses them unlawfully and by usurpation. We relieve all her subjects from the oaths they may have taken to her, and we prohibit them from rendering any kind of service to this execrable woman; it is our will, that she be driven from door to door like one possessed of a devil, and that all human aid should be refused her; we declare, moreover, that foreigners or Englishmen are permitted, as a meritorious work, to seize the person of Elizabeth and surrender her, living or dead, to the tribunals of the inquisition. We promise to those who shall accomplish this glorious mission, infinite recompenses, not only in the life eternal, but even in this world. Finally, we grant plenary indulgences to the faithful, who shall willingly unite with the Catholic army, which is going to combat the impious Elizabeth, under the orders of our dear son Philip the Second, to whom we give the British isles in full sovereignty, as a recompense for the zeal he has always shown towards our see, and for the particular affection he has shown for the Catholics of the Low Countries."

This terrible bull was published in the ecclesiastical states, with tolling of bells, and by the light of candles. At Madrid they dressed the chapel of the palace of the Escorial in black, and Philip, dressed in black, and followed by all the grandees of his court, caused the anathema pronounced against the queen of England, to be read by the nuncio.

After such a manifestation in favour of the king of Spain, it would appear as if the pope was most seriously desirous of securing the crown of England for Philip, and Carey, mortified at having been the dupe of the apostolic court, was preparing to leave Rome to return to England, when he was sent for to a private audience at the Vatican. Sixtus delivered a long discourse on the necessity under which sovereigns were, of disguising their thoughts, and acting contrary to their sentiments. He renewed his protestations of friendship for Elizabeth, and told him to write to the queen to place herself in a state of defence against the attacks of Philip, adding that after having excited the Spanish wasp, by putting the Scotch prostitute to death, she ought, from prudence, to guard against being stung, or perhaps killed. He complained that his title of pope compelled him to take part with Philip, whom he mortally hated, and that he was desirous of treating him, as she had treated Mary Stuart; he affirmed to her that the succours he had promised, were in reality illusory, since they were reduced to the gift of a red hat to a stupid lord, and a ridiculous excommunication, which the queen could readily return in her capacity as popess; and as for the million of crowns, he was only bound to furnish them six months after the capture

of some considerable place in England, which the queen could certainly prevent.

The conference having terminated, he sent to Carey a very circumstantial note as to the plans of Philip, the state of his army, the character of his generals, and the cause of the expedition; he recommended to him to transmit it immediately to his sovereign, and to recommend to her to strike a sudden blow on the Low Countries, in which symptoms of revolt were manifesting, whilst Spain was solely occupied with arming against Great Britain.

By the advice of Carey, the queen assembled her vessels, made them cruise on the coasts, and placed all her ports in good condition; then, following the example of the holy father, she convened the principal lords of her court, the magistrates and notables of her kingdom, as well as the heads of the clergy, in the church of St. Paul, and in the presence of an immense crowd, as the supreme head of the English church, she fulminated a terrible excommunication against Pope Sixtus the Fifth, his cardinals, officers, and generally against all those who had signed the bull of forfeiture. After this, she had eight tables magnificently served, set out in her palace, and presided over a banquet, at which numerous toasts were given in her honour, and to the destruction of the enemies of her crown.

Leti maintains that the esteem which the pope exhibited for Elizabeth, was inspired in him by Anne Austin, a young English woman of remarkable beauty, whom Carey had presented to his holiness, and who enjoyed the singular privilege of entering his private apartments at all hours of the day or night, "a scandal which alarmed the susceptibility of the Spanish ambassadors and cardinals," adds the historian, "and which compelled the pontiff to lodge his mistress in the palace of Donna Camilla, and to make a procuress of his sister." As it was remarked that his holiness then paid frequent visits to his sister in disguise, the statues of Marforio and Pasquin apprised the faithful that the popess Anne Austin was so devoted to England, that no night passed, without her conferring with the pope, or the cardinal Montalto, his nephew, on the mode of restoring this fine country to the bosom of the church.

Events advanced the policy of Sixtus in regard to Spain; the fleet, surnamed the *Invincible*, was almost totally destroyed by a frightful tempest, which assailed it at the mouth of the Thames. The vessels which escaped the violence of the sea, were routed by Francis Drake, the vice admiral of England, and obliged to return in disgrace to Spain. This news caused such joy to the pope, that he could scarcely restrain an exclamation which betrayed his secret thoughts, and as the cardinal Montalto entered his chamber, whilst Carey was reading to him the despatches which related to this event, he exclaimed, "Rejoice, my nephew, the kingdom of Naples is ours."

In France, strange things were occurring; the religious war raged as furiously as ever between the Catholics and protestants. Henry

the Third, become the head of the league, and the slave of the court of Rome, did not cease murdering his subjects. The duke of Guise, the soul of the league, was unceasingly organising new plots now against Henry of Navarre, now against the king of France, and by means of his baseness had obtained from the holy father the title of the Second Maccabeus, and the gift of a blessed sword. The Jesuits, though execrated by Sixtus, were struggling to merit his thanks by increasing the disorders: they first poisoned the young prince Henry of Condé, by means of Charlotte de la Trémouille, his own wife; they then formed a conspiracy against Henry the Third himself, resolved to seize on his person, and force him to place the government of his kingdom in the hands of the duke of Guise. Unfortunately for the latter, the conspiracy was discovered. The Sixteen, who feared a return of energy on the part of the king, hastened to send an express to the duke to join them, and concert measures, in order to escape from the danger in which they were.

The duke of Guise immediately left the city of Nancy, and hastened to Paris, notwithstanding the prohibition of Henry the Third. It is true that he presented himself without any suite, and accompanied by only seven officers of his household; but scarcely had he passed through the gates of the capital, than an immense concourse of more than thirty thousand persons surrounded him, and accompanied him with cries of "Life to Guise." "Never," says d'Aubigné, "was any king received with such testimonials of joy; some heaped blessings upon him, and called him their liberator; others bent the knee before him, kissing the hem of his garments, and touching their rosaries to his doublet, as if contact with it could sanctify them; those who could not reach him, raised their hands in supplication, and called him their divinity; females and children cast flowers from every window, and made the air resound with their acclamations. The duke advanced in the midst of this crowd at the slowest pace of his horse, with his head uncovered, addressing gracious words to the nearest, saluting with a smile the ladies who were at the windows, and replying to every one by a look or a gesture. His escort conducted him to the hotel de Soissons, where the execrable Catherine de Medici resided."

The queen mother was somewhat alarmed at this popular manifestation, but she did not suffer the least sign of terror to appear; on the contrary, she received the duke with marks of the most lively satisfaction, and offered to conduct him to the king. Guise accepted the offer, and they immediately started for the Louvre, the queen in her chaise, and the duke on foot. It was remarked that he never stopped talking to Catherine during the route, which separated the hotel de Soissons from the residence of the king, until the moment they entered the apartment of Henry. The latter, following the example of his mother, concealed in the bottom of his heart

the resentment he felt; he contented himself with addressing feeble remonstrances to the duke on his disobedience, and dismissed him, which caused Sixtus the Fifth to say: "He did not know which was the greatest fool, the duke of Guise, who had the boldness to place himself in the hands of an irritated prince, or Henry the Third, who, having his revenge in his hands, allowed it to escape."

The king and the duke were, however, both playing their parts; and, as soon as they separated, each sought the means of ridding himself of the other, without danger to himself. Henry called his nobility to Paris, armed the burghers who were devoted to him, brought up from Laguy four thousand Swiss, who were stationed there, doubled the posts of the city, and in a few days found himself in a condition to attack the duke of Guise. But the latter had, in his turn, taken his precautions; on the very morning of the day on which he was to have been seized by the royal troops, he had armed the people; so that, as soon as the soldiers were in motion, the tocsin was sounded, chains stretched, barricades formed with boards, joists, or hogsheds filled with earth or dung; the pavements were torn up, and the windows furnished with paving stones. In less than four hours, communications between the different parts of the capital were interrupted, and the combat commenced between the citizens and the king's troops. The latter, finding themselves taken, as it were, in an immense net, unable to advance or fall back, sought to retreat by getting behind walls, so as to protect themselves from the shots from guns, and the stones which were rained down on them from the windows and house tops. In vain did they show their rosaries, and exclaim, with all their might, that they were good Catholics. The Jesuits, who had mingled among the leaguers to excite them to carnage, replied to their exclamations with cries of death, and certainly none would have escaped the massacre but for the interference of the duke of Guise. The chief of the leaguers approached the troops, made them lay down their arms, and ordered the count de Saint Pol to accompany them beyond the gates of Paris; then, when evening came, he established a regular guard around the Louvre, in order to prevent any escape during the night. But Henry the Third, who feared, with reason, lest the place should be carried by assault, seized on the moment when the rear of the castle had not yet been invested, to escape across the garden of the Tuilleries. He gained the monastery of the Feuillants, and escaped from thence towards Chartres, accompanied by not more than thirty gentlemen; the rest of the court followed the prince in the greatest disorder, and the troops did not rejoin him until the evening of the second day.

Guise having missed the king, was engaged in assuring to himself the possession of Paris; he seized on the bastille, Vincennes, the temple, and the two chatelets, and installed every where his own garrisons, and governors se-

lected from among his most devoted creatures. Quiet was at once restored, and on the day after this revolt, called the day of the barricades, it could have been affirmed that there had not been any troubles in Paris, so much had matters resumed their usual course. This was not what the Jesuits desired, who, in reality, did not favour one party more than the other. What these good fathers wished was a civil war, which would enable them to subject France to the court of Rome. They then endeavoured to stop the progress of this revolution, and sought to ruin the power of the duke of Guise, by publishing that the holy father disapproved of the revolt of the leaguers against their lawful chief, and by threatening the Parisians with frightful evils, if they remained longer without the king. As the clergy still exercised a great influence over their minds, these threats alarmed the rebels, and determined them to recall Henry the Third among them. A deputation of burghers went to the convent of the young count du Bouchage, one of the favourite minions of the king, who had made him a Capuchin, to beseech him, in the name of the kingdom's safety, to act as mediator between them and the sovereign, in order to solicit their pardon, and obtain his consent to return to his good city of Paris. The young monk lent himself graciously to all they wished, and started for Chartres, accompanied by the Jesuits Pigenat and Commolet, who had imagined a singular scene to touch the heart of the monarch.

At a mile from Chartres the train of the count du Bouchage alighted, made the rest of the journey in the following order: the young Capuchin, naked, headed the procession, dragging a huge cross of painted pasteboard, and wearing a crown of thorns on his head; by his side walked two young boys of remarkable beauty, almost naked, representing the Virgin and St. Madeline; behind them came a crowd of monks in the costume of the personages of the passion. This strange cortege arranged its march so as to arrive at the cathedral whilst Henry was at vespers. On entering the church, all the Capuchins thundered out the Miserere, in a lamentable tone, and two monks, disguised as executioners, detached themselves from the group, rushed upon the former minion of the king, struck him blows of discipline, and obliged him to come and cast himself at the feet of Henry the Third to implore his mercy. The marshal Borin, who was at the side of the king, indignant that they should play such a farce, wished to have all who composed the deputation arrested, but Henry prevented him.

His majesty had already seen the two handsome youths who figured in the procession as the Virgin and St. Madeline; he listened favourably to the pleadings of the monks, and promised to receive the Parisians into favour; he then dismissed all except the count du Bouchage, and his two acolytes, whom he made his minions.

Henry the Third then left Chartres, and went to Rouen, to receive a deputation from

the members of parliament; after these came the municipal officers, the trades, the provosts of the merchants, and the professors of the university. During more than a month the road was constantly furrowed by couriers and delegates going from Paris to Rouen, or from Rouen to Paris, to offer, or report proposals for an arrangement. Finally, whether the king meditated treason, or was really tired of the war, he showed himself very accommodating, offered to make peace with his enemy, and even published a new edict of union, which was a repetition of preceding treaties, by which his majesty erected the holy league into an institution. Henry, moreover, pledged himself to declare a war of extermination against the Huguenots, without truce or mercy; not to lay down his crown, until after having exterminated them to the last man; to exclude the king of Navarre from the throne of France; to appoint the duke of Guise generalissimo of his armies, and to give to the leaguers hostages and places which they should judge useful for their safety; moreover, and under pretext of adding solemnity to his engagements, he convened the states-general at Blois.

So many concessions exalted the pride of the duke of Guise, and gave him such an idea of his power, that he neglected the care of his own safety. This was precisely what Henry the Third, the worthy son of Catherine de Medicis, waited for. Guise, believing that he had only to stretch out his arm to seize the crown, preserved no respect towards the king, and even encouraged the imprudent vaunt of the dutchess of Montpensier, his sister, who affected to carry by her side golden scissors, which she intended to use, she said, to make a monkish tonsure for the last of the Valois. The cardinal of Guise, in imitation of his brother, did not fear, at a session of the states, to pass a severe criticism on the government of the king, and to call the attention of the nation to the abuses of royalty. Henry the Third devoured all these affronts in silence, and let no sign of anger, nor mark of irritation escape him. In the opinion of the vulgar, such conduct was the height of cowardice; in that of those who were initiated in the policy of courts, it was a proof that the prince was meditating a terrible vengeance. Some one of the partizans of the duke of Guise slipped an anonymous note beneath his plate, to urge him to be careful of his life. He read it, and wrote in lead pencil, "no one will dare attempt it." He then cast it under the table.

Some days afterwards, he went as usual to the council. As soon as he entered the castle, he remarked, that the doors were at once closed behind him, and what surprised him the more was, to see the guard reinforced, and a hundred Swiss ranged in line of battle upon the stairs; he, however, put a good face upon it, and went to take his place among the great dignitaries of the court. He had been there scarcely five minutes, when a page came to ask him to follow him to the king. He immediately rose and crossed the gallery which

separated the council chamber from the cabinet of the king, with rapid steps; but as he was raising the drapery which concealed the entrance, one of the officers of Henry the Third, named Saint Malines, seized him by the throat and struck him a blow of his dagger from the upper part of the breast downwards. Guise uttered but one cry and fell dead, which did not, however, prevent forty-five assassins from rushing upon his dead body, which they ran through with their swords in the presence of the king.

The cardinal of Guise, who had heard the cry of his brother, rose from his seat in the greatest trouble, saying, "Lo, they have killed my brother," and endeavoured to escape.—The marshals d'Aumont and de Retz arrested him at once in the name of the king, and conducted him to a garret, which served as his prison, and where he was stabbed by four soldiers, who had received four hundred crowns from his majesty to commit this murder.—The bodies of the two Guises were buried in quick lime, and their bones burned in one of the saloons of the castle of Blois, from fear lest the people should take a fancy to venerate them as the relics of holy martyrs.

These bloody executions over, Henry resumed the measures of an insolent despot, dissolved the states-general, and publicly announced that he was king, and knew how to make himself feared. He first sought to enter into an arrangement with the Parisians, and sent deputies to them to treat concerning their submission. But the soul of his councils was wanting; the terrible Catherine de Medicis was dead, and carried with her to the tomb, the secret of those Machiavelian plans, which had assured the triumph of her family over their enemies.

The leaguers would not listen to any proposals; they drove away the envoys of the king, and threatened to hang them if they dared to re-appear in the capital. We should say, that this city was then the theatre of deplorable scenes, in consequence of the religious exaltation which the Jesuits had excited. It was from Paris, from the bosom of the colleges of the disciples of Loyola, that went forth by bands, a crowd of satellites, breathing hatred, discord, and civil war, even to the extremities of the kingdom; it was in the capital, in their dwelling, in the street of St. Antoine, that the council of the league held its sessions; it was in this abominable house, and in the college of the street of St. Jacques, that these cabals were held, in which were elaborated all the plans of murder and poisoning, which were to be used in the triumph of the papacy, or rather in that of the Jesuits, who saw, close by, the subjugation of the whole universe to their order.

The Sorbonne assembled, and decreed, under the promptings of these wretches, that the French were freed from the oath of fidelity they had sworn to Henry the Third, and that they ought to draw the sword against him and his, in the defence of the Catholic religion. In all the provinces, priests and monks excom-

municated the last of the Valois, and broke his arms and statues, even in the churches. Finally, the duke of Mayenne, the brother of the unfortunate Guises, was declared lieutenant general of the kingdom, and invested by the council of Sixteen, with the sovereign power.

Whilst the Jesuits were exciting the people against Henry the Third, he was despatching ambassadors into Italy, with rich presents, to obtain from his holiness a disapproval of the conduct of the Jesuits, and an order for the dissolution of the holy league. But diligent as were the deputies of the king in their passage from Blois to Rome, they were outstripped by the Jesuits, and when John de Vivonne, marquis of Pisani, and the lord of Gondy, presented themselves at the Vatican, they found Sixtus informed of all they came to teach him. His holiness received them with an air of inexpressible hauteur, and interrupted them as soon as they commenced speaking, and reprimanded them for daring to justify their master for a crime committed in defiance of divine and human laws, on the person of a prince of the church.

"Your sodomite wren, is very bold," he exclaimed, in a paroxysm of rage, "in daring to lay his sacrilegious hand on our cardinals!—Does he think we are yet a keeper of pigs, and that like a stupid swineherd, we will see our herd murdered, merely shedding powerless tears? No, no, by God, he shall learn that we are the worthy successor of the apostle, the vicar of Christ, the ruler of the world, the supreme pontiff. He shall learn that we know how to avenge the honour of our church, and that the head of a cardinal is more precious than the heads of twenty kings."

The marquis of Pisani could not restrain his indignation, and replied, "What, holy father, has not the king, my master, liberty to rid himself of the cardinal de Guise, his mortal foe, since Pius the Fourth, your predecessor, caused the cardinal Caraffa, who was his friend, to be strangled of his own private authority?" This reply increased the fury of the pope; he threatened to accumulate the most frightful ills on France; he declared that he would crush with his thunderbolts, the assassins of the Guises, and notwithstanding the representations and the reiterated entreaties of Gondy, Pisani, and Claude Daguennes, bishop of Mans, the king was excommunicated.

From that moment, the clamours of the league redoubled in France; a Jesuit named Boucher, preached from the pulpit of St. Genevieve, that Henry the Third was a Turk in his head, a German in his body, a harpy in his hands, an Englishman in his garters, a Pole in his feet, a true Lucifer in his soul, adding, that Christians should knock him in the head like a mad dog. "And the king being thus, by the sentence of a priest, condemned to death," says the Journal of l'Estoile, "wax figures were made of him, which these wretches stretched out on the altar for forty consecutive hours, and which they pierced

with their poniards, during the celebration of divine service, in different parts of the body, especially in the temples, the heart, and the navel, pronouncing, at each blow, magical words, which they supposed to have the virtue of putting the king to death." The leaguers then advanced in arms to seize on Henry the Third, who was still at Tours.

In this extremity, the king found he had nothing left him but to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre, the leader of the Calvinists, and his old companion in debaucheries; by this junction, he was enabled to resume the offensive and drive back the troops of the duke of Mayenne, whom he pursued up to the gates of Paris.

The royal army, more than forty thousand strong, then encamped beneath the walls of the capital, besieged it, and cut off all communication with the country, so that it was impossible for the leaguers, placed between a starving population and veteran troops, to be able to continue the strife; but a resource, which they never hesitated to use, remained to the Jesuits, that of crime. The roofs of the churches resounded with furious declamations against Henry the Third, and a thousand voices called down all the vengeance of heaven and earth upon him. This profusion of curses produced the effect they anticipated. A young Jacobin, named Jacques Clement, exalted by their preaching, formed a plan to free the earth from this heretical king, whom the priests signalled out to the vengeance of men, and went to Father Bourgoyne, his superior, to unbosom himself; the latter immediately informed the Sixteen, the dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, as well as the dutchess of Montpensier, the fury of the league, of it; he recommended Jacques Clement to them as a man endowed with a savage energy, an ardent and unquiet mind, an ill-regulated imagination, of infamous morals, and possessing all the necessary qualities to insure the success of this difficult enterprise. He recommended him especially to Madame Montpensier, and begged her to try the power of her charms over the young Dominican. That same night, this Messalina sent for Jacques Clement to her palace, prostituted herself to him, and determined him to kill the king.

The Jesuits did not remain behind the dutchess, and seconded her so marvellously, by promising the Jacobin, in the name of the pope, to create him a cardinal if he succeeded, or to place him among the saints if he perished; the duke of Mayenne was then engaged about the mode of procuring for him an audience of Henry the Third. The chief of the league went to the bastille to find Achilles du Harlay and the count de Brienne, who were his prisoners, under the pretext of obtaining their good offices, and their intercession with the king, in order to enter into arrangements to terminate the war. He thus obtained letters for Henry the Third, and a passport, which he hastened to carry to his sister. The latter brought the monk to her palace, and after a night of debauchery, in which she enervated

him by the most burning caresses, she gave him the despatches intended for Henry the Third, and a poisoned knife.

Clement left Paris on the 31st of July, 1589, and went towards the royal camp; the advanced guard arrested him and led him before Jacques Ja Guesle, the attorney general, who was then at St. Cloud. He replied, unconcernedly to this magistrate, that he had letters for the king, which he could not deliver but to him. He was led immediately to Henry the Third, to whom he presented the letters of which he was the bearer, announcing that he was charged, besides, with an extremely important verbal message. His majesty immediately commanded his courtiers to retire, and remained alone with the Jacobin.

A few minutes afterwards, the king called for aid, crying out that he was assassinated, and whilst his guards were running in at his cry, he drew out the knife which Clement had plunged into his belly, and struck him with it in the face; the monk was killed on the spot by the guards. Some days afterwards, his body was dragged on a hurdle drawn by four horses, and burned before the church of St. Cloud. The king was mortally wounded, and died on the next day, appointing as his successor, Henry of Navarre, who took the name of Henry the Fourth.

This murder of the last descendent of the Valois, filled the Parisians with a joy which approached delirium. All, men and women, traversed the streets, exclaiming, "Huzza for St. Clement the martyr;" and the Dominicans, Capuchins, and Jesuits, demanded from their pulpits, that they should immolate the prisoners of the league to the manes of the regicide. Finally, the leaguers pushed their fanaticism so far as to place his portrait over the high altar, with this inscription written by the Jesuit Commolet:

"A young Jacobin, named Jacques Clement, presents a letter to Henry of Valois, in the burg of St. Cloud, and virtuously plants a well-sharpened knife in his stomach."

The clergy of Notre Dame even decided to raise a marble statue to the assassin, which should be exposed on the principal altar for the adoration of the faithful. Finally, says the abbot of Longuerne, the Sorbonne decreed that his canonization should be solicited at Rome, and the request was at once addressed to the sovereign pontiff.

Sixtus the Fifth, on hearing the news of the death of Henry the Third, allowed transports of indecent joy to escape him, and exclaimed, "Very well, the college of princes is delivered from a sot, and the kingdom of France is on fire." He then convened his cardinals in consistory, announced to them officially, the assassination of the king of France, enlorged Jacques Clement, whom he elevated above Judith and Eleazar, and prohibited them from celebrating for Henry the Third, the prayers which the church employed on the death of a sovereign. He then sent the cardinal Gaëtan to Paris, to increase the disorders in that kingdom, and to pro-

claim the cardinal of Bourbon king, by the name of Charles the Tenth, which took place. From that time the leaguers appeared to have redoubled their fury; Fathers Pigenat and Commolet no longer took any pains to conceal their plans of annihilating royalty; they preached regicide openly and daily; asked, in their sermons, for a man of courage and devotion who would free France from Henry of Navarre, whom they called a bastard, a heretic, an excommunicated, a relapsed person. On her side, the dutchess of Montpensier abandoned herself to the most disgusting debaucheries with vulgar assassins and cut purses, in order to find a new Jacques Clement. Whilst murder, ambition, fanaticism, and licentiousness were covering the soil of France, and paving the way for its subjection to the Holy See, Sixtus was exciting bloody collisions between England and Spain, and was urging the Catholic bishops of Germany to free themselves from the jurisdiction which Rodolph the Second wished to exercise over the clergy of his kingdom.

The latter protested, through his organ, the duke of Savelli, his ambassador at Rome, against the efforts of the agents of the pope; it was replied to him, that he had no right to make any complaint; that he ought to know that if fortune had placed the sword in the hands of the first emperors, their successors had not carried it for many years, except at the good pleasure of the popes, in order to maintain the interests of the Holy See, and not to destroy the immunities of the church; that the vicars of Christ held their authority from God alone, and that they would never suffer sovereigns to take cognizance of the affairs of the church, nor that the ministers of the altar should be lifted up by temporal princes. Savelli, availing himself skilfully of the opportunity, replied to the argument, that it was just that the emperor should not interfere in spiritual things, for the same reason that his holiness should not take part in temporal matters, and that he claimed, in the name of his master, the right of appointing the prefect of Rome, as the kings of the Romans have always done, previous to the pontificate of Sixtus the Fourth, one of his predecessors.

The pope, irritated at having been conquered by his own arms, exclaimed in anger, "Your master is king of the Romans in Germany, I admit; but he has no authority in Rome, because I am the sole lawful sovereign of it. Formerly, the popes followed rules and maxims, which it is no longer convenient for them to practise; I am emperor at Rome; the city belongs to me; I have a right to appoint magistrates, and I have determined to defend the justice of my cause against all who may pretend to command as masters in my states. The church orders, to render to God that which belongs to God, and to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar; now as the whole world belongs to God and his vicar, Cæsar has no right to possess but that which it pleases the popes to give him."

This discourse being reported to the emperor, convinced him that the ambition of Sixtus was insatiable, and that he dreamed of nothing but erecting the papacy into an universal dictatorship; he, consequently, sought the alliance of Spain, and made a treaty with Philip the Second, to oppose the ulterior plans of the pontiff, and to divide between them the kingdom of France, which appeared exhausted by religious wars, wars which threatened to be interminable, in consequence of the death of the cardinal de Bourbon, surnamed the King of the League, who had died in his prison at Fontenay in Poictou, where Henry the Fourth kept him. Independently of the king of Navarre, four other pretenders disputed the throne. The duke of Mayenne, who was already the depositary of supreme authority, as the lieutenant of the kingdom; the young duke of Guise, under whose name the dutchess of Montpensier, his aunt, hoped to reign as Catherine de Medicis had done under Charles the Ninth; the duke of Lorraine, the head of the family, who maintained that he had more right to the crown than the younger branch, since he had espoused the princess Claude, the sister of the late king. Finally, the king of Spain, who had also married a sister of Henry the Third, and who counted on his doubloons and the promise he had made to the principal leaguers, to triumph over his rivals, the princes of Lorraine.

In the midst of this conflict of interests so diverse, and of ambitions so opposed, the cardinal Gaëtan took the side of the richest, and on receiving considerable sums, he abandoned the cause of the pope, and carried over the Jesuits to the party of the king of Spain. The disciples of Ignatius Loyola changed their banners the more readily, since they had discovered that Sixtus the Fifth, with his imperious character, would never consent to become the instrument of their plans for universal sway. They then sold themselves to Philip, and the fathers Aubray, Pigenat, and Commolet laboured so well for his interests, that the Sixteen put to death three magistrates, named Brisson, Larcher, and Tardif, who wished to oppose the substitution of the tyranny of the king of Spain for that of their ancient kings. The cardinal de Gondy, bishop of Paris, was obliged to escape to avoid a like treatment, and the duke of Mayenne would doubtless have become their victim, had he not determined to hang four of these mad leaguers, in order to intimidate the Jesuits.

The affairs of Henry the Fourth were taking an extremely favourable turn; his authority was already recognised in a large number of cities in the provinces; several victories, gained over the troops of the league, gave more importance to his party daily; his military courage won hearts for him; finally, he had progressed so wonderfully in his affairs, that after the battles of Arques, he was in a position to lay siege to Paris.

Sixtus the Fifth, seeing that the league was in distress, and that, moreover, he could not hope for any thing from it favourable to his in-

terests, since the Jesuits was sold to Spain, declared openly against it. Philip the Second, to revenge this defection, declared that the pope was not a Catholic, since he abandoned the cause of religion; he accused him of having for a long time favoured the party of the queen of England, and of having even thought of protecting Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot. He spread abroad, profusely, violent writings against him, and ordered Duke Olivarez, his ambassador at Rome, to summon him to keep his engagements with him, in regard to the holy league, and in case of refusal, he enjoined on the duke to protest publicly against his holiness, and to declare him a heretic in full consistory. Olivarez went to the Vatican to obey the orders of his sovereign, and addressed energetic representations to the pontiff on the perfidy of his conduct towards Spain. Sixtus appeared to listen to him with great attention, and as he did not hasten to reply, the ambassador added, "Will your holiness speak and tell me of what you are thinking?"—"Yes," replied the pope, "since you are so curious to know my thoughts, I will tell you; I was thinking of having you thrown out of the window, to teach you to speak with more respect to the head of the church." Olivarez, who knew the character of the holy father, was satisfied with this reply, and left the consistory with a haste which excited the mirth of the sacred college.

Philip, on learning the bad success of his remonstrances, determined to strike a great blow, and to assemble a national council to depose Sixtus. He accordingly ordered his ambassador to summon the pope to appear before a synod of Spanish bishops, to hear himself condemned as an intruder, simoniac, adulterer, and heretic.

The duke, who feared the consequences of such a mission for himself, and who saw himself at the mercy of the cruel Sixtus if he obeyed, or a mark for the vengeance of the sanguinary Philip if he did not, determined to defer the citation of the pontiff until Christmas day, during the procession which was to take place then, so as to escape in the midst of the tumult. Unfortunately, the pope was warned, on the very eve of the festival, of what was to happen; he sent at once for the governor, and the two masters of ceremonies, and asked them if every thing had been prepared for the next day. On their reply that nothing was omitted, he added, "I want you to change the order of march. You governor, cause yourself to be preceded by four hundred sbirri and place yourself immediately before me, between two executioners, holding each a rope in his hands. If any one has the boldness to stop me on the way to present a writing, I wish him to be strangled at once, without any other form of process, be he prince, cardinal, or ambassador. Go and inform the representative of his Catholic majesty of my orders." Olivarez, warned of the treatment which the holy father had prepared for him, dared not leave his hotel, and contented himself with sending Philip an

account, written by two Spanish cardinals, of what had taken place.

This last effort served to exasperate Sixtus against the king of Spain, and he wrote at once, through Anne Austin, his mistress, to Elizabeth, that she had only to follow the example of the Romans, who sent Scipio into Africa to subdue Carthage, that is to say, to attack Philip the Second in his own kingdom, if she wished to finish with her enemy. She had an entirely natural pretext for carrying the war into Portugal, namely, to support the pretensions of Don Antonio to the throne of that country. At the same time, he recommended her to send succour in men and money to King Henry the Fourth, to enable that prince to contend advantageously against the league, and produce a useful diversion by forcing the king of Spain to sustain the war in France.

The queen followed the advice of the pope, and made an attempt at invasion on Portugal. But this enterprise, badly conceived and still worse conducted, failed completely, which so worried the pope, that he sent for Carey and ordered him to write at once to Elizabeth, that her conduct in Portugal had been that of a woman, not of a queen; and that all was lost if she acted in the same way in France, and did not make haste to place, at the disposal of Henry the Fourth, all the force she could spare. In fact, notwithstanding his efforts and his skill, the king of Navarre was constrained to abandon Paris, and to fall back on the provinces of the centre, to avoid measuring his strength with the allied army of the duke of Mayenne, and the duke of Parma, the governor of the Low Countries, who, by order of the king of Spain, had come to reinforce the leaguers, and to raise the siege of Paris, at the moment when the inhabitants, under the pressure of famine, were about to open their gates.

De Thou relates, that more than thirty thousand persons died of famine during this terrible blockade, which lasted for several months; that the Parisians made a kind of bread out of the bones of the dead, ground to flour, which was called the Montpensier bread, because it was believed that that princess had suggested the first idea of it. He affirms that he saw bands of famished soldiers traverse the streets chasing children, and disembowelling them to eat them, and that the mother disputed with these cannibals for pieces of the flesh to devour them.

It was only then that the Jesuits Bellarmine and Panigarole, permitted the Parisians to open conferences with the renegade Henry of Navarre, without incurring anathema. But during these conferences, the approach of the troops of the duke of Parma having compelled Henry to raise the siege, the city was freed from the blockade, and could be provisioned. From that moment the boldness of the leaguers re-awoke, fanaticism resumed its superiority, and the Jesuits, profiting by the circumstance to strengthen their sway over the minds, attributed the unhoped for

succour to their prayers, and organised a procession to render thanks to God.

The legate of the pope, and the bishop of Senlis assisted at this ceremony, and opened the march, with a cross in the right hand and a halberd in the left; after them came twelve hundred monks, wearing cuirasses above their frocks, and having casques over their hoods; six hundred Jesuits, and two hundred priests, armed with old muskets, pikes, and sabres, closed the procession. But that which, above all, excited the applause of the devotees, was a lame monk, called Father Bernard, and surnamed the little Feuillant, a kind of charlatan monk, rope dancer, and juggler, who ran unceasingly from the head to the rear of the procession with surprising agility, now on his head and hands, now on stilts, stopping from time to time to brandish a large sword, which he plunged down his throat, and which he drew back very skilfully by means of an ingenious mechanism which caused the sword to re-enter its scabbard.

These religious saturnalia served to exasperate the pope against the Jesuits, the originators of them, and as he dreaded to see the preponderance of this execrable order still further increased, he determined to take a vigorous resolution respecting them. He ordered their general to prohibit all his subordinates from residing in the palaces of princes under the specious pretext of being their confessors; he wished also to recall such of them as were traversing Scotland, the Low Countries, Ireland, and England, under the name of missionaries, but in reality, to excite troubles in those countries; and, finally, he declared, in full consistory, that it was actual blasphemy to call any religious order, Jesuits; that this name implied of itself a false idea that Christ was the founder of it, and he desired that in future the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, would call themselves Ignatians. He added also that his patience was exhausted, that the knaveries, crimes, debauchery, and insatiable ambition of the members of this society, compelled him to carry on a reform among them, and cut out the evil by the roots. On the next day they affixed to the statue of Pasquin, "Sixtus the Fifth is tired of life." Some days after, the 27th of August, 1590, his holiness died from being poisoned.

Several historians maintain that the crime was committed at the instigation of Spain, by an apothecary named Magin, who mixed poison in pills of manna, which the holy father took twice a month. Meteren and some other writers affirm, positively, that the Jesuits were the authors of it. For ourselves, in the uncertainty in which we are placed as to pronouncing upon either of these opinions, we admit them both, and that the more reasonably, since his holiness himself so thought, when, on his death-bed, he said to the cardinal Montalto, "God is unwilling that the kingdom of Naples should be united to the church, for King Philip has discovered our design, and the Jesuits have punished me for it."

Sixtus the Fifth, during the whole of his reign, preferred to govern as a prince rather than a pope; which induced Leti, in the justification he undertook to make of this pontiff, to say, "Thus in his capacity of sovereign he was obliged to use bad faith and duplicity, and to employ intrigue and treason, and even commit crimes, to make his designs successful; but that in his sacerdotal functions, he remained always holy among the holy, and orthodox among the orthodox."

Sixtus had not, in fact, recoiled before any means to restore to the papacy its former

splendour; he had armed kings against each other, and during the terrible combats he had excited, he hovered over Europe from the heights of Rome, ready to pounce upon the vanquished, like crows on the dead bodies at the close of a battle. His rapacity and cruelty had excited such a hatred against him, that on the day of his death, a revolution broke out in the holy city; the people ran to arms, broke the statues of the tyrant, drove off his satellites, and went to besiege the Vatican to seize the dead body and cast it into the Tiber.

URBAN THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1590.]

Election of the cardinal Castagna—His history before his pontificate—His holiness remits to the indigent the debts they had contracted at the pawnbrokers—Virtues of Pope Urban—His plans of reform—He dies like his predecessor, poisoned by the Jesuits.

THE Spaniards were delighted at the death of Sixtus the Fifth; the leaguers of France also made festivals commemorative of that happy event, and the Jesuit Aubri, the curate of St. André des Arcs, even pronounced in his pulpit the following discourse:—"God has delivered us in good season of an execrable pope, my brethren, for if he had lived much longer, we would have been obliged to have excommunicated him, since he was an adulterer, an incestuous person, a simoniac, a magician, a sodomite, and a heretic. This wretch was not content with robbing the faithful to enrich his nieces and nephews, who were so many minions and mistresses for him, he even desired to declare himself the protector of the Bearnese, the better to weigh us down; but God has crushed this satan crowned with a tiara."

After the funeral of Sixtus, the cardinals, seventy in number, assembled in conclave and went to caballing as usual. But on the seventh day, some of the candidates having desisted from their pretensions in favour of the cardinal of St. Marcel, his party found itself the strongest, and it was foreseen that the day would not pass by without his being named pope.

In this foresight, the conclavists packed up the goods of the cardinals, and themselves broke down the partitions between the cells, to take away from the soldiers all hopes of pillage, as was practised at elections. All the sacred college assisted at the celebration of divine service, in the Pauline chapel, and then proceeded to count the votes. The cardinal Castagna de St. Marcel, obtained two-thirds of the votes, as was expected, and was proclaimed pope; but it was agreed among the cardinals, that they would keep his promotion secret for some hours, to give time to the do-

mestics to carry off the baggage which had been prepared; and they burned the ballots, as was done in the other sessions, which indicated that the pope was not chosen; only they proclaimed, that they would not be long in terminating the conclave. In fact, as soon as the moving was over, they went to the royal saloon, to clothe themselves in their rockets and camails, when they returned to the Pauline chapel and adored the new pontiff, who took the name of Urban the Seventh.

John Baptist Castagna was born at Rome; his father was named Cosmo, and his mother Riccia; having arrived at the age of manhood, the young Cosmo surrendered himself with ardour to the study of the civil and canon law, which at that period were more necessary in order to reach ecclesiastical dignities, than a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He was distinguished by Pius the Fourth, who appointed him one of his deputies to the council of Trent, and gave him, successively, the nunciatures of Spain and Venice. He also discharged an extraordinary legation at Cologne, under Gregory the Thirteenth, and superintended the negotiations for a treaty which was to have been made between Philip the Second and the Low Countries. The skill which he displayed in this mission, procured for him enormous benefices and a cardinal's hat as a recompense.

Sixtus the Fifth loaded him with favours, attached him to his private councils, and during his whole reign, did not cease to advise with him on all important questions of government. Every time that his holiness was called upon to express an opinion about Castagna, he said, that this cardinal was the member of the sacred college, who best understood the duties of the papacy, that he hoped with his aid to tame the Jesuits, and that he asked

from God but one favour, when he should have recalled him to himself, which was, to have him for a successor.

The election of Urban the Seventh was received with the more joy by the burghers and workmen of Rome, since he had acquired the friendship of the citizens by an unbroken probity in his administrative functions, and by the equity he had always shown in the exercise of justice.

Moreover, his first acts as sovereign pontiff corresponded perfectly with their antecedents; on the very day of his coronation, he paid, from his own purse, all the debts to the pawn-brokers, and ordered his officers to distribute bread and viands among the poor of the city and suburbs. Some days after he had a census taken of the poor who were unable to work, and charged himself with providing for their wants; he even made an ordinance which enjoined on the bakers to increase the weight of bread, improve its quality, and lower the price of it, so that the people should have wholesome food, and should not be deceived in their purchases.

This good pope was so great an enemy to nepotism, that he replied to the cardinals who proposed to him to fill the principal dignities of the court of Rome with his near relatives, "No, I do not wish to give offices to members of

my family, so that I may not be restrained by any considerations, if those to whom I give my confidence become prevaricators, and I am obliged to act against them."

Urban was simple in his language, modest in his manners, of an evangelical mildness, which, however, did not exclude him from a love of the arts, for he announced that it was his intention to continue the edifices and architectural works commenced by Sixtus the Fifth. He even had the courage to blame the policy of his predecessor, and informed the ambassadors of the powers, that he wished, during his reign, the people should see hostilities end, and that the princes should labour with him to restore concord among the faithful, not by terror or the fear of punishment, but by persuasion and mildness. To commence this work of pacification, he appointed a commission, which was to proceed without delay to the reform of the religious orders, and particularly to that of the company of Jesus, the centre of every intrigue, the hearth-stone of all the fires which covered the kingdoms. But the good fathers knew how to prevent this, and in less than twelve days after his exaltation, on the 26th of September, he died, poisoned, says Mezerai, in the same way as Sixtus the Fifth; by the agency of the Jesuits.

GREGORY THE FOURTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1590.]

Election of the cardinal of Cremona—His history before his pontificate—Demands of the Catholics of France—The new pope declares for the league—He excommunicates the king of Navarre—He favours Spain and the Jesuits—His death.

AFTER the funeral of the virtuous Urban the Seventh, fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave and proclaimed, on motion of Montalto, the cardinal Nicholas of Cremona sovereign pontiff by the name of Gregory the Fourteenth. "He was a man not made to command," say historians; "pusillanimous, slothful, and infatuated with his person, he had none of the knowledge necessary for a mere bishop." Thus his exaltation to the chair of the apostle was a true public calamity.

Five days after his coronation, he announced himself favourable to the Jesuits and joined Spain and the league to avoid the fate of his predecessors. "He did more," says Mezerai, "he employed the treasures which Sixtus the Fifth had left in the cellars of the Vatican, and which Urban the Seventh had not touched, to levy an army of twelve thousand men, which he sent to the aid of the league, the command of which was confided to Count Hercules Spondiato, his nephew, whom he had created duke of Monte Marciano. He then published two monitory let-

ters, which enjoined on ecclesiastics, lords, magistrates, and the faithful to leave the kingdom of Henry of Bourbon in fifteen days' time, under penalty of excommunication; he fulminated new bulls of anathema against the king, declaring him to be a relapsed heretic, deprived of his crown and all his domains and lordships.

Marcellino Laudiano, the keeper of the seals of the court of Rome, was ordered to go to France with some Jesuits to spread those bulls through the kingdom, and to set them up in all the cities which held for the league. But these censures, instead of the good which the pope expected, produced a very bad effect. The parliament, which was at Tours, whither Henry the Third had transferred it and the chamber of Chalons, which was a part of it, condemned the pontifical bulls to be burned, and ordered the body of the nuncio who was the bearer of them to be seized. An assembly of bishops declared that they were contrary to the canons, the councils, the spirit of, evangelical doctrine, as well as the constant

usages of the Gallic church; that they were abusive in their groundwork and form. The king, instead of losing his authority through them, found himself stronger than ever, and revoked the ancient edicts against the Huguenots.

Gregory did not permit himself to be de-

feated by this check; he entered into an active correspondence with the Sixteen, and openly urged the leaguers to present the crown of France to the king of Spain. He had not, however, the satisfaction to see the realisation of his plan; he died fifteen days afterwards, on the 15th of October, 1591.

INNOCENT THE NINTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1591.]

Election of Innocent the Ninth—His history before his pontificate—His virtues and talents—He wishes to pacify Europe and reform the church—He dies after a reign of two months.

As soon as the mortal remains of Gregory the Fourteenth had been deposited in the vaults of St. Peter, the cardinals entered the conclave. Before closing the doors, the ambassadors of the different powers came, according to custom, to recommend their creatures; the doors and windows were then walled up, and the intrigues commenced. One night was enough to choose a pope; the Spanish cardinals paid for votes in cash, and in the morning Sforza, Mendoza, Gaëtan, Borromeo, Ascanio Colonna, Mathei, Lancelot, and Montalto, went to the chamber of Santi Quattro, where Sfondrato with his partizans already was, and announced to him, that they were about to nominate him as sovereign pontiff at once. The other cardinals who had been gained over applauded this proposal, and led Fachinetti de Santi Quattro to the Pauline chapel, where they chose him by acclamation, and proclaimed him supreme chief of the church by the name of Innocent the Ninth.

The new pope was immediately placed in the chair of the apostle, and received the adoration of the sacred college; he was then seated on the altar and received the second adoration; finally, they mounted him on a lofty throne, which priests bore on their shoulders and carried him to the church of St. Peter. When the prayer of the holy sacrament was finished, he was placed on an elevated plat-

form near the altar of the holy apostles, and received solemnly the third adoration.

As Innocent the Ninth had been raised by his merit alone from the lowest ranks of the clergy to the highest dignities, the Spaniards hoped to derive advantage from a pope who owed his tiara to them; it turned out otherwise. The virtuous Fachinetti was desirous of using the supreme authority for the good of the people; he first diminished the excessive imposts which Sixtus the Fifth had laid upon the holy city; he reduced his troops by one half, dismissed a large number of the courtiers and gilded valets which encumbered the halls of the Vatican, and thus procured the means of succouring the poor of Rome, without injuring the condition of the treasury. He then assembled the sacred college, and declared to his cardinals that he was determined to restore peace to Europe, to put an end to the causes of the disorders, and no longer permit the Jesuits to labour for the conversion of heretics, except by persuasion and the example of good works. This solemn declaration enlightened the Spaniards as to what they were to expect from such a pope, and his death was resolved upon. Two months after his election, on the 30th of December, 1591, the Virtuous died, poisoned by the very persons who had elevated him to the pontifical throne.

CLEMENT THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1592.]

Election of the cardinal Aldobrandin—His origin—The commencement of his pontificate—He wishes to have a king chosen in France—The Jesuits arm Jean Chatel against Henry the Fourth—They are driven from France—Negotiations for the absolution of Henry the Fourth—Ignominious ceremony to which the ambassadors of the king of France submit—Clement makes an effort to bring back the Greeks to orthodoxy—Letter of Henry the Fourth to the holy father—Death of Philip the Second, king of Spain—History of the inquisition during his reign—Divorce of Henry the Fourth and Queen Margaret—Affair of the marquise de Saluces—Negotiations of his holiness with Spain and England—Re-establishment of the Jesuits in France—Death of Elizabeth of England—Singular decision of the protestants—Outbreak at Rome—Death of Clement the Eighth.

NINE days after the death of Innocent the Ninth, fifty-two cardinals entered into conclave. According to the constitution of the sacred college, two thirds of the votes were necessary to choose a pope by ballot, that is to say, thirty-five votes out of fifty-two, and if there were two more, that is to say, thirty-seven, so that the election could be made spontaneously, it was called by adoration.

The Spanish ambassador negotiated so skillfully in favour of the cardinal St. Severin, his protegee, that on the very evening of entering the conclave, he had obtained thirty-seven voices. The latter wished them to proceed at once to his exaltation; but the ambassador objected that the rules demanded that he should not be present at the ceremony, and besought the cardinals of his party to wait until he had retired, and to defer the ceremony until the next day. Unfortunately, during the night, a small party was formed, which had for its leader Altaemps, and which announced that the election of the cardinal of St. Severin ought to be thwarted. Without loss of time, Montalto, who dreaded lest the malcontents should be reinforced by some defections, wished to use the stratagem which had succeeded at the preceding election, and went with his creatures to the chamber of Severin, to lead him to the Pauline chapel, and make him pope by adoration.

This time it was not so successful; the night had sufficed to procure a defection, and when the party of Severin wished to proceed to his exaltation, they found that they numbered but thirty-six. Still they made a great noise, going through the passages and exclaiming, "Severin is pope." As they were traversing the royal saloon, Altaemps met them and addressed some remarks to them, but instead of listening to him, they cried out louder, and St. Severin approached his adversary as if to embrace him, but in reality, to prevent his speaking. Altaemps, being no longer master of his anger, seized the candidate of the Spaniards by his camail and struck him in the breast two such vigorous blows with his fist, that he knocked him down. St. Severin was wrested by his partizans from the hands of his furious adversary, and though stunned by

the fall, he retraced his steps in great haste to the Pauline chapel, that they should proceed without delay to his election by ballot. But, when they collected the votes, it was discovered that the thirty-six cardinals who had accompanied him into the royal saloon were reduced to thirty-three.

The cardinal St. Severin cried out treason, and wished to proceed, regarding himself as canonically chosen, since he had counted thirty-seven votes, and maintaining that the ridiculous customs of adoration or counting, did not constitute an election, and only served to collect the votes; that he was consequently pope, and that they ought to enthrone him. He had even commenced putting on the pontifical ornaments, when the cardinal de Joyeuse entered the conclave. The two parties stopped disputing, and sought to gain the new comer to their side; he, finding himself as it were, the arbiter of the destinies of the Holy See, resolved to take advantage of the circumstance for his own interest, and to give to Christendom a chief of his own party; he avoided deciding in favour of either of them, and, under pretext of restoring harmony, proposed to make the cardinal Aldobrandin pope. By one of those strange revolutions which sometimes occur in elective assemblies, the majority abandoned their first candidate, and proclaimed the cardinal Hippolyte Aldobrandin pope, by the name of Clement the Eighth.

He was, according to an Italian historian, bolder than Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-third; prouder and greedier of sway than Gregory the Seventh and Sixtus the Fifth; more perfidious than Alexander the Sixth; he was, in fine, a pope who announced himself worthy to occupy the chair of the apostle. He commenced his reign by a truly extraordinary measure; he sent to inform the cardinal de Gondy, archbishop of Paris, who was preparing to go to Rome to carry proposals for peace, in the name of Henry the Fourth, that he did not wish to listen to any arrangements with a heretical king, and that he must not leave his see under penalty of suspension from his dignities, and privation of his benefices.

The cardinal was not intimidated by the

threats, and urged his departure the more, since he was informed that the holy father was making his arrangements to choose a Catholic king for France. His arrival at Rome did not, however, change the dispositions of Clement, and though he attempted it, he could not prevent the publication of a brief addressed to the cardinal Sega, bishop of Florence, who was performing the functions of legate in France, since the withdrawal of Gaëtan, and in which his holiness enjoined on all the Catholic French to choose a sovereign of their own creed. The parliament of Paris hastened to register the bull, but the chamber of Châlons immediately made a decree by which Philip Sega was summoned to answer for his conduct in person, and all citizens were prohibited from preserving or publishing the bull of Clement the Eighth, from aiding the rebels, and from going to meetings held for the election of a king, under penalty, if nobles, of degradation and infamy, if ecclesiastics, of privation of their benefices, and of being treated as disturbers of the public peace, as guilty of lese-majesty, and as traitors to their country. It moreover ordered, that the cities designated by the factions as the places for the election of a king, should be razed to their foundations and never be rebuilt.

A new sentence of the parliament of Paris condemned the decree of the chamber of Châlons to be burned; the leaguers then convened the states-general, and proposed to repeal the Salic law, in order to seat on the throne of France the infanta Isabella, the daughter of Philip the Second, to marry her to the archduke Ernest, the son of the emperor of Germany, and consequently to place France beneath the yoke of the house of Austria. But the duke of Mayenne, who desired the royal crown for himself, opposed this arrangement and defeated it. The parliament then decreed the marriage of the young queen to the duke of Guise, the son of Balafre. The duke de Mayenne, discontented with this new arrangement, opposed it, and when he saw it was impossible to obtain the suffrages of the assembly for himself, he thought of treating with the king of Navarre for better terms.

From that moment, men's minds appeared to have taken an entirely different direction; the leaguers affected patriotic sentiments, declaring that it was unworthy of Frenchmen to wish to range themselves under a foreign sway. Even the bishop of Senlis, that fierce Jesuit, who had directed the procession of the league, yielded to the influence of the money of the Bearnese. "No one can doubt," said he in a sermon, "that Philip the Second, under the pretext of religion, seeks but to attain the end of his perfidious ambition; and I beseech all honest Catholics, to declare themselves, like me, the enemies of that monster." The parliament of Paris also revoked its preceding decisions, and passed a decree to prevent the elevation of any foreigner to the throne, and to revoke all it had done against the Salic law, and the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

Finally, this assembly, convened by the pope, from which the Spaniards expected such great results, only produced a satire called *Menippeus*, which, by turning them into ridicule, inflicted on them a worse blow than the greatest defeat could have done. To increase their mishap, Henry the Fourth solemnly abjured Calvinism in the church of St. Denis, on Sunday the 25th of July, 1593, and was absolved by the bishop of Bourges, assisted by the cardinal Vendome, from the anathemas and excommunications lanced against him by the court of Rome.

Philip Sega, the apostolic nuncio, who was in the interests of Spain, protested against what he called a false conversion, and maintained that a relapsed heretic could only be absolved by the pontiff. Henry then deputed the duke of Nevers to obtain from the holy father a recall of the censures pronounced against his person; but the ambassador could not change the dispositions of the Holy See. Gregory refused obstinately to absolve the king, and declared that it was his formal intention to exclude him from the throne of France.

The general of the Jesuits at the same time sent orders to the members of the society in Paris, and enjoined on them to seek out an assassin and to do with Henry the Fourth, as they had done with Henry the Third. The good fathers made inquiries in the capital and the provinces, to find what his holiness wished—a fanatic ready to sacrifice his life in the defence of religion. Their efforts were crowned with success; a poor madman, named Barrière, who had become insane from the loss of his mistress, presented himself to the Jesuits of Orleans, and offered to assassinate the king. They listened to his avowal, strengthened him in his determination, and sent him to Paris, to the reverend Father Aubry, curate of St. Andre des Arcs, who immediately conducted him to Varade, one of the heads of his order. But the effort failed. The murderer, on leaving Paris to go to the king, was arrested at Melun, with a poisoned dagger on him; being immediately put to the torture, he was, on his avowals, convicted of the crime of lese-majesty, condemned to death, and executed at once.

This fruitless effort struck a fatal blow to the league; not from the horror which the crime inspired, but only because all foresaw that the reign of the Jesuits was reaching a catastrophe. In fact, new defections occurred daily among the leaguers. Vitri, the governor of Meaux, came to surrender to Henry the keys of the fortress which he commanded; the lord of Alincourt opened the gates of Pontoise to him; the marshal de la Chartre, restored Orleans and Bourges, and Ornano submitted with the city of Lyons; finally, the duke de Mayenne having retired from Paris, the duke de Feria, the Spanish troops, and the most determined leaguers were obliged to leave the capital, and the king made his solemn entry into it, on the 22d March, 1594. The parliament decreed obedience to Henry to be obli-

gatory on all Frenchmen, under penalty of the crime of lese-majesty, and the Sorbonne also added, under penalty of mortal sin. All the registers containing decisions injurious to the prince, were then torn up, and all the writings published against him were burned. Rouen, Laon—almost all the great cities, whole provinces, to the very extremities of the kingdom, imitated the example of Paris, and the fiercest and most powerful lords, not even excepting the duke of Guise, recognised the authority of the relaxed heretic Henry the Fourth.

But whilst all orders in the state were making a merit of their submission, it was not so with the religious orders, placed under the influence of the court of Rome; the Chartreux, the Dominicans, the Jacobins, the Capuchins, the Franciscans, and especially the Jesuits, refused to admit Henry the Fourth to a participation in the public prayers, and even uttered threats and insults so violent in their sermons, that it was determined to revive an old suit pending between the Society of Jesus and the university in regard to instruction, in order to have the children of Loyola condemned and expelled from France, without the holy father being called upon to take upon himself the responsibility of this measure. Both parties prepared for the struggle by inundating the capital with pamphlets; the friends of the university called the Jesuits poisoners, favourers of troubles, instigators of regicide, and demanded their banishment from the kingdom; the latter replied vigorously, and embittered against the university all the devotees and fanatics they could recruit. Finally, the combat became formal, and the parties appeared before the parliament. Antony Arnaud, an advocate of Paris, employed by the university, made that famous speech which is called the original sin of his family, and in which he represented the Jesuits in the most odious colours, accusing them of being the promoters of the league, the hired assassins of Philip the Second, the accomplices of Jacques Clement, Barrière, and Babington, the corrupters of youth, the enemies of the human race.

"It is time that the world had learned to know the Jesuits," exclaimed the eloquent advocate, in the warmth of his discourse; "it is time that the nations were doing justice on these sanguinary vampyres who hover over our heads, and are making ready to devour us. People, learn that these execrable props of the pope wish to do in France as they have done in America, where twenty millions of men, women, and children have been polluted, burned, or murdered under the pretext of religion. Learn that their love for gold is as insatiable as their thirst for blood, and that they have depopulated whole islands to assuage their cupidity—forcing men to bury themselves alive in the mines, and constraining women to labour on the land red with the blood of their children.

"Learn that they are the inventors of those new tortures which they have made four

thousand men undergo at once, who remained exposed for whole months to all the inclemencies of the seasons, attached to each other by iron chains, entirely naked, and whipped three times a day until they shall point out the place where supposed treasures are concealed; and as these unfortunate men have nothing to discover, they become enraged at them and kill them by blows of clubs; so that these unfortunate Indians, in order to escape the barbarity of the Jesuits, fly to the mountains, where, in despair, they hang themselves to the trees of the forest with their wives and children.

"Know that these execrable disciples of Ignatius Loyola, push their barbarity so far as to hunt the fugitives like stags and wild boars, and allow their dogs to eat them; or if they save their lives, it is to compel these unfortunate beings to collect honey and wax in the forests, where they are soon suffocated by serpents, or devoured by tigers: or else it is to use them as divers, at the risk of having them eaten by sharks; or to form them into bands and send them to fight their brethren in the savannahs.

"Finally, their avarice is such, and their contempt for the human race so great, that, when they transport their slaves from one island to another, they encumber their vessels with the Indians, without taking the trouble to inquire if they are large enough to hold them all, or whether they shall not be compelled to cast some into the sea to lighten their vessel in the slightest blow. Thus, in order to navigate from the island of Lucaye to that of Cuba, there is no need of compass or chart, and it is only necessary to follow the track of the dead bodies of Indians who are floating on the sea. . . ." Antony Arnaud argued, from all these facts, that it was necessary to banish these wretches from the kingdom, and urged their condemnation.

The Jesuits, unable to free themselves from all these charges, which had been sustained by incontestable witnesses and irresistible proofs, turned towards Rome and besought Clement the Eighth to interfere in the quarrel. As Henry the Fourth was very anxious to be relieved from the ecclesiastical censures, there was no difficulty in his holiness obtaining from the king, that the trial, already so many times commenced and broken off, should be again deferred for fuller information, that is, to an indefinite period. But the good fathers, foreseeing that the struggle would recommence as soon as the king had been reconciled to the church, wished to prevent the effects of his ill will, and armed an assassin against him for the second time.

A young man of nineteen, a student in one of their colleges, penetrated into the interior of the Louvre, as far as the chamber of Gabrielle d'Estées on the very day on which Henry had arrived from Picardy and was receiving the lords of his court; and whilst the king was bending to raise two leaguers, Ragni and Monsigni, who had come to do homage to him, he struck him a blow of his knife which

cut his upper lip, and broke one of his teeth. Henry immediately put his hand to his mouth, and drawing it back covered with blood, exclaimed, "I am wounded!" then, looking around him, and perceiving a woman named Mathurina, who had for a long time followed the court in the capacity of fool, he added, "To the devil with the fool! It is she who has struck me." This woman immediately ran to close the door, thus indicating that she was innocent, and that they ought to seek for the guilty. The count de Soissons then perceived by his side a young man who appeared to be very much agitated. He seized him by the arm, and seeing his agitation increase, said to him, "It is you or I who struck the blow;" then, putting his hand into his doublet, he drew out a bloody knife. His majesty wished them to let the assassin go on account of his extreme youth, and said that he pardoned him; but when, in one of his replies, the criminal declared that he came from the college of the Jesuits, the king reviewed his former decision, and ordered them to secure his person.

The grand provost immediately seized the regicide, and conducted him to the For-l'Eveque, and then to the Conciergerie, where he was interrogated by the president de Thou, and led before the parliament for judgment. He said his name was Jean Chatel; that he was the son of a rich merchant tailor, and had studied in the college of Clermont, so called, because the buildings had been given to the Jesuits by one of their protectors, the bishop of Clermont; he also avowed, that having contracted the horrid crime of sodomoy, and being unable to overcome his depraved taste, and being unwilling to lose his share of heaven, he had determined to expiate his faults by assassinating the king; which, from what he had heard in the sermons of the fathers of the college, he thought to be the action most agreeable to God. He added, that he had consulted his regent, the Jesuit Gueret, two days before the attempt, in regard to scruples of conscience, and that he had not, however, spoken to him of his plan. He was put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, which he supported very courageously, and without making any other avowal. His sentence of death was pronounced, and executed on the same day; the parricidal knife was placed in his right hand, thus armed, it was burned by the executioner; he was then torn with red hot pincers, dragged by four horses, and appeared insensible to the sharp pangs of the most frightful punishment; finally, his limbs, separated from the trunk, were thrown into the fire, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

The Jesuits, who had made a holy martyr of Jacques Clement, also inscribed Jean Chatel in their martyrology, but they dared not officially celebrate his worship, in consequence of the supervision exercised over their houses. Parliament ordered close examinations to be made in their colleges, which brought to light singular discoveries; amongst other things, there were found, among the papers of Father

Guignard, sermons, in which that virtuous Jesuit designated Henry the Fourth by the name of the fox of Bearn; Elizabeth of England, by that of the she wolf; the king of Sweden, by that of the griffin, and the elector of Saxony, by that of the hog. There were found in a secret press different papers, in which these reverends said, that Henry of Navarre should be too happy, that they should be willing to confine him all his life in the dungeons of a monastery, that he might do penance; that he deserved a thousand deaths for his crimes and his heresies, and that if they could not kill him during the war, they must assassinate him during the peace.

These pamphlets decided the fate of the society in France, and put an end to the trial which had been going on for thirty years; they were driven from the kingdom by the following sentence of the parliament:—"We order that the priests and scholars of the Society of Jesus, disturbers of the public repose, enemies of the state, corrupters of youth, shall leave the kingdom in fifteen days, under penalty of being treated as guilty of lese-majesty; their goods shall be seized and confiscated to the profit of the king"—Father Gueret, the professor of philosophy, was, moreover, put to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, and then exiled, and the Father Guignard was condemned to be hung on the Place de Grève.

The house of Jean Chatel was razed to the ground, and on it was erected a pyramid with four faces, on which were engraved the decree of parliament, and the inscriptions which devoted the Jesuits and their satellites to the execration of men. This condemnation, which extended to the whole order, made a great sensation in Europe, and especially at the court of Rome. Clement the Eighth, clamoured against its having gone to such an extreme; he declared, in full consistory, that the Jesuits had deserved well of the church, and made an apology for the fathers who had died in the cause of the Holy See.

"A simple decree of parliament," says l'Estoile, produced, however, in one day, what four battles could not have accomplished.—Tranquillity was restored to France, and the policy of the holy father entirely changed."

His holiness began to fear, lest the French, who had recognised the king, regardless of the excommunications of Rome, might undertake to govern the Gallic church, by creating a patriarch, charged with the direction of ecclesiastical affairs; and to avoid a blow so fatal to his authority, he sought to draw the cardinal Gondy to him, and informed that prelate, that if the king would send a solemn embassy to him, it would find him well disposed to second the pious wishes of his majesty.

Henry, who was already thinking of soliciting from Rome his divorce from Queen Margaret, sent at once Arnaud d'Ossat and Du Perron, with the title of plenipotentiaries, to arrange with Clement the Eighth, the conditions of his reconciliation with the church.—But in the interval, the Spaniards having

obtained some advantages over the French troops, and having even succeeding in taking Dourlens from the admiral Villars, who was murdered in cold blood by order of Contreras, the commissary general of the troops of Philip, the holy father, who had shown himself so accommodating, became exacting, and would not consent to relieve the king from the censures pronounced against him, but on the following terms:—"1. The ambassadors were to pronounce in the name of the king a solemn abjuration, and were to submit to the humiliating ceremonies used in the church on such occasions.—2. The king of France should re-establish Catholicism in Bearn, and should take under his protection all the orthodox priests, and should give them appointments on his own purse, until he had provided them with good benefices.—3. The ecclesiastics devoted to the court of Rome, should alone hold the employments and dignities of the church.—4. His majesty should publish and observe the decisions of the council of Trent, although his predecessors had declared them to be encroachments on the rights of the nation, and destructive of all freedom.—5. The king shall observe a rigorous fast for nine months, shall recite paternosters night and day, shall hear mass daily, shall confess himself at least four times a year, and shall receive the holy communion; finally, he shall build a great number of monasteries, and recall the Jesuits."

By the instructions of Henry the Fourth, the ambassadors subscribed to the demands of Clement the Eighth.

Preparations were then made for the absolution of Henry the Fourth, to which the pope wished to give an extraordinary splendour.—A spacious platform was erected in the midst of the porch of St. Peter, and on the 17th of September, in the year 1595, the pontiff sallied from the Vatican, escorted by all his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, great officers, penitentiaries, masters of ceremonies, and went to occupy a magnificent throne, covered with rich hangings of silk and gold, glittering with precious stones, which was raised on the platform facing the church, whose doors were closed. Du Perron and d'Ossat approached the throne, with their heads uncovered, in the attitude of suppliants, prostrated themselves on all the steps of the platform, and humbly kissed the feet of the pope; then, without rising, they abjured, in a loud and mournful voice, Calvinism in the name of their master. Clement then read them the conditions to which Henry must submit, to obtain his absolution; after which they swore upon the gospel, in the presence of all the people and the ambassadors, that their king would conform to all the wishes of the court of Rome; he then made them a sign to lay flat on their stomachs, and arming himself with the rod of a burgher, he gave them three blows in honour of the Holy Trinity; he then placed his foot on their necks, and the clergy thundered forth the *Miserere*.

At the end of each verse, his holiness struck the two representatives of the king of France

with his rod, and that so vigorously, that d'Aubigné, who has left us a description of this ceremony, says, that the poor ambassadors had blue and black marks on their shoulders for several weeks. What he thought of the conduct of Henry the Fourth on this occasion, may be judged from the manner in which he expresses himself:—"Do you not perceive how the state submits to the church; since the king, who has shown himself so brave on the battle field, debases himself before the mules of the pope; how graciously he receives the cuffs of his holiness in the persons of his ambassadors, who are crouched on their bellies to dig the ground like a pair of mackerel on a gridle, from the *Miserere* to the *Vitulos*. Still, as if this excess of baseness was not enough to reconcile the prince with heaven, he must play the same game with Monseigneur the Roman legate, and the most he could obtain was to keep on his stockings to receive the holy cuff."

This humiliating ceremony over, Du Perron and d'Ossat arose, and the holy father performed the formula of the absolution in a loud voice:—"By the authority of God all powerful, by that of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by my own, which is above all the powers of the earth, I absolve Henry of Bourbon, king of France." The gates of the church were immediately opened; Clement turned towards the two ambassadors, and extending his arms towards the church added, "Now that I have opened the gates of the church to your master, remember, he must avoid compelling me to shut them again." The cannon of the castle of San Angelo fixed its salvos, the sound of the trumpet joined the noise of the artillery, and taught the world that the king of France had the cowardice to crouch in the dust at the feet of a pope!

Notwithstanding this degrading concession of Henry the Fourth, or perhaps on account of the submission of the king, his holiness delayed for a whole month the promulgation of the bull of absolution, so as to give time to the duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards to gain serious victories over him, and to free him, if necessary, from publishing it at all. The king, says Mezerai, had no sooner received the news of his absolution, than he rendered thanks to God through all his kingdom, and commanded parliament to take off the prohibition of going to Rome. He also declared that he wished the concordat signed with the pope to be religiously observed, and in all his actions sought to testify his gratitude to the sovereign pontiff Clement the Eighth.

Thus was accomplished the most illustrious and most cowardly of conversions; thus became a Catholic a second time, a debauched, egotistical, and perfidious prince, who had already denied Catholicism and Calvinism, and who had relapsed a second time. Flatterers of kings, stipendiary writers for despotism, have endeavoured to excuse the knavery of Henry the Fourth, whom they call Henry the Great, by putting in his mouth this pretended witticism, "Paris is well worth a mass." No,

cowardly flatterers of power; no, servile adorers of the golden calf, neither France, nor the whole world could draw a man truly great to play the part of a hypocrite, to feign belief in the superstitions of the papacy, to deceive the nations, to lie to his conscience. It is true, these maxims are the rules of kings and priests, but in the eyes of those called the men of the people, they are rejected, and execrable maxims and such conduct is the height of cowardice and infamy.

Forced to renounce, for some time at least, the hope of exciting new troubles in France, Clement turned to Italy and lanced a bull of excommunication against Cæsar of Este, duke of Ferrara, who, on the death of Duke Alphonso, his great uncle, had taken upon himself the government of the duchy, amid the acclamations of the grandees and the people, and who had committed the grievous crime of not loving the Jesuits, and of desiring to be tolerant. His holiness gave as a reason for this, that the illegitimacy of the birth of the father of Cæsar, should exclude the latter from the throne, a reason which, in every age, and even in our own day, would call into question the heirships of a great number of kings. To the allegations of the court of Rome, the duke opposed the legitimation of Don Alphonso, his father, by a subsequent marriage between Laura, his grandmother, and Duke Alphonso the First; he also produced the bulls of Alexander the Sixth, which called him to the succession of the crown of Ferrara. Notwithstanding the justice of these observations, the apostolic chamber followed up the course of this singular proceeding, and pronounced an anathema, with its accessories of severity, such as privation of honours and dignities; a declaration of the nullity of the oaths of fidelity taken by his subjects; a spiritual interdict over all the dominions of the house of Este; the cession of all its property, and that of its favourers and adherents to the first occupant; exhortations to the emperor, to kings, republics and princes, to aid the church to crush the anathematised; apostolical benedictions; a remission of all sins, and a distribution of plenary indulgences for those who should take up arms, or who should even only pray for the success of the plans of the pope; the annulling of all treaties and contracts made with Cæsar of Este; and, finally, a prohibition, under penalty of excommunication, of affording him aid, and even of permitting the passage of his troops and those of the princes his allies.

This time the thunders of the Vatican produced a marvellous effect; Clement the Eighth was honoured. His army invaded the dominions of Cæsar, and the latter, finding no means of escaping from his formidable foe, determined to yield that which was about to be taken from him by force.

Clement then took possession of Ferrara, and built a fine citadel, in which he deposited more than two millions in gold, taken from the city; and to consecrate this usurpation, he erected, still at the expense of the city, a statue cast in bronze; he then passed on to

other occupations, and published different decrees about the administration of the apostolic purse, so as to increase his revenues. He was also engaged, in imitation of his predecessor, in correcting the holy books, and produced a Bible expunged from two thousand faults, which he declared to be the only canonical one, fulminating anathemas against such of his successors as should dare to add new corrections to it. He then lanced another bull, which prohibited Italians, of every state and condition, from dwelling in countries which were destitute of priests, or even those in which they could not openly profess the Catholic faith. He, moreover, prohibited them from marrying heretic wives, or from being attended in sickness by protestant or Calvinist physicians, and the Catholic physicians from healing the sick of the reformed communion; since, added he, it is better for the faithful to attain eternal life by a voluntary sacrifice, than to preserve temporal life through the aid of a heretic; and that they should trouble themselves no more about a protestant than about a dog.

This singular bull was only obligatory towards protestants and Calvinists, and not to the Greek schismatics; for the sovereign pontiff, finding that the influence of the Holy See was diminishing in the west, began to turn his attention towards the east, and proposed to bring about a reunion of the Greeks and Latins.

He had already received, with great demonstrations of joy, a monk who pretended that he had been sent by the patriarch of Constantinople, to take the oath of obedience to the Holy See; and he had even seated him several times on his right in the consistories at which he received the ambassadors of all the powers of Europe, when he was one day informed that the Greek plenipotentiary was a skilful swindler, and that he had left Rome, carrying off the rich presents designed for the patriarch. In France, matters were not going on any more in accordance with his desires, and notwithstanding the opposition of the legate of the holy father, Henry the Fourth published the famous edicts of Nantz in favour of the Calvinists, which resumed in its tenor all the treaties which had been concluded at different periods with Charles the Ninth, or Henry the Third, and guaranteed to them the free exercise of the reformed religion.

All cause for civil war being removed, tranquillity reappeared, and the king was enabled to employ all his forces against the archduke Albert, the lieutenant of Philip the Second, and the duke of Savoy, the ally of Spain. He marched in person on Amiens, which the enemy's general had surprised, forced him to evacuate it, and fall back on the cities of the north. On the other side, the marshal Lesdiguières went in pursuit of the bands of the duke of Savoy, and defeated them on all points. Philip, having no more money in his coffers, nor soldiers to be murdered, desired peace with France, and charged the pope to make overtures on the subject. His holiness accept-

ed the mission of mediator, on condition, that after the arrangements were concluded, the king of Spain should employ all his influence with the Catholic princes, to form a formidable league against the Turks, who had already invaded Hungary, and threatened to fall on Italy. Clement designated Vervius as the place for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries; the cardinal of Florence, and Francis Gonzagua, the bishop of Mantua, were appointed by his holiness to preside over the conferences, and to fix the conditions of peace, conjointly with the representatives of Spain, Richardot, Taxis, and Verreikens, as well as with the French ambassadors Bellicore and Sillery, and the delegates of the duke of Savoy.

A treaty extremely favourable for Henry the Fourth was signed by the belligerent parties, and the cruel Philip was compelled to renounce for ever his plans on the crown of France. God, moreover, seemed to take pleasure in humbling this proud prince, by taking from him, towards the end of his career, one after another, all the hopes he had conceived; thus, in the Low Countries, he was compelled, as he had been in France, to put an end to the war, without having been able to assure the triumph of the papacy. All the massacres of the duke of Alba, all the butcheries of the duke of Parma, all the atrocities committed by the governors of the Low Countries, who had so cruelly ravaged that magnificent country in his name, and by his orders, had only produced a terrible revolution. The Belgians had risen against their oppressors, and the love of liberty having increased their strength tenfold, they had been enabled to drive the troops of the tyrant out of their territories, and to form different independent states, by the name of the United Provinces.

Freed from the tyranny of Philip, Belgium, Flanders, and Holland had promptly repaired their disasters, and had elevated themselves to such a degree of prosperity, that they were soon enabled to claim, from the Portuguese and Spaniards, a part of the rich possessions on which these latter had seized in the East and West Indies.

Philip then endeavoured to rally the Belgians to his cause, and to bring them back beneath his sway, by granting freedom of conscience to all their provinces without distinction, and by recognising their independence of the crown of Spain; he even yielded his right of sovereignty to the archduke Albert, who had married his daughter Isabella; but these tardy concessions no longer satisfied the reformed. His offers were rejected, and Maurice of Nassau, the stadtholder of Holland, and leader of the armies of the Low Countries, taught him, by the brilliant victory which he gained over his troops near Terrehaut, that there is a time, in which people, tired of oppression, no longer accept concessions, and dictate themselves their terms to kings.

At last the infamous Philip yielded to an attack of the gout, and Spain was delivered from the monster, who had for so many years covered its provinces with scaffolds and auto-da-fes.

It is related that, in his last sickness, as the physicians were consulting whether it was proper to bleed him, he said to them, "Do you think that a king, who has shed blood enough to form rivers, fears to have a few drops taken from him? No, do it fearlessly, restore me to health, that I may be enabled to achieve what remains for me to do, and annihilate the heretics to the last man." These sacrilegious wishes, formed by Philip on his bed of death, were not realised. Happily for the Spaniards, science was powerless to save his life, and he carried with him to the tomb the execration of the people.

During his reign the fury of the inquisition was carried further than it had ever been before or since; and we may affirm that Philip the Second was a more terrible scourge for Spain and the Low Countries, than the plague. It was he who made those impious ordinances which encouraged informers; it was he who condemned to be burned booksellers, who sold, bought, or lent, books forbidden by the inquisition; it was he who solicited from the court of Rome those bulls which enjoined on priests, to exact from their penitents the denunciations of those of their relatives or friends, who were guilty of possessing the prohibited books; an enormous crime in his eyes, and which was sufficient to condemn the most virtuous persons to the flames; it was still he who organised, with his grand inquisitor Valdez, those auto-da-fes at Seville and Valladolid, in which three hundred victims were exhibited, at so many stakes, and were burned alive amidst the applause of Don Carlos, the princess Joanna, and the lords of the court.

It is computed that, in a period of forty years, that is, during the reign of Philip the Second, the inquisition burned, tortured, or beheaded, more than twenty-five thousand persons, Jews, Moors, or Spaniards, independently of those who were condemned to prison, confiscation, or banishment, and of whom the number was four times greater, and that in the peninsula alone; for, if there be added to these the condemnations in other countries subject to the crown of Spain, such as Sicily, Sardinia, Flanders, America, the Indies, the kingdom of Naples, &c., &c., we should be frightened at the quantity of victims whom the holy office put to death, to make them better Catholics.

The cruel Philip the Second gloried in his religious fanaticism, and was accustomed to say, that he would prefer seeing the last Spaniard tortured by the last executioner, and reign over an immense desert, rather than suffer a single heretic in his dominions. He carried his hatred for those who followed the doctrines of Luther or Calvin so far, that on the day of an auto-da-fe, a protestant gentleman named Sessa, having exclaimed, whilst passing before his throne, "Oh, prince, can you then take pleasure in beholding the torments of your subjects? Save us from this cruel death which we have not merited!" He replied, "No, ye accursed, go to the eternal

fire, and know that I would carry the wood myself to burn my son, if he were accused of heresy." He afterwards realised this threat, and allowed his son to be condemned by the inquisitors; he did more, he refused even to bid him a last farewell. Before this, this monster had not feared to express his sacrilegious intention of exhuming the dead body of Charles the Fifth, his father, to proceed against him as a heretic, and to burn him in an auto-da-fe. God finally performed justice on the tyrant, and freed unhappy Spain from him.

This death also freed Henry the Fourth from a formidable enemy, and permitted him to bestow all his care on the internal government of his kingdom; he commenced by marrying his sister, who had remained a Huguenot, to the duke of Bar, of the family of Lorraine, who was a zealous Catholic; and when the marriage had been consummated, he wrote to Clement the Eighth to ask his approval of it.

His holiness, wounded by what he considered a want of respect, declared that the duke of Bar had incurred excommunication by marrying a heretic, and fulminated a sentence of anathema against him. The court of Rome remained inflexible to every remonstrance made by Henry on the subject, and would not take off its censures until the princess was converted. As this poor woman was unwilling to abandon her religious belief, she was exposed to such bad treatment from her bigot husband, that she died of despair. Henry the Fourth was not disturbed by the grief of his unfortunate sister, and entirely occupied with his new passion for Gabrielle d'Estrées, dutchess of Beaufort, he appeared to be occupied with nothing else than the pursuit of his divorce from Queen Margaret. If we may believe Perefice, the king wished to marry his mistress, in order to legitimatise his bastards, but he was careful not to express his thoughts; on the contrary, he solemnly demanded in marriage Mary de Medicis, the niece of Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, the protegee of the pontiff, so that the court of Rome should interpose no obstacle to this project of divorce.

Skilful as was this manœuvre, Clement the Eighth was not the dupe of it; he penetrated the secret intentions of the king, and determined to render the execution of them impossible. He, however, allowed none of his suspicions to appear; he received kindly the cardinal d'Ossat, the ambassador of the prince in the affair of the divorce, and asked from him for a delay of some days, so as to confer with the members of the sacred college on the request which was presented to him; then a second delay, in order to discuss the conditions of it; and, finally, he protracted the thing so, that the French plenipotentiary, tired of waiting, and suspecting some infernal machination, declared to him sharply, that if he did not hurry, his majesty, the king of France, would go on, separate himself from the court of Rome, and marry the dutchess of Beaufort.

At this declaration, his holiness expressed the greatest astonishment, and replied to the cardinal, that if such were the intentions of Henry the Fourth, he remitted to God alone the conduct of this affair; he then ordered public prayers and fasts in the holy city, to obtain from heaven the safety of France; he remained for two days shut up in his chapel in the Vatican. On the third day, in the morning, after opening the despatches he received from Paris, he determined to appear in public, and ordered a solemn service in the church of St. Peter. It was remarked that he remained for about an hour with his arms crossed on his breast, and his eyes closed, as if he was ravished in an ecstasy; after this he appeared to waken, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "My brethren, Christ has provided for the safety of the kingdom of France." On that same evening, the cardinal d'Ossat received a courier, who announced to him the death of the beautiful Gabrielle d'Estrées. Now if we seek to know how his holiness had predicted so justly, we will say, that by a singular chance, he found that the interval which separated the arrival of the courier of the pope from that of the courier of the ambassador, coincided precisely with the interval which was to elapse between the time in which the mistress of the king took the poison and that of her death. What is still more strange, is, that from this day, Clement made no more objections to the divorce of the king, and that he showed himself to be as yielding as he had before been scrupulous. His holiness gave, on this occasion, full powers to the cardinal de Joyeuse, Horace de Monte, a Neapolitan, archbishop of Arles, and the nuncio Gaspard de Modena. These ecclesiastics declared the marriage of Henry the Fourth null, and permitted him, as well as Margaret, to remarry. The king went at once to Lyons and espoused Mary de Medicis.

This year, which was the last of the century, and, consequently, that of the universal jubilee, gave an opportunity to his holiness to fill his treasury with the money of the imbecile pilgrims who came to buy indulgences. The number of fanatical devotees and curious persons who flowed into Rome was so great, that in the single hospital of the Trinity, which had been transformed into an immense hotel, kept for the profit of the pope, as many as five hundred thousand travellers were received, independently of all those who were lodged in the other hospitals, from which the sick had been ejected, in the monasteries of men or women, or in private houses; finally, it was computed that there were more than three millions of visitors in the course of the year. All the cellars of the Vatican were filled with tons of gold or silver, and Clement was even compelled to ask the general of the Jesuits, to place the cellars of his college at his disposal, to deposit there the presents of the pilgrims. Aquinviva, who was then the head of the society, placed at the disposal of the pontiff not only the buildings, but even the most distinguished mem-

bers of his order to second him in his traffic in indulgences and absolutions, hoping that his zeal would conciliate the friendship of Clement to him and predispose him in favour of the company of Jesus, when he should be called upon to decide the quarrel which had broken out between the Jesuits of Spain and the Dominicans, in regard to spiritual doctrines concerning grace, which had been going on for several years between them, especially on the part of Father Molina, whom the disciples of St. Dominic maintained was tainted by the heresy of Pelagius.

After the jubilee, his holiness did indeed interfere in the dispute, but without deciding for either of the parties, and contented himself with appointing arbitrators, who were to put an end to these scandalous quarrels. The commissioners formed themselves into bodies, which they called "*de auxiliis*" and treated the questions in litigation very carefully, both in speech and writing, and however desirous they might have been to show deference to the holy father, they declared that they were forced to condemn the opinions of Molina as false, erroneous, untenable, and improbable.

The Jesuits, finding that even the protection of the pope did not afford them a triumph over their enemies, thought to gain time by asking that the controverted propositions should be again discussed in the conferences; which was granted to them. The generals of the two orders went to these conferences with theologians, and the discussions recommenced under the presidency of the cardinal Mandruce, who was commissioned by Clement to pronounce a final judgment. The Jesuits were again defeated on all points; Mandruce, who had at first appeared to favour the doctrines of Molina, finished by joining his adversaries. Every thing then pre-saged the condemnation of the Jesuits, when, on the eve of the day fixed for the pronouncement of the judgment, the cardinal died of poison. The good fathers took occasion of it to ask for a new delay to prepare for other conferences; but Clement, who feared to see the quarrel become daily more envenomed, and urge them both into revelations dangerous for the papacy, determined to take a side, and appointed commissaries to examine the books of Molina in his presence. Their conclusions were similar to those of the first judges, that is, unfavorable for the society. The Jesuits of Spain, who dreaded, more than any thing in the world, to be defeated on so important a question, then undertook to force even the will of the pope, by setting his authority at defiance. They embittered all the colleges of their order against Clement the Eighth, expressed doubts as to the lawfulness of his enthronement, and maintained, in their theses, that we are not bound to conform to the decision of a pope on a matter of faith.

This bold conduct irritated the holy father, and he would doubtless have determined to dissolve the society, had he not been arrested by the powerful interference of Philip the

Third, who desired the maintenance of an order which aided in plunging his people in ignorance and brutality.

Moreover, the services which the English Jesuits were rendering him, and the efforts which those of France were making to bring back that country beneath his sway, pleaded in favour of the order, and it is but just to admit, that they both employed, for the success of their plans, a perseverance and activity worthy of a better cause. The Jesuits of England, banished from that kingdom by different decrees, did not fear to return to it, after the death of Elizabeth, to renew fresh intrigues; the Jesuits of France, driven from the provinces by the decrees of parliament and the declarations and letters patent of the king, addressed to the highest tribunals, had been able to maintain themselves within the jurisdiction of the parliaments of Bordeaux and Toulouse, and to interest, in their favour, a number of influential lords of the court, and particularly the queen, Mary de Medicis.

They had already, on the occasion of the marriage of the king, deputed Fathers Lorenzo, Maggio and Gentil, to claim the execution of the promise he had made, at the time of his absolution, to recall them. But on the refusal of Henry to listen to their request, they declared themselves, scattered pamphlets in Paris against the authority of the king and parliament, and amongst others the apologetic complaints published at Bordeaux by Father Richomme, and for which a bookseller named Chevalier was arrested. From that moment the society declared themselves at open war with the king; their college of Dole, situated on the frontier, became the place of meeting of all the discontented, and the centre of the operations directed against Henry; they soon even organised a conspiracy, in which, as always, they took the most active part, with such precaution, that it was impossible to prove their participation in it when the plot was discovered. They also excited troubles at Lyons, preached regicide openly, and inspired so great alarm in Henry, that he determined to make peace with them.

He first sought to bring into his way of thinking the great dignitaries, whose extreme repugnance for such a measure he well knew, and having assembled his principal officers he thus addressed them: "We must, my lords, through necessity, recall the Jesuits simply and purely into our kingdom, discharge them from the sentences of infamy and opprobrium which they have justly incurred, or else pursue them with inexorable rigour, so that they may never approach us or our kingdom. This last will throw them into the most dangerous irritation, and the efforts against our person will be so multiplied, that we shall be obliged to be unceasingly on our guard; to wear a cuirass even in our own apartments; to take no food without having it examined by our physicians; to tremble even at the approach of our best subjects, for these people carry on correspondence every where, and have a great skill in moulding minds as they please; finally

our life will become so miserable, that it were better for us that we were already dead."

From commiseration with the apprehensions of Henry, the lords to whom he addressed himself, amongst others, his minister Sully, were unwilling to combat his reasoning, and declared that they agreed with his wisdom. Henry the Fourth, without any delay, expedited letters patent for the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in France. But the parliament was less docile than the court, and refused to register them, until the fathers had changed their names from Jesuits, which was held in execration by all bodies in the state, and had modified their statutes. The members of parliament demanded that the company should not remain under the authority of a foreign general, and that it should choose a superior who resided in the kingdom; they, moreover, demanded that it should be submitted to the ordinary jurisdiction; that it should suppress in its vows the engagement of particular obedience to the pope, that it should only authorise the admission into its ranks of born subjects of the king, that it should be constrained to follow the university regulations, and that it should renounce the heirship of the property of its members to the prejudice of their families. The disciples of Loyola refused to adhere to these conditions, and an order from the king enjoined on the magistrates to register purely and simply the letters patent, which authorised the Jesuits to return to France. Some years afterwards, Henry the Fourth received the just reward of this despotic act; and the effort of Ravillac taught the nations how the Jesuits paid a benefactor. It is true they owed no great gratitude to a prince for a concession which they knew they had wrung from him by alarm. They feigned, however, to attribute his new dispositions to entirely different sentiments, and they thanked him for the benevolent support which he gave to their order. Still more, Father Cotton, who became his confessor, and several of his companions, asked to embrace him as a sign of sincere reconciliation, of forgetfulness of the past and of confidence in the future.

As soon as they found themselves all powerful in France, the Jesuits forgot the promises they had made to Clement the Eighth, to labour to subject the kingdom to him, and occupied themselves with their old quarrels with the Dominicans about grace and free will. They signified to his holiness, that he must decide in their favour and canonise Ignatius Loyola their founder, if he wished to retain them in obedience to him. Instead of obeying their injunctions, the pontiff decided definitely for the Dominicans, and granted the honours of the apotheosis to Charles Borromeo, the nephew of Pius, one

of the former heads of their order, and one of the most passionate inquisitors that ever lived.

The Jesuits were unwilling to let this affront go unpunished, and they fixed it on the cardinal Aldobrandin, the counsellor of the pope. One of them resolved to poison him and made several efforts to introduce himself into his kitchens. His urgency in presenting himself day after day to be admitted into the palace, awakened suspicions, and soldiers were posted to arrest him. As usual, the Jesuit came to offer his services to the domestics of the cardinal Aldobrandin, to assist them in their labours, and as he was about to enter, two sbirri arrested him. Being strong and vigorous, he hurled them to the earth, and before they had time to obtain aid, he fled and threw himself into the residence of the cardinal Odoardo Farnese, a zealous protector of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. The prefect of Rome went at once with soldiers to the residence of the Farnese to claim the fugitive; but instead of obeying, the cardinal and his people appeared with arms at the windows, fired on the prefect, and compelled him to retreat. The resistance lasted for several days; finally, as his holiness was preparing to introduce troops from without to maintain his authority, Farnese sallied with his people through the rear of his palace, gained the country and retired into the superb castle which his uncle had built, thirty-six miles from Rome.

Clement, exasperated by the audacity of the Jesuits and the Farnese, threatened the first with a dissolution of their order, and despatched the governor of the city to inform the cardinal that he must surrender the government of the patrimony of his ancestors, of which he showed himself unworthy. Farnese refused to obey, and prepared to sustain a siege in his castle against the papal troops. Very fortunately for him his brother interfered in the quarrel, and went in all haste to cast himself at the feet of his holiness to obtain the pardon of the cardinal. The pope appeared to yield to the entreaties of the duke and granted Farnese permission to return to Rome; but scarcely had he crossed its gates, when he was arrested and conducted to the castle of San Angelo. The Jesuits in their turn came to the aid of their protector, and on the 5th of March, 1605, Clement died of poison.

This pontiff terminates worthily the series of popes of the sixteenth century, who disputed the ground of their spiritual and temporal omnipotence, foot by foot, and by force of ruses, deceits, crimes, and outrages, caused the tiara to triumph in the midst of the political and religious revolutions which overwhelmed all nations, and threatened to engulf the ship of St. Peter.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

LEO THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTIETH POPE.

Considerations on the history of the papacy in the seventeenth century—Intrigues in the conclave after the death of Clement the Eighth—Henry the Fourth gives large sums to have a pope appointed who was favourable to him—Alexander Octavian de Medicis is chosen sovereign pontiff—His plans of reform—He testifies extreme contempt for the kings of France and Spain—His hatred for the Jesuits—He dies after a reign of twenty-six days.

It is an incontestable truth, that after the apparition of the great Reformation in the sixteenth century, the papacy would have been overthrown, and the formidable power of the bishops of Rome for ever annihilated, if kings, instead of defending the theocracy against the people, had been content with exercising in their own dominions an authority sanctioned by justice. Unfortunately, they thought their interests compromised by the development of the principles of the Reformation; they persecuted to the utmost the men who endeavoured to make it triumph; and as they were the strongest, they could at their ease murder, cause rivers of blood to flow, and pile up mountains of dead bodies; and the tiara remained exalted.

The sovereigns, however, in lending their aid to the popes, and in saving them from certain ruin, imposed on them as conditions, that they should stop interfering directly in political transactions, that they should no longer dictate their wishes on empires, and that they should assist them in spreading around men the shades of ignorance, so as to render their sway easier. Pressed by circumstances, the bishops of Rome submitted; from that time they lost the immense influence they had acquired, and were hereafter only the servants of kings. The Vatican was mute, and instead of lanching its thunders against those who braved it, as it had formerly done, it merely uttered a murmur like that of volcanoes which accumulate lava and have not strength enough to produce an eruption.

During the seventeenth century the popes were only occupied in Machiavelian intrigues, executed but perfidies, only framed schemes; they committed no more great crimes in the face of day, they performed cowardly assassinations in the dark; they were no longer addicted to revels, they became crowned hypocrites.

We should, however, say that the venerable pontiff who opened the series of popes in this century, carried to the chair of the apostle precious virtues, which should hinder us from confounding him with his successors; and that he would doubtless have merited well of mankind, if the priests had not stopped him at the moment he was about to undertake radical and important reforms among the clergy.

After the funeral of Clement the Eighth, the victim of the vengeance of the Jesuits,

his nephew, the cardinal Aldobrandin, who had been accustomed to reign in the name of the pontiff, thought himself still in a state to command, and was desirous of having one of his creatures chosen pope, so as to perpetuate for himself the exercise of ecclesiastical omnipotence. Sustained by the French faction, he boldly attacked the Spanish cardinals, who had a majority in the conclave, and openly proposed, as a candidate, the cardinal Baronius, the celebrated annalist of the church. The gentlemen ushers, who were sold to Philip the Third, having rejected this prelate on the ground that he was an enemy of the king of Spain, the cardinal de Joyeuse, the head of the French faction, who was very anxious to choose a pontiff who was favourable to Henry the Fourth, and who had received from that prince large sums to buy up votes in the conclave, commenced making overtures to the cardinals Montalto and Sforza, purchased their defection, and proposed as a candidate Alexander Octavian, cardinal of Florence. These prelates not only approved of his choice, but even undertook to induce Aldobrandin to make a good bargain with his protegee. In fact, some hours afterwards, the nephew of Clement the Eighth made a treaty with Montalto, and accompanied him to the cell of Alexander Octavian, who was saluted as pope, by the name of Leo the Eleventh, on the 1st of April, 1605.

The news of this election was received with great displeasure by the court of Madrid, but, as a compensation, it excited transports of joy in that of France.

For a moment the people hoped that they were about to taste the sweetness of an evangelical reign, under a good pope. Leo the Eleventh commenced by driving from the Vatican, the flatterers and courtiers who encumbered the ante chambers; he then announced his intention to reform the church, to destroy the two execrable orders of Jesuits and Dominicans, and had even prepared a promotion of venerable ecclesiastics, whom he wished to create cardinals to assist him in his labours; he had already suppressed a part of the imposts with which his predecessors had surcharged the provinces. Every thing presaged an era of prosperity and tolerance for the nations; but the assassins of Sixtus the Fifth and Clement the Eighth, were watching the pontiff, and none of his magnificent plans were to be realised.

Though surrounded by dangerous enemies, the intrepid Leo had the courage to refuse the alliance of the king of France, which the cardinal de Joyeuse offered him, in exchange for some unjust concessions, and replied to him, "Your Henry the Fourth is a hypocrite, without faith or loyalty; I will not do what he asks, for it would be contrary to justice. Write to him that we will never sacrifice our duty to the vile interests of a dynasty, and that he is very much deceived in supposing

we could be deceived by the glitter of gold, as some of our predecessors have been."

In an almost similar circumstance, his holiness made the same reply to the ambassadors of Philip the Third, king of Spain, and loudly blamed his cowardly submission to the Jesuits. As was seen, it became necessary for the disciples of Ignatius Loyola to rid themselves of such a pope; thus he died poisoned, on the 27th of April, 1605, after a reign of twenty-six days.

PAUL THE FIFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1605.]

Electoral intrigues—Paul the Fifth is proclaimed sovereign pontiff—His history before occupying the pontifical throne—He distributes all the offices and dignities of the church to his relatives—His holiness undertakes to reduce all the states of Italy beneath his sway—He excommunicates the Venetians—The most serene republic drives the Jesuits out of its territories—Peace between the republic and the Holy See—The Jesuits in England—The gunpowder plot Punishment of Fathers Garnet and Oldecorn—The oath of allegiance—Paul the Fifth orders the English Catholics to refuse to obey the king—James the First enters into a polemical controversy with the pope—Doctrines of the Jesuits about regicide—Assassination of Henry the Fourth—Punishment of Ravillac—Parliament condemns the works of the Jesuits to be burned by the executioner—The regent protects the Jesuits—Condemnation of Doctor Edmund Richer—Religious congregations in France—Publication of the decrees of the council of Trent—The Huguenots take up arms—Treaty of Loudun—Paul the Fifth causes Mark Antony Dominis, the author, to be poisoned—Obscene disputes between the Dominicans and Franciscans on the conception of the Virgin—Nepotism and incests of Paul the Fifth—His death.

FIFTY-NINE cardinals entered into the conclave on the death of Leo, and formed four parties; Aldobrandin was at the head of the most numerous; Montalto directed the operations of the second coterie, which numbered twenty-one cardinals; the third was that of the Spaniards, and the fourth of the French.

Baronius, as in the last conclave, was nominated, and lent himself so much to the movement, that he brought over several cardinals to his party, and could for a moment, flatter himself with the hope of triumphing over his competitors; but at the moment when they were preparing to enter one of the chapels to collect the votes, fifteen of his partizans went over to the cardinal Tosco, one of the richest prelates of the court of Rome, who by this defection, was enabled to count on forty-four votes.

They were already proceeding to the ceremony of adoration, says Nicholas de Marbais, when Baronius, irritated at seeing the tiara escape him, uttered these words in a loud voice:—"Do you then wish to choose for your head a wretch who cannot utter a sentence without accompanying it with an obscene oath? Do you wish then, by choosing a man of abominable morals as pontiff, to draw the reprobation of the people of Spain, Italy, and France, on the see of Rome, and increase the repulsion, already so great, with which we

inspire the nations?" This sally threw the members of the conclave into great perplexity, and prevented the election of Tosco; it did not, however, bring back to the cardinal Baronius, the suffrages he had lost. During the night Aldobrandin had an interview with Montalto and the cardinal de Joyeuse, and in the morning, having gone to the Sixtine chapel with their partizans, they proclaimed the cardinal Camillus Borghese pope, before the Spaniards knew that he had even been proposed as a candidate.

The new pontiff was a Roman by birth, and of a family originally from Sienna; he had first exercised the profession of a lawyer, he had then entered on an ecclesiastical career, and obtained, successively, the dignity of vice legate of Bologna, auditor of the chamber, vicar of the pope, and grand inquisitor; finally, he had been promoted by Clement the Eighth to the title of cardinal of St. Chrysogonus.

As he had kept himself constantly aloof from political affairs, and appeared to desire to live in tranquillity, the leaders of the different parties thought it would be easy for them to govern the church in the name of the holy father, and all came to offer him their services. But it turned out differently from their expectations; he declared that he alone would reign, and to take from the cardinals all hopes that he would re-consider his deci-

sion, he formed a council from among the members of his own family. He gave a cardinal's hat to the young Scipio Caffarelli, one of his nephews; he confided to his two brothers, Francis and John Baptist Borghese, the most important employments, and gave them, besides, the government of the Vatican and of the castle of San Angelo; he provided all his other relatives with rich benefices, and installed them about his person. He was then occupied in the government of the Holy See, and showed that he had preserved the ancient traditions of the Roman church, and was disposed, if allowed to act, to revive the pretensions of the popes to absolute sway over Italy.

Contrary to every principle of right, he interfered in the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, and excommunicated the regent Ponte, who commanded there in the name of Philip, because he had sent to the galleys an ecclesiastic who was guilty of a capital crime.—He then sent apostolic nuncios to Charles Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, to inform him, not to confer in future any vacant benefices without the approval of the court of Rome; which was an odious act of arbitrary power, since the popes, his predecessors, had sold this right to the dukes of Savoy, and it was impossible to deny the authenticity of the bulls issued on this subject. He then pushed his audacity so far, as to interdict the republics of Lucca, Genoa, and Venice, and all the states of Italy, from making any treaty either among themselves or with foreign powers, without his sanction; and to prevent all hesitation about it, he fulminated a bull in which he enjoined on sovereign princes, and the chiefs of the republics, to prohibit their people from opening any intercourse with foreigners, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures.

The threat produced its effect; none of the Italian governments being willing to break with the Holy See, all conformed to the orders of the pope. Genoa revoked its orders against the Jesuits, and authorised the members of the society to concur in the elections for the different civil and military employments.—Lucca accepted the bulls of his holiness without examination; the duke of Savoy also submitted in the transmission of benefices; the king of Spain himself permitted the regent of Naples to make concessions to the court of Rome, to have his excommunication raised; the Venetians alone refused to obey the holy father, and a struggle took place between them and Paul the Fifth.

The redoubtable council of Ten had condemned to death an Augustine monk, guilty of a rape and an outrage on the chastity of a young girl, ten years old, whom he had then murdered; they had, moreover, proceeded against a canon of Vicenza, called Scipio Saracino, accused of having entered by night, with masked men, into the residence of one of his relatives, and of having committed violence on her; still further, the doge of Venice, of his own authority, had incarcerated the count Brandolino Valdemarino, abbot of Narvesa, who was accused of having poisoned his father

and several of his domestics, of living in incest with his sister, of robbing travellers on the highway, and of having committed several assassinations on youths whom he had polluted by means of stupifying drugs.

His holiness maintained that these great criminals were beyond the reach of the vengeance of the laws, on account of their sacred character; that the republic had violated ecclesiastical immunities, by judging them by a tribunal of laymen, and ordered the doge to place at once in the hands of the apostolic nuncio, the Augustine monk, the canon of Vicenza, and the abbot of Narvesa, under penalty of excommunication. Paul the Fifth even took advantage of this affair to claim the repeal of a law which prohibited priests from acquiring real estate without the authority of the senate, and which compelled them to sell lands or houses acquired as a heritage from their relatives. He also demanded the abolition of the decrees which prohibited the building of new churches, and the founding of hospitals or religious communities, without the concurrence of the civil power.

The senate represented to the court of Rome, that by virtue of the ancient institutions of the republic, and the privileges which had been sold or granted by the sovereign pontiffs, his predecessors, they were permitted to promulgate edicts concerning the civil relations of ecclesiastics with the state, and that the Holy See could not, without a manifest violation of established rights, demand the overthrow of their laws, nor the submission of criminals to its jurisdiction. The pope replied, that canonical ordinances were divine laws, and that the successors of the apostle had no more right than other men to contravene them; and that consequently the permissions granted to the Venetians by his predecessors were annulled. His holiness seeing that his threats of excommunication did not intimidate the most serene republic, thought of reviving pretensions forgotten for many ages, of duties collected from the islands of the Adriatic by the Holy See, in order to control the action of its government. He, moreover, exempted from imposts the rich benefices which the cardinals, the knights of Malta, the convents of men, the mendicant orders, and all ecclesiastics possessed in the territory of the republic, on the ground of their being subjects of the Roman court. Not content with striking this blow at the finances of the Venetians, he endeavoured to injure their commerce and industry, by prohibiting all works which issued from their presses, even missals and breviaries; finally, he lanced an excommunication against the doge and senate, and placed the city of Venice, as well as its islands in the Adriatic, and all its possessions on terra firma, under interdict.

The most serene republic no longer restrained its conduct towards the court of Rome, and replied to the attacks by a decree which prohibited ecclesiastics, under the most severe penalties, from setting up the bull of the holy father, or from ceasing from divine service in

any church. All the Venetian clergy obeyed, the Jesuits alone declared that their conscience did not permit them to act contrary to the orders of the pope, and asked permission to leave the dominions of the republic, which the doge readily granted them. The senator Quirino, and the celebrated Fra Paolo Sarpi then appealed from the judgment of the court of Rome to the tribunal of nations, spreading through all countries works filled with close and powerful reasoning, in which they attacked the temporal authority the popes had arrogated to themselves over the world, as the successors of the apostle Peter. His holiness was alarmed at the consequences which might result to him from this strife, and instructed the cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius, the two pillars of the church, to reply to the enemies of the court of Rome and to silence them.

Like skilful men, the two prelates shifted the question; they were careful how they discussed with princes and kings the authority which they exercised over the people, from fear lest their own arguments should be turned against them. They only established the principle that despotism proceeded from God, and that mankind were bound to submit, without examination, to those who possessed the sovereign power; then, introducing metaphysics into their discussion, they proclaimed the predominance of spirit over matter, and deduced from it these singular propositions:—

“The spirit directs and moderates the flesh, but not reciprocally; therefore, the temporal power is not permitted to elevate itself above the spiritual, to wish to direct it, to command or to oppress it; this would be rebellion, a tyranny entirely pagan. It is for the priest to judge the emperor, and not the emperor the priest, for it would be absurd to contend that the flock should guide the shepherd.”

Fra Paolo and the senator Quirino, far from regarding themselves as conquered, entered on the battle on this ground; thus like their adversaries, they proclaimed that all power emanated from God, and taking as their point of departure, the doctrines concerning royalty which were professed in France, they concluded from them, that the authority of the prince having the same source as that of the pope, the latter had no right to interfere in the affairs of government.

“The ecclesiastics of different kingdoms,” added they, “as well as the laity, are submitted to the power of princes, and none of their subjects can dispense with rendering to them the same reverence that is due to the divinity. A king has a right to make laws, render judgments, and establish imposts without any control. The pope also possesses a supreme jurisdiction over the people, but it is purely spiritual, as Christ himself has instituted it. The Son of God having never exercised any temporal jurisdiction during his life, could not transmit to St. Peter and his successors a right he had never claimed.” Such were the singular pretensions and extravagant theories, which the satellites of the papacy and mo-

narchy endeavoured to make prevalent, so as to acquire a right to oppress the people.

They soon came from this war of words to a real war; Paul the Fifth sought for allies every where, assembled his troops, and announced that he was going to annihilate Venice. But his warlike ardour did not last long; whether he feared to expose his army to the risk of a defeat, which would have greatly compromised his power in Italy, or whether he feared he could not support the expenses of a campaign and the maintenance of his troops, or whether he suspected that Philip the Third and Henry the Fourth, whilst appearing officially to desire the maintenance of peace between Rome and Venice, were secretly employed in prolonging hostilities, he feigned to yield to the remonstrances of the French ambassadors, and accepted their mediation in his quarrel with the republic.

The Venetians, who had need of peace for their commercial prosperity, listened favourably to the terms of arrangement proposed by the Holy See. Paul demanded that the seignory, or council of Ten, should place in the hands of the French ambassadors the three ecclesiastical prisoners detained in the dungeons of the republic, and that the senate should also repeal the decree passed against the introduction of the bulls of the court of Rome, and should send him an embassy, in sign of submission, to solicit the absolution of the ecclesiastical censures. His holiness wished also to exact the recall of the Jesuits, but he was obliged to forego it, the doge Ludovico Donato having declared that he would rather break off the negotiations and continue the war, than suffer one of the disciples of Loyola on the territory of the republic. Peace was concluded between the two powers, and the Jesuits remained exiled.

If the society lost a little of its power in a corner of Italy, it resumed a part of its former influence in Great Britain, and notwithstanding the severe ordinances of Queen Elizabeth, the good fathers were not afraid to reappear in the kingdom, and even to found colleges. Their security arose from the fact, that the new king of England, James the First, the son of Mary Stuart, showed great kindness to them; but their audacity increased so much, that the sovereign was compelled to be severe on some of the greatest mischief-makers among them.

They then swore vengeance, and organised with some Catholic gentlemen whose consciences they directed; amongst others, Robert Catesby and Thomas Piercy, a plot which consisted in nothing less than blowing up the hall of parliament, when the king and royal family were assisting at the opening of the session. It was agreed among the conspirators, that only a small number of faithful and determined men should be admitted into the plot. They first associated with them a young Catholic gentleman, named Thomas Winters, whom they sent on a mission to Flanders, after one of their friends named Fawkes, who was in the service of Spain, and whose ardent zeal

for the papacy they knew. The latter returned at once to England on their invitation, but when he discovered that it was to annihilate at a single blow, so great a number of victims, he hesitated to enter into the plot, and represented to the reverend fathers who directed the matter, that on the day of the opening of the session of parliament, there would be almost as many Catholics as heretics present, and that they would have to answer to God for the death of their brethren. The Jesuits Garnet, Oldecorn, Tesmond, and Gerard replied, that if the number of the orthodox was only one less than that of the heretics, they could proceed and annihilate them all together, and that God would absolve them on account of the great glory that would accrue to him.

His conscience thus assured, Fawkes associated himself in the work with his companions. Piercy hired a house adjoining the parliament buildings, and all began to make a mine which was to reach beneath the hall, in which the sessions of parliament were held. They had already pierced through several walls, and according to their calculation were at but a small distance from the hall, when one night, while they were at work, they heard, above their heads, a loud talking and an unusual movement. Not knowing to what cause to attribute this hubbub, and fearing lest their plans were suspected, the conspirators stopped their work, and left the mine in order to inform themselves of what was going on. They learned that workmen were emptying a cellar filled with oil, which was situated beneath the chamber of peers, in order to rent it. The opportunity was seized, and the next day the cellar belonged to the conspirators; they carried into it by night thirty-six barrels of powder, which they covered over with faggots and billets of wood.

Things being thus arranged, they waited patiently for the opening of parliament; the time for the royal session had been already fixed, and nothing could make the plot miscarry, when Lord Montague, a Catholic member of the chamber of peers, received an anonymous letter, advising him and his friends not to be present at that session, since a terrible blow would be inevitably struck, and which would occupy less time than it would take him to burn the letter which warned him of it. Lord Montague paid no attention to the last recommendation of his mysterious correspondent, and sent the letter to Lord Salisbury, the secretary of state, who attached no great importance to it; he, however, submitted it to the king, who thought otherwise. His majesty thought that the words "terrible and sudden blow," alluded to the effects of gunpowder, and gave orders to examine all the vaults which were beneath the halls of parliament. The earl of Suffolk, who, in his capacity of lord chamberlain, was charged with this duty, caused all the cellars to be opened, and having remarked in that of Piercy a mass of faggots and billets of wood, asked what was the name of the tenant of the cellar; on the reply of Fawkes, who was disguised

as a valet, he remarked that the supply seemed very large for the wants of a single man who did not reside habitually in London. He then left it, but scarcely had he got out, when he sent back Sir Thomas Knyvet, a magistrate, with some soldiers, to make a close examination. Before entering it, the latter arrested the pretended domestic of Piercy, on whom were found matches and a tinder box; the firewood being thrown aside, the thirty-six barrels of powder were discovered.

Fawkes was at once put to the torture, and forced to name all his accomplices. Catesby, Piercy, and several others of the conspirators, had, however, time to leave London and reach Warwickshire, where Sir Edward Digby, full of confidence in the success of the enterprise, had assembled some partizans, and was making dispositions to seize the young princess Elizabeth, the daughter of the king, whom they wished to place on the throne. But the news of their fatal conspiracy had already been transmitted to the sheriff, with orders to assemble the militia and seize the guilty; then, finding that it was impossible to resist or fly, they assembled to the number of twenty-four, in a fortified castle in Warwickshire, resolved to die with arms in their hands. Unfortunately, at the moment of the attack, their supply of powder took fire, and they were unable to defend themselves against the royal troops. Catesby and Piercy killed themselves; the others were made prisoners and perished on the scaffold.

The Jesuit Henry Garnet, who had celebrated mass for the success of this great enterprise, and the Jesuit Oldecorn, whose duty it was to recruit conspirators, both, the chiefs and organisers of the plot, were judged by a royal court, with several other disciples of Loyola, and condemned to the gibbet.

This affair determined King James to make his subjects take the famous oath of allegiance, by which they recognised that the sovereign of Great Britain was independent of every foreign power; that neither pope, nor archbishop, nor bishop could depose him, nor free his subjects from the oath of fidelity they had sworn to him; that none had a right to seize on his domains, nor dispose of his kingdom, nor make an attempt on his life; that the doctrine professed by the Catholics, which authorised subjects to put to death their princes on the order of the pope, was impious and execrable. This oath was made obligatory on all the inhabitants of England, no matter what were their religious opinions.

Paul the Fifth immediately addressed several briefs to the faithful in Great Britain, to prohibit them from obeying the king; which caused banishment to be inflicted on some, and even decapitation on the most obstinate.

James the First was not content with combatting the satellites of the papacy with the axe of the executioner; he took up the pen and attacked the doctrines of Cardinal Bellarmine in several controversial works. The Jesuit Suarez replied to the monarch, and placing himself as the adversary of royalty, and the champion of the papacy, endeavoured to crush

his adversary beneath a flux of incoherent words and extravagant propositions. "The sovereign power," says he in his book, "is all-powerful to direct kings efficaciously in the exercise of their authority; he can also constrain princes to obey him, in that which he has justly ordained, and to punish those who do not obey him; for he is armed with a two-edged sword. And the proof that this right has devolved on him is, that the chiefs of the church have always used it, in excommunicating emperors and kings, in deposing them, in freeing their subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and in giving their dominions to Catholic princes. The popes are invested with a power so great, that their decrees of death pronounced against a king, are enough to place the condemned beyond the protection of the law; all the faithful, however, are not authorised to fall upon the enemy of the church, and they should leave the care of executing the sentence to those who are charged with it."

Another Jesuit, named Emmanuel Sa, took part in these disputes, and even improved upon the propositions of Suarez; he maintained that the revolt of an ecclesiastic against a king did not constitute a crime of lese-majesty, since priests could not be regarded as subjects of a king. That it was the same with laymen, when the prince was under a canonical condemnation, and that in this case all the faithful should unite to combat the tyrant, and make religion to triumph.

The Jesuit Delrio expressed still more openly his hatred for kings: "Why can I not," he exclaimed in one of his sermons, "make a libation to God of the blood of a king? Never did the altar of Jesus Christ hold a more beautiful liquor; never could a more agreeable holocaust be offered. Let him be blest to the most remote ages who plunges a dagger into the heart of a king. . . ."

These furious discourses and exaggerated doctrines were not directed against James the First alone; the Jesuits wished to strike down all the princes of Christendom, and his holiness seconded them in this new crusade, by authorising the propagation of a work of the celebrated Mariana, in which regicide was imposed as a principle, a duty, an obligation, when the sovereign freed himself from the obedience due to the chief of the church. After the example of the Spanish Jesuit, the good fathers who resided in France, exalted the pontifical authority, and sought to abase royalty. "Obey, children of Christ," exclaimed the furious Clarus Bonarscius in his sermons, "blindly obey that power which has restored Henry the Fourth to the society of the faithful; do not listen to those who maintain that the pope has no power to excommunicate the king of France; he has done it, however, and that prince has recognised that he had the power, since he has humbled himself in the dust, in order to be absolved. What! were the sovereign to become an Arius, a Vallus, a Nestorius, a Manes or Mahomet in speech and with the sword; should

he become a Jew, should he be circumcised, would not the pope have power to act against him? Were he to renew the horrible cruelty of Phalaris against all the zealous Catholics of France, and could the pope do nothing to him? God preserve us from this thought. The pontiff should employ his axe for the safety of France, and cut down the large trunks which threaten to stifle the young trees." Then arose Ravillac; either the declamations of the Jesuits had acted powerfully upon a sick brain, or else the man had been urged on by his own exaltation or by a hidden cause which l'Etoile, Sully, and the marshal d'Estrées do not fear to cast upon the queen, as this fanatic waited to strike the king until Mary of Medicis had been proclaimed regent, and solemnly crowned. Francis Ravillac had arrived from Angouleme at Paris three weeks before, waiting to put his regicidal plan into execution. On the 14th of May, 1610, the eve of the day fixed for the departure of the king, after having heard mass at St. Benedict, he dined very tranquilly at his inn with his host and a merchant named Cottelet; he then went to the Louvre to wait for the king. At four o'clock, Henry left his palace in a carriage to visit the triumphal arches erected in honour of the regent, who was to make her entry into the capital on the next day. He was accompanied by the dukes d'Epemon and Montbazon, the marshals de la Force, de Roquelaure and de Lavardin, the first squire de Liancourt, and the marquis de Mirabeau; a small number of gentlemen and valets on foot alone escorted the king, the duke d'Epemon having given an order to the guard to remain at the Louvre.

When the carriage arrived in the street de la Ferronière, which was at that period very narrow, the cortege was stopped by a crowd of carts; most of the foot valets went into the cemetery of the Innocents so as to get on more at their ease, and there remained but two near the carriage; it was precisely at this moment that the duke d'Epemon opened the window by the king, and asked him to examine a very important piece of writing. Whilst his majesty was engaged in reading it, Ravillac, who had followed the carriage, leaped upon the axle of the wheel and struck the king two blows with his knife in the region of the heart, and so rapidly that none would have suspected what was going on but for a groan from Henry; the death was instantaneous. The assassin could no doubt have easily escaped by gliding among the vehicles; but he remained there, with his knife in his hand, boasting how well he had struck; he was then arrested and conducted to the hotel de Retz, where the provost proceeded to a first examination.

This magistrate found on him a chaplet, a paper on which the name of Jesus was written three times on different folds, and a paste-board heart which he wore around his neck. We are really surprised in reading the examinations into this matter, at the particular care which the judges who had charge of the pro-

ceedings took to prevent Ravillac from exposing his accomplices. Though it was ascertained through the keeper of the inn that he had had intercourse with masqued persons, amongst others with a squire of the queen, with the almoners of the cardinal du Perron, one of the lovers of Mary of Medicis, with several Jesuits, a Cordelier, a Feuillant, the curate of St. Severin, and a canon, yet he was confronted with no one but Father d'Aubigny, who affirmed by oath that he did not know the assassin, and denied the allegations of Ravillac, who said that he had visited him at a house of the Jesuits.

Father Cotton, the confessor of Henry the Fourth, went himself several times to prohibit the accused from compromising persons of quality. Finally, thirteen days after the assassination, as if they were in a hurry to finish it, the parliament pronounced sentence of death against Francis Ravillac, attainted and convicted of the crime of lese-majesty. He was condemned to be pinched with red hot pincers, and have melted lead, boiling oil, and hot sulphur poured on the sores; to have his right hand burned to the wrist, then to be torn asunder, and then consumed on the scaffold. The judgment further provided that the house in which he was born should be demolished; that his mother and father should be driven from the kingdom, and be prohibited from returning to it, under penalty of being hung and strangled; that his brothers, sisters, uncles, and other relatives should be compelled, under similar penalties, to abandon the name of Ravillac and take some other.

The assassin underwent his horrible punishment courageously; he did not utter a groan whilst the executioner was tearing him with red hot pincers, which at each blow tore off strips of flesh; nor even whilst they were pouring into his gaping wounds a mixture of not lead, sulphur, oil, and boiling wax. No cry escaped him when his hand was burned, nor when he was fastened to the horses by his four limbs. Finally, after having undergone this frightful punishment for almost an hour without being dismembered, and still breathing, "the soldiers who assisted at the execution, tired of beholding it, fell upon the criminal with swords, knives, and clubs, and commenced striking, cutting, and tearing this unfortunate man, who was thus ardently cut into parts, and the pieces torn from the executioner and dragged in all directions with extreme fury."

When justice had been inflicted on the murderer, cold reason resumed the superiority, and they began to inquire who were the true accomplices of Ravillac; the public voice designated the Jesuits, and pamphlets against the reverend fathers appeared in every direction, and amongst others, one called "l'Anti-Cotton," in which it was demonstrated that the Jesuits and the queen had armed the hand of Ravillac.

The parliament, not daring to act against such great culprits, contented itself with enjoining the faculty of theology, to censure

the works published by the society on the theory of regicide; and in accordance with the decision of the doctors, condemned several of their books to be burned by the executioner on the Place de Grève. This judgment against the disciples of Loyola, by the first body in the kingdom, and which implied in some sort an accusation of participation in the assassination of Henry the Fourth, did not prevent Mary de Medicis from continuing her favours to them, and installing Father Cotton near the young Louis the Thirteenth, in the capacity of his confessor, and of giving to their college de la Flèche the heart of her husband. The queen even dared to grant them letters patent much more extensive than those hitherto granted them, and to permit them to give public instruction on theology, and all kinds of sciences, since, she declared, that it was most useful that children should learn from them the forms and modes of life which they must observe at court.

The Jesuits immediately afterwards informed the university of their letters patent, and were engaged in following up the grant before the parliament. Thus was revived the proceedings concerning the instruction of children, which had been pending for almost a century between the university and the Society of Jesus. In his pleading, the advocate la Martelière, who spoke for the university, recalled the fact that it was the third time that this celebrated body had claimed the protection of parliament against the satellites of the pope, in order to assure the repose of the kingdom; that since the establishment of the Jesuits all Europe had resounded with the noise of their disputes; that they had never ceased to preach the overthrow of the political powers; he cast upon them a participation in the crimes of Jacques Clement, de Barrière, de Chatel, and de Ravillac, in France; he recalled their participation in the gunpowder plot in England, in the troubles which had arisen in Venice and several other states, and finished his harangue by beseeching parliament not to be surprised by the hypocritical tone, honied words, and promises of the good fathers; he begged them to be on their guard against their knaveries, and not to forget that their own constitution authorised them to perjure themselves, whenever the interest of their order or that of the pope demanded it.

The advocate general, Servin, was also favourable to the university; that magistrate declared that before entering on the debate, he had inquired from the Jesuits if they were willing to agree as the terms of their re-establishment, "to sign without equivocation or subterfuges, the four propositions of the Sorbonne, concerning the inviolability of the persons of kings, the absolute independence of their authority in temporal matters, the subjection of ecclesiastics to princes, and the maintenance of the liberties of the Gallican church;" but that they had refused to give a formal adhesion to these principles. It was consequently concluded to prohibit the Jesuits from giving public lessons; to fill any scholas-

tic function for the instruction of children or adults, in the city of Paris. The parliament admitted his conclusions, and made a decree declaring the university to be well founded in its remarks, and giving judgment for it. It was not in France only that the Jesuits had become objects of general animadversion; they were held in execration every where. They had been driven out of Russia; the university of Louvain had condemned their doctrines, and expelled them from Flanders; in Bohemia, a decree of the sovereign council, made by the consent of all orders in the kingdom, had condemned them to perpetual banishment, as disturbers of the public quiet; Moravia, following the example of Bohemia, had taken an energetic decision to prohibit them from entering its provinces. Then the Jesuits, chased, spit upon, disgraced, appeared to amend, and to obtain their re-installation, they renounced their regicidal doctrines, and adopted the maxim of the inviolability of the persons of sovereigns, which was naturally professed at the courts of those potentates. The fathers Balthazar, Jacquinet, Fronton, Jacques Sirmond, and Faconius, presented themselves at the bar of the parliament and declared that they accepted the four propositions of the Sorbonne, in regard to the preservation of the persons of kings, their absolute independence of the see of Rome, and the privileges of their authority, even over ecclesiastics.

This submission, though tardy, was very profitable to them, for it appeased the murmurs of their enemies, caused them to be tolerated in the kingdom, and placed them in a position to provoke ecclesiastical assemblies, in which they agitated different religious questions, which were all resolved to their entire satisfaction. Thus in the provincial councils of Aix and Sens, they obtained the condemnation of the treatise of Edmund Richer, syndic of the faculty of theology in Paris, concerning ecclesiastical power, and consequently his displacement from the syndicate. But this act of iniquity reawaked all the former hatred against the Jesuits, and the struggle commenced more violently than ever between them and the defenders of the liberties of the Gallic church.

The work of Edmund Richer became the cause of a polemical controversy, which gave it more vogue and renown than had ever been attained by any book; for, independently of the interest which a work laid under excommunication and interdict always inspires, the treatise on ecclesiastical power had the attraction for the masses, of a work in open hostility to the two great powers that crush the people; it demonstrated that neither kings nor pontiffs had the right of infallibility and inviolability which were attributed to them—that both, holding their authority from the nations, could, under no pretext, nor for any cause whatsoever, free themselves from their supreme jurisdiction.

All the great writers of the age adopted the opinion of the syndic, and took up the pen to

sustain his doctrines. One of them, Du Plessis Mornay, even dared to attack the court of Rome, and published his celebrated work called “*The Mysteries of Iniquity*,” in which the author unveiled the long sequence of crimes and infamies committed by the pontiffs, and in which he concluded by saying, that the successors of St. Peter had been the mandates of antichrist. In the frontispiece of his book there was engraven a tower of Babel, an emblem of the Vatican, and on the first page, his holiness, Paul the Fifth, in the costume of Satan, leading his infernal legions of Jesuits to conquer the world.

When the pope was informed of the appearance of so terrible a work, he very naturally fulminated a bull of excommunication against Du Plessis Mornay, and solicited the interdiction of his book in France, as most heretical, most dangerous, contrary to the divine, natural, and canonical laws, to the writings of the holy fathers, to the observances of the Catholic church, to the ceremonies received and practised from all antiquity. The Jesuits undertook to pursue the work, and to the shame of the magistracy, they found judges who condemned it.

Encouraged by this success, the children of Ignatius Loyola, undertook to bring about a triumph of the pope in Venice, and to rid him of his most formidable adversary, the illustrious Peter Sarpi or Fra Paolo, which was his Dominican name, as they had done in France of Du Plessis Mornay. As, however, they did not expect to find in the council of Ten, judges as docile as those in France, they proceeded in another way, and attempted to assassinate him. Fra Paolo, warned by an anonymous advice of what was prepared against him, took extraordinary precautions to guarantee himself from attacks, and asked permission never to go abroad without a coat of mail under his robe, and accompanied by a lay brother of his monastery armed with a blunderbuss; this was granted him, a thing unheard-of in a city where the carrying of fire arms was punished by death. Nevertheless, one day, as he was leaving his convent, five masked men fell upon him, struck him several blows with their poniards, and escaped before the lay brother had time to use his fire arms. Peter Sarpi was carried back to his cell almost dead, and with his jaw pierced through with a stiletto. on which were engraven a tiara, a cross, and a death's head, with this motto, “*In the name of the pope, the Society of Jesus.*”

Immediately on the report of this hateful attempt at assassination, the senators, who were in session, came in a body to the convent of the Dominicans to inquire into the situation of the wounded man; the council of Ten ordered the most active search to be made for the guilty, who unfortunately could not be arrested. He brought the most famous surgeon of Italy from Padua, at the expense of the state, to attend on Fra Paolo, and when his health was restored, the most serene republic doubled his pension, and offered him

a palace. Peter Sarpi, though very sensible of these proofs of such general interest, refused the pensions and the palaces, he only consented never to leave his convent but with an escort, so as to be beyond the reach of a new attempt at assassination.

The Jesuits, forced to renounce their guilty plans, and despairing of being enabled to subjugate Venice to the Holy See, so long as it had such a defender, fell back on France, and aided by the regent Mary de Medicis and Father Cotton, her confessor, they organised religious congregations in all parts of the kingdom, which enveloped the cities and country in an immense net of superstition. All the old orders of monks reappeared; Dominicans, Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Jacobins, Feuillants, recruited numerous adepts, and covered all France with their legions. Port Royal became a religious community, where they adored the consecrated host day and night; the sisters of Calvary passed the nights at the foot of the cross to expiate the offences committed by the protestants against the Tree of Life and Safety; nuns had extacies, after the example of St. Catherine of Sienna. Francis de Sales founded the order of the Visitation; the Ursulines monopolised the instruction of young girls, as the Jesuits had already done that of young men; Bellule instituted the priests of the oratory; the Benedictines reassembled at the congregation of St. Maur; Vincent de Paul founded the congregation of Missions; the Brothers of Mercy multiplied to infinity, and were endowed with vast domains, or rich communities, and the provinces were at the mercy of this monkish brood, who, in every country, and at all periods, have devoured the wealth of the people, paralyzed the development of industry, and rendered the human race besotted.

At last, the Jesuits thought themselves strong enough to brave public opinion, and by the order of Paul the Fifth, they induced the regent to convene the states-general, and to propose the adopting of the canons of the council of Trent, which were an outrage on the liberty of the church and the dignity of the country. The members of the nobility, who formed a part of the states, as well as several of the clergy, were favourable to the plan, and bargained away the national dignity. A bishop even dared to declare, in order to influence the deliberations of the commons, that there was no safety for the kingdom, unless the three orders decreed the submission of France to the will of the pope.

The commons, nevertheless, who had a reasonable distrust of the two privileged orders, resisted the solicitations. Through the provost of the merchants, as their organ, they remonstrated with the regent, and represented to her "that the question of the council of Trent having been in suspense for sixty years, they did not judge it to be a fitting time to settle it; that, moreover, the decisions of this pretended orthodox assembly had been recognised as derogatory to the royal authority and the public tranquillity; that the parliament

had already decided that they should be subjected, since they subjected the chapters and monasteries to the bishops, and destroyed the independence of the regular clergy; since they confiscated, for the benefit of the pope, the fiefs of lords who were killed in duels; and they erased the indults of parliament and the jurisdiction of subaltern judges in matters in which ecclesiastics were interested; and, finally, because they introduced into France the horrible tribunals of the inquisition on the same basis as those of Spain."

The Jesuits, finding it impossible to overcome the repugnance of the commons, applied to the young king, who had obtained his majority, and obtained from him authority to hold provincial synods, to decide the important question of the ordinances made by the council of Trent, and their promulgation in France. A meeting of members of the clergy and nobility was held, who bound themselves, by oath, to make the cause of the pope triumph, and to constrain the nation to bow before the theocratic yoke. Among the fanatics who assisted at this cabal, were the cardinals de Rochefoucauld, de Gondy and du Peron, seven archbishops, and forty-five bishops, and among these last, was the proud prelate of Lucon, afterwards the cardinal de Richelieu. This audacity of the clergy and the Catholic nobility made a great noise, and compelled the chatelet of Paris to prohibit, by a decree, all ecclesiastics under his jurisdiction, to publish any thing which was treated of at the council of Trent, or which made the slightest innovation on the policy of the Gallican church, under penalty of confiscation and seizure.

The Huguenots also issued a manifesto, and declared that they would again take up arms, if the king wished to make France subject to the Holy See. Hostilities had already commenced on several points, when the marshal d'Ancre, the husband of Elionora Galigai, the favourite of the queen mother, interfered and induced Mary de Medicis to renounce the adoption of the council of Trent, and to promise the Huguenots that things should remain as formerly, regardless of the demands of the court of Rome or the clergy. Notwithstanding this solemn engagement, made by the queen mother, and the formal prohibition of the chatelet, the cardinals de Sourdis and de Rochefoucauld went on, assembled their own synods of Bourdeaux and Sens, and declared that the faithful should be bound to observe, conscientiously, the different rules of the holy council of Trent. Other prelates followed their example, and promulgated the decrees of this pretended œcumenical assembly in their dioceses.

This singular triumph, obtained in defiance of the opposition of the parliament and the states-general, exalted the audacity of the Jesuits, and induced the good fathers to proclaim that France had adopted the council of Trent and submitted to the omnipotence of the pontiff. A remarkable work against the primacy of the pope, and called "The Ecclesiasti-

cal Republic," from the pen of the celebrated author Mark Antony Dominis, then appeared. His holiness was much moved by the appearance of this work, and immediately demanded its condemnation in France by the faculty of theology. At the same time, he entered into a conference with the author, and caused a cardinal's hat to be offered him, if he should consent to retract the propositions which should be pointed out to him in his book.

Dominis, seduced by the brilliant promises of the pope, was mean enough to make an apology, and disavow all he had written against the head of the church; he then went to Rome, fortified with a safe conduct, to receive the promised reward. But once in the power of the pope, after he had furnished to the world the shame of a second abjuration, instead of being elevated to the rank of a prince of the church, he was conducted to the castle of San Angelo and poisoned, after a captivity of five days. His holiness was not satisfied with this severe punishment of Dominis. For the edification of the faithful, he treated him as a relapsed heretic, and burned his body as well as his book, in the square of Flora. This proscription extended not only to the books which attacked the pope directly, but also against those which were written against the satellites of the Holy See, and even against historical works. Thus the court of Rome fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the advocate Arnaud for his memoir of the Jesuits, against the illustrious president De Thou for his history of France, and against the members of parliament for the decrees they had made in the affairs of the regicides Jean Chatel and Ravillac.

During this crusade against literary men, the Dominicans and Franciscans were scandalising Spain and Europe by their cynical disputes about the immaculate conception of the Virgin; and things reached such a point, that it was no longer with the pen that these monks attacked each other, but with blows of the stiletto or poniard. In France these events attracted public attention very little, which was fastened upon matters of much graver importance. The marshal d'Ancre had been assassinated by order of the king; his wife, Eleonora Galigai, had been beheaded by a decree of parliament; the queen mother disgraced, and with her Richelieu, the bishop of Lucern, one of her lovers. The blow of state directed against Mary de Medicis in the person of her favourites, had a great influence on the internal policy of the state. Father Cotton, confessor of the king, was driven from the court, which he governed with the Jesuits, and Richelieu himself, who filled the post of secretary of state, was banished for the same cause. The wary prelate retired to the city of Avignon, and connected himself intimately with the vice legate of the pope, to bring about the means of his return to France. The latter induced his holiness to demand the reinstatement of the bishop of Lucern in his post of secretary of state; but the duke de Luynes, who had the exercise of the supreme autho-

rity in his hands, and who feared the ambition of Richelieu, rejected all the overtures made to him on the subject. The prelate then took other means to attain his end. He entered into a correspondence with the queen mother, and induced her to escape from court and throw herself into the southern provinces, so as to excite a civil war, which took place. In this extremity the duke de Luynes, who knew the influence of Richelieu over Mary de Medicis, was forced, in order to arrest hostilities, to enter into an arrangement with that prelate, and proposed to him a reinstatement in his post of secretary of state, with the hat of a cardinal, if he would induce the queen to conclude a treaty of peace with her son; and as proof of the sincerity of his offers, he sent to the marquis de Creuvres, the French ambassador at Rome, an order to solicit publicly the entrance of the bishop of Lucern into the sacred college.

Richelieu, not suspecting that they would dare to strive with him in craft, trusted to the protestations of the court, and decided his royal mistress to become reconciled with Louis the Thirteenth. But when the treaty was signed, the duke de Luynes, who had no intention of bringing so able a man into the council of the king, refused to keep his engagements in regard to the post of secretary of state, and also wrote confidentially to the pope not to pay any regard to the solicitations of the French ambassador for a hat for the bishop of Lucern. His holiness abandoned the cause of his protege the more readily, as he thought it was impossible for him to render him any service in consequence of his disgrace, and of the agreement of the queen with the court. A promotion of eight cardinals took place at Rome, and Richelieu was not among them. Furious at having been the dupe of Paul the Fifth, the king, and the duke de Luynes, the bishop of Lucern swore to be avenged. He excited Mary de Medicis to recommence the war on the pretence that the treaty of Angoulême was not executed, and at the same time he wrote to the pope, that he would make the court of Rome repent having associated with his enemies, and that he would break for ever with the policy of the Holy See. This threat produced no sensation at the court of the pontiff; never perhaps had the authority of the successors of St. Peter been so powerful as then, and the wrath of a prelatial lover of a decayed queen was of little consequence to Paul the Fifth.

His holiness did not even reply to Richelieu, and was engaged with the new emperor of Germany, Ferdinand the Second, who, in defiance of the oaths he had taken to maintain the freedom of the protestant worship, was putting in force a system of religious persecutions against the reformed, in order to become reconciled to the pope, and to have the censures and interdicts pronounced against him on account of the arrest of cardinal Clesius, accused of high treason, raised.

Paul the Fifth, in consequence of the repentance of the emperor, the zeal which he mani-

fested for orthodoxy, and the rich presents he sent to St. Peter, granted him absolution, confirmed his election, and authorised the Catholic bishops to consecrate him. We should also say, that the reason which appeared most conclusive to his holiness, and which determined him to become reconciled with Ferdinand the Second, and to absolve him from the enormous crime of having violated the privileges of the church in the person of a cardinal, was the distribution which the latter made of six hundred thousand crowns among the Borghese; for by the avowal of Father Bzovius, who has left us a pompous eulogium on the pope, it was a matter of joy to him to see those prosper whom he neglected no means of enriching.

Nicholas de Marbais, a doctor in theology, a cotemporary of Paul the Fifth, and a witness of all the turpitudes of the court of Rome, is more severe upon the pontiff than the Jesuit Bzovius, and condemns the nepotism of his holiness in terms so energetic, that we can not do better than translate the passage of this learned historian concerning the disorders of this reign—"Paul the Fifth," he says, "so robbed the faithful, that he was enabled to spend four millions of crowns in purchases of lands for his nephew the cardinal Borghese. He bought for him the lordship of Rignano, near Rome, from the family of Savelli, for three hundred and fifty thousand crowns; he gave a hundred thousand for the town of Sulmona, which belonged to the dominions of Naples: he paid six hundred thousand crowns for the domain of the four Casales: he has acquired property among the mountains of Rome for more than five hundred thousand crowns; he has expended eight hundred thousand crowns in the Borghese palace, solely for construction, buildings, and gardens; for his cabinet is so rich in works of art, that it is valued at eighteen hundred thousand crowns.

"And from what source does this immense wealth come? From the datary, that Pactolus which rolls waves of gold; for it is notorious that the patrimony of the Borghese could not support their prodigality, since every one knows that this family was reduced to great poverty before the exaltation of the pope. Times are now different; thanks to the robberies and rapines of his holiness, the Borghese are now the richest lords in Italy. If we open the registry of the bulls we shall be surprised to see in what a great number of pages no other name is found as the titulary of such and such a benefice: yet Paul the Fifth knew well to whom he gave them, and he is no other than that fop of a cardinal Borghese, whose name he conceals in order not to excite the indignation of those who are yet silly enough to believe in the equity of a pope.

"Paul the Fifth only gives his creatures charges and prebends of minor importance, which are vacant without personal charges. The benefices that have a certain value he confers on his nephew without circumlocution, or obscurity, or ambiguity of language. If they are small and puny, he flanks them with five or six

others, so as to make one fat and large domain, with which he gratifies these Borghese; finally, if by perchance, he confers a rich bishopric, he is careful to make it lean by loading it with a pension for his nephew, and thus transforms all the cardinals and prelates of his court into factors or curators for his dear Borghese.

"His holiness does not wish the princes of the church to be learned and expert, lest they may too easily perceive his ignorance; thus he does not grant the hat but to clowns without wit; to loggerheads of the vilest race, who have not spirit and courage to resent the cardinal nephew's boxing their ears; to asses who are content to graze on the lands of their benefices, and abandon the revenues of them to the Borghese. It would be really difficult for the cardinals Caphonus, Barberinus, Lantrec, and Spinola to tell in what cities they studied the belles lettres, for in regard to letters, they only know those letters of exchange which they have furnished to the nephew of the pope as a guarantee of the abandonment of their emoluments and the revenues of their property. As for other members of the sacred college, as Tonto, Lanfranc, Philonardo, and some of their colleagues, it would be still worse were we to ask them what profession they followed before they became cardinals. One was the organ player in the oratory, and received fifteen Julius a month as his pay; another was an obscene physician in a small street in Naples; the lord Philonardo was the keeper of a brothel; a fourth was the chief of a band of robbers, and was engaged every night in deserving the gallows; all, in fine, before having been covered with the Roman purple, were covered with filth, the scum of every thing that was vilest in Rome, the most abominable city in the world; and yet, infamous as they were, they were scarcely worthy to form the court of Paul the Fifth; for in that accursed court, the princes of the church freely abandoned themselves to all sorts of abominations with their Ganymedes. They did not fear in the face of day to ravish children, and carry off young girls for their voluptuous saloons. All knew that there was neither justice nor shame at the Vatican; they therefore took no pains to conceal their turpitudes. Prelates, as well as mere clergymen, went in open day, dressed in their carnales, to the houses of women of pleasure, and caused the husbands or the fathers of the women or girls whom they had carried off to be assassinated publicly.

"Paul the Fifth laughs at all this dissoluteness, and wallows like a hog in the most stinking and disgusting odours of adultery, incest, and sodomy that can be imagined. And should he not applaud the murder of a husband or a father, who himself poisoned the wife of one of his brothers, because she refused his infamous caresses? Should he not glory in incests, who himself had bastards by his own sister, and who is the father of the cardinal nephew? Who, oh my God, will dare to recount the abominations which have procured for the wife of the second brother of his holi-

ness the name of pope, which is publicly given to her at Rome; by what shameful means has she become the dispensess of bishoprics, cardinals' hats, and all the benefices; how is it that this new Joan governs the church, seated on the throne of the apostle, the tiara on her brow, and the keys of heaven in her hands, stained with licentiousness? Who shall dare to say that the pontiff, the supreme head of Christendom, the vicar of God on earth, has in the cardinal Borghese at

once a nephew, a son, and a minion! Has God, in his immutable destiny, decided that the world shall be for ever governed by such monsters? Are the people for ever to bend their heads before tyrants? Is there never to come a day, in which the people, doing justice to popes and kings, shall sweep all despots from the earth? . . ."

At length, on the 28th of January, 1621, after having weighed down Italy for sixteen years, Paul the Fifth died from an attack of apoplexy.

GREGORY THE FIFTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1621.]

Election of Gregory the Fifteenth—His history before being elevated to the pontifical chair—His efforts to establish the omnipotence of his see—Portrait of Ludovico Ludovisio, his nephew—Decree concerning the election of popes—Canonization of Ignatius Loyola—Massacre in the Grisons—Society of the propaganda—Persecutions and massacre of the reformed in Bohemia, Hungary, and Saxony—The pope congratulates Ferdinand on his religious zeal—Louis the Thirteenth follows the example of the emperor, and persecutes the protestants—Creation by the Jesuits of the fraternity of the Virgin—Catholic reaction in the United Provinces—Policy of Gregory towards England—The Jesuits in the Indies and America—Father Nobili at Peking—Elevation of the house of Austria—League against the empire and Spain—Affairs of the Valteline—Death of Gregory the Fifteenth.

THE funeral ceremonies of Paul the Fifth being over, the sacred college assembled, and fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave; Borghese and his faction presented the cardinal Campozza as their candidate for the papacy, one of those prelates who, during the preceding reign, were the most distinguished for their vices. The Ursini, and the ambassador of the court of France, who were opposed to the Borghese, presented Alexander Ludovisio as theirs, and intrigued so successfully for him, that he triumphed over his competitor. He was accordingly proclaimed chief of the church, and took the name of Gregory the Fifteenth.

The new pope was sprung from an illustrious family of Bologna, which had been incorporated into the Neapolitan nobility. Having entered the college of the Jesuits at Naples when very young, he had remained there until he was sixteen years old, and had only left it to study law in the university of Bologna; he then went to Rome to Gregory the Fourteenth, his countryman, who appointed him collateral of the senator. He was afterwards successively raised to the posts of refendary, civil judge of the cases of the vicarage, archbishop of Bologna, nuncio, and cardinal priest of the title of St. Mary beyond the bridge. Some ecclesiastical writers speak of the amenity and goodness of this pontiff; but historical facts contradict their allegations, and show that he did not yield to his predecessors in cruelty or perfidy.

Comprehending that the origin of the papal grandeur sprang from the intestine divisions

which rent the Roman empire, Gregory resolved to embroil all Europe to reseize the ancient influence of the Holy See; and as he was already bent by age, and unable to surrender himself to the labours which were necessary for the realization of his plans, he determined to call to his aid the Society of the Jesuits, that indefatigable soldiery, which for almost a century had shown itself so ardent, so intrepid, so devoted to the interests of the court of Rome. He formed a council, all the members of which belonged to the order, and placed at their head his nephew Ludovico Ludovisio, a young man of twenty-five years of age, and a worthy pupil of the children of Loyola.

Although young, Ludovico had already the morals of the Roman clergy; he was prodigal, a debauchee, greedy of wealth and greatness; thus he threw himself with ardour into the new career opened to his ambition. The first acts of the new government showed the tendencies of Gregory the Fifteenth towards papal omnipotence. To prevent the influences of the ambassadors of foreign courts in the elections, his holiness made a decree, which enjoined on the cardinals in future conclaves, to give their suffrages by secret ballot, and not openly. The council was then occupied as to the means of rekindling the zeal of fanatics in every nation. For this purpose they proceeded to the canonization of several persons dead in the odour of sanctity, among others, Saint Theresa the Visionary, Louis de Gonzagua, Stanislaus Koteka, Philip de Neri, Isidore Agricola, Ambroise Sansedon, Jacques

de Saloniome, Francis Xavier, and Ignatius Loyola.

Money beginning to become scarce in the treasury of St. Peter, the pontiff published an extraordinary jubilee, for the double purpose of recruiting his finances, and of being enabled to judge of the state of religion in the different kingdoms of Europe; he could thus judge from the zeal which the princes showed in favouring his financial efforts, whether things were going on well for the Holy See. In Germany, Julius, bishop of Wirtzburg, the electoral prince Schweikard of Mayence, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the archduke Ferdinand, made no opposition to the sale of indulgences, and even laboured with ardour in the propagation of the papacy. Ferdinand the Second did more; he endeavoured to annihilate Lutheranism, and persecuted his subjects, to compel them to confess the Roman Catholic religion.

Even in France, the authority of the pope was scarcely any longer contested; the Jesuits commenced traversing Bearn, fire and sword in their hands, burning the protestant temples and murdering the Huguenots, who dared to resist them. In Switzerland, one of the chiefs of the Valtelines, named Jacques Robustelli, who was under the fatal influence of the Jesuits, assembled bands of wretches to exterminate the unfortunate Grisons who professed Calvinism. In the Tyrol, on the peaks of the Alps, as well as in the valleys, the reformed were tracked by the fanatical followers of the pope; towns, villages, the poorest hamlets become the prey of the flames; the public places, the high roads, the wildest defiles were tinged with the blood of protestants; in the Low Countries, Philip the Third displayed unusual vigour, and at the instigation of the pontifical court, he seized by force on the provinces which had formerly freed themselves from Spain, and prepared to bring them back beneath the double yoke of Madrid and Rome.

The Catholic reaction was making immense progress in every country in Christendom, and under such a pope as Gregory the Fifteenth, there was no fear that the court of Rome would permit an opportunity to escape of re-establishing its preponderance over the countries which had formerly been subject to it.—His holiness was first occupied with founding the society of the propaganda on the plans of a Capuchin, named Girolamo Narni, and was organising missions to all countries of the world; he then formed alliances with the Catholic sovereigns, and particularly with Ferdinand the Second, to whom he offered, through Charles Caraffa, his apostolic nuncio, a present of two hundred thousand crowns and his blessing, as a subsidy for the war, in exchange for his active and persevering assistance, in the extermination of the reformed in his kingdom.

The bargain being made, cohorts of Dominicans, Augustines, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Jesuits, hastened to range themselves beneath the banner of the cardinal Caraffa, and scattered themselves through Bohemia,

to proceed regularly to the destruction of the Lutheran or Calvinist churches, in order to re-establish the customs of the Roman church, the communion in one kind, the celebration of mass in the Latin tongue, the sprinkling of holy water, the invocation of canonised fanatics, the auricular confession; finally, every thing which philosophers justly call the idolatry of the Catholic worship. The unfortunate who persisted in demanding the communion in both kinds, were thrown into dungeons or sent to the stake, and their property confiscated to the church. In the cities, they besieged the houses of protestants who refused to yield to the exhortations of the monks, "to constrain them to abandon their obstinacy," according to the expressions of the nuncio, that is to say, to put them to the most frightful tortures, until they had renounced their belief. In the country the soldiers and monks made general battles, burned the farm-houses, murdered the farmers, violated girls, polluted young children, sparing those only who called themselves Catholics. By these means, the cardinal Caraffa saw the number of abjurations daily increase, and he could soon announce to Gregory that Bohemia was entirely subject to the Holy See.

The same things occurred in Moravia; the cardinal Dietrich Stein, who was at once governor of the province and bishop of Olmutz, thus uniting the spiritual and temporal power, wished to rival the fanaticism and cruelty of Charles Caraffa; and notwithstanding the active opposition of the citizens, he drove from the province the sect of the Moravian brothers, who numbered more than fifteen thousand individuals, male and female, and who were much cherished for their mild and patriarchal manners.

In Austria, the hereditary state of the emperor Ferdinand, the religious reaction was also very successful; the prince had first published by the sound of the trumpet through the towns, villages, and smallest boroughs, that the inhabitants must become converted or leave the country; he then established an immense cordon of troops, who united the two frontiers at the mouth of the Danube, and who coming up the river, enveloped all the cities, and drove out of the territory the unfortunates who were unwilling to adopt the Catholic ritual. In Hungary, the emperor was compelled to employ craft, and even to grant privileges to the magnates, who were the lords of this country, to bring them back into the bosom of the church.

In Bavaria and Saxony, the Jesuit missionaries did wonders, and converted more than twenty thousand protestants; it is true, they were aided in it by the executioner. In the Palatinate the protestant worship was interdicted under the severest penalties, and the inhabitants were forced to submit to Catholicism. The Lower Palatinate was also subjected to the Roman church. Charles Caraffa, at the head of a legion of monks, fell upon that province, treated it as a conquered country, carried off from Heidelberg, its capital, the

library, and a multitude of very precious manuscripts, which were transported to Rome.

In Upper Baden, the Margrave William carried on the same brigandage; the converting missionaries penetrated to Bamberg, Fulda, Eichsfeld, Paderborn, in the bishopric of Munster, to Halberstadt and Magdeburg.—They went as far as the city of Altona, and were preparing to enter Denmark and Norway.

Thus from the south to the north, from the east to the west of the Roman German empire, the restoration of the papacy was propagated with alarming celerity, and threatened to annihilate Lutheranism for ever.

Moreover, Gregory the Fifteenth, who understood admirably how to stimulate the fanatical zeal of sovereigns, conferred the electorate Palatine on Duke Maximilian, the sovereign of Bavaria, on account of the services he had rendered the church, and to excite a holy emulation among the other princes of Germany.—“Thy conduct, my son, has filled our heart with a torrent of delight, like to celestial manna. The daughter of Sion can at last shake from her head the ashes of grief, and clothe herself with the garments of joy! for soon will all the enemies of the throne of the apostle be reduced to dust.”

His holiness then extended his solicitude to France, and sought to make its king a worthy rival of Ferdinand the Second. Unfortunately, the splenetic Louis the Thirteenth was but too well disposed to follow the promptings of fanaticism, and a bitter war was carried on against the Huguenots, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Gentlemen of the reformed party even seconded the efforts of the monarch, and became converted to Catholicism, some to obtain posts and dignities, and others not to lose the privileges of their caste, which were beginning to be contested by the commons. Thus, the lords de la Force and de Chatillon, abjured Calvinism for the baton of a marshal; the old Leodigières embraced Catholicism for the sword of constable; many others followed their example, and the protestant religion was, in fact, suppressed in a large number of boroughs and cities.

The Huguenots were prohibited from singing their psalms in the streets and in their houses; the rights and benefits guaranteed to them by the edict of Nantz, were contested; a royal commissary was placed in their churches to supervise the meetings; and, finally, the privileges they had won by their blood were taken from them one by one. Unable to unite or defend themselves, the Calvinists were compelled to be converted; the papacy was triumphant. Legions of missionaries, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Capuchins, traversed France every where, recruiting in their course thousands of neophytes, and organizing men and women into an immense society, called the fraternity of Mary. Bishops were in regular correspondence with the Holy See, and gave his holiness useful advice to hasten the extinction of the heresy. Thus the prelate of Vienne having perceived that the efforts of the missionaries were para-

lyzed by the eloquence of a preacher of St. Marcellin, wrote charitably to Rome for Gregory to solicit an order from Louis the Thirteenth to hang him. The bishop of St. Malo having been informed that the reformed assembled in their chateaux to sing psalms, demanded, through the apostolic nuncio, the cardinal Damiète, the demolition of these resorts of the Huguenots, which was immediately ordered. These active and increasing precautions which foreshadowed the approaching ruin of the Calvinists of France, gave so much contentment to the pope, that he wrote to Louis the Thirteenth: “My dear son, the ornament of the universe, the glory of our age, march on steadily in your holy path; cause the power of your arm to be felt by those who know not God; be pitiless towards the heretics, and merit to be seated one day on the right hand of Christ, by offering to him as a holocaust all the children of perdition who infect your kingdom.”

It was not in France only that the cause of the Reformation was abandoned by noble families; in the protestant states, in the cities which were most distinguished for their hatred to the papacy, the rich were converted to the Catholic religion from a hatred to the ideas of independence which the masses were gaining, and who were questioning the existence of signorial privileges and rights.

Cologne, Louvain, Namur, opened their gates to the Jesuits, and fifteen thousand inhabitants received confirmation at their hands; in the archbishopric of Utrecht, one hundred and fifty thousand conversions were counted; in the diocese of Harlem, one hundred thousand; at Lenwarden sixteen thousand; at Groeningen twenty thousand, and at Deventer sixty thousand.

Extraordinary, however, as had been the progress of the missionaries in the Low Countries, his holiness was not satisfied, and wrote to the king of Spain “to have no pity on the heretics; to order his governors to establish the Catholic religion by force in the provinces dependent on his crown, to light up the stake, and to leave the Calvinists no alternative but the mass or death.”

England, that impregnable bulwark of the Reformation, remained yet to be subjugated. The obstinate Gregory the Fifteenth was not discouraged by the checks his predecessors had encountered in their efforts at religious reaction, and he determined to re-establish Catholicism in Great Britain. He only profited by the faults of those who had gone before, and pursued an entirely opposite policy; instead of employing threats and rigour, he entered into friendly relations with James the First on this subject, and knowing that the king desired to obtain authority to marry his son, the romantic prince of Wales, to a Spanish princess, which Paul the Fifth had constantly refused, he sent him bulls of dispensation without imposing on him any condition, contenting himself with writing to the young prince, “that he hoped that the old seed of Christian piety which had formerly produced

so many handsome flowers among the English kings, would germinate anew in his heart, and that he should regard his union with a Catholic wife as a happy presage for the Roman church in future."

The wary pontiff had foreseen that his Britannic majesty could not remain indebted to the Holy See, and would make some concessions to it, which in fact happened. By order of the king, the persecution of the Catholics ceased, and they were permitted the free exercise of their religion.

Rule over Europe was not, however, sufficient for the ambitious Gregory the Fifteenth; he must have it over the whole world; and finding no more enemies around him to combat, he turned his attention to remote countries, and thought of conquering for the Holy See the two Americas, the Indies, China, Japan, all Asia and Africa. Already had the Jesuits paved the way in South America, where they were all powerful, thanks to the massacre of more than twenty millions of Indians, and where they had elevated five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred convents of different orders, a considerable number of parishes, a seminary, and two universities, one at Lima, the other at Mexico, for instruction in theology.

The East Indies had not been as well prepared to receive the yoke of Rome. During the pontificate of Paul the Third, the Jesuit Francis Xavier had converted, it is true, nearly three hundred thousand adepts in the vicinity of Goa—the inhabitants of the mountains of Cochinchina or of the environs of Cape Comorin. But the new Christians belonging to the lowest caste of the people of India, it had resulted that the Catholic religion, fallen into contempt, was called the religion of the Pariahs. The Jesuits, however, afterwards becoming more enlightened as to the views of the nations in the immense peninsula of Hindostan, changed their tactics. The father Nobili, sent as a missionary to those countries, determined to address himself to the highest classes, and on his arrival entered into communications with the Brahmans, clothed and lodged as they did, submitted to the same expiations, studied the Sanscrit, penetrated their sentiments and ideas. Profiting skilfully by one article of their belief, that there had been four ways to arrive at the truth, and that one of these was lost, he declared that he had found that fourth way which led at once to immortality, and initiated them into a knowledge of Christianity. He was guarded, however, in injuring their prejudices; he adopted some of the rites of the country, used even the same expressions which were used in the religion of the Brahmans, and took every precaution not to be suspected of teaching the same belief which Francis Xavier had done.

Some Portuguese prelates from the Indian archipelago, who were in intercourse with the people of the continent, were scandalised at this mode of making converts; they addressed vehement complaints to the court of Rome, and demanded that his holiness should

disapprove of the abominable practices which Father Nobili had introduced into Christianity. But the sovereign pontiff received their complaints badly, and replied to them not to interfere in these matters; that the holy missionary was labouring with zeal and intelligence for the greatest glory of God, and that he had an absolute dispensation to do as he pleased, to commit sacrilege, adultery, and even shed the blood of men, if he thought it useful for the success of his glorious enterprise.

In China, the Society of Jesus had also sown the seeds of Catholicism. Father Ricci, one of the dignitaries of the order, had been enabled, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to introduce himself into the celestial empire, by means of a trick, and by passing off for a follower of Confucius. He had afterwards reached Peking, and been admitted to the emperor, by offering him a clock that struck, then a very rare thing. Ricci had finally conducted himself so skilfully, that he had gained the confidence of the monarch, and that of several mandarins, so that before his death, he had obtained authority to introduce missionaries to preach Christianity.

The Jesuits, who replaced the good father, were at first surprised at the singular method of propagating his doctrines which he had adopted, and which consisted in nothing less than passing the day at table with the mandarins and surrendering himself to every excess of intemperance. They wrote to Rome to the pope for advice. Gregory the Fifteenth replied to them, that he absolved them in advance from all the sins which they might commit in view of the interests of religion; that they need not be disturbed about them, since crimes even became pious works, when committed for the purpose of assuring the triumph of the Holy See.

In Japan, the progress of the papacy was still more surprising; thirty colleges of Jesuits and three hundred churches, were already counted in that empire. In Africa, as well as in Asia, the Holy See was conquering new subjects, and the intrepid Jesuit Paëz, at the head of a handful of soldiers, penetrated as far as Abyssinia, forced the sovereign of that country, Settan Segued, to become a convert to Christianity, snatched all Ethiopia from the Socinian monks who were dependents on the metropolitan of Alexandria, and forced the authority of the commissioner of Gregory the Fifteenth, Father Alphonso Mendez, appointed patriarch of Ethiopia by his holiness, to be recognised. Finally, even in the provinces conquered by the Musselmans, even in Constantinople itself, the Jesuits had established colleges, and were labouring to destroy the religion of Mahomet for the benefit of the papacy.

Thus, Gregory the Fifteenth, that weak, sickly old man, constantly tormented by cruel maladies, had found, by the immense activity of his mind, means to extend his sway over the whole world, and what was the most extraordinary in this Catholic propaganda, of which

libra-
ny

297

the soul in Europe, was developments, the in- great powers, and sen- chain, in superstition, by the sword.

es in the respective rela- tions, resulted from this agreement between the papacy and monarchies. The most important certainly was, the elevation of the house of Austria, which had heretofore exercised a very secondary influence over the affairs of Europe. The Italian republics, whose independence was threatened by the growth of this power, were at last aroused by the invasion of the Valteline by Austrian troops, who had fallen on this country to exterminate its inhabitants, and asked the interference of the French arms. Louis the Thirteenth, who was fearful of losing his influence over Italy, if Ferdinand the Second remained master of the Valteline, formed a league with Savoy and Venice, to constrain the house of Austria, to give up the defiles and places on which it had seized. Gregory the Fifteenth, being interested in keeping those sovereigns on good terms, interfered in the quarrel, and was among the first to claim, after the extermination of the protestants of the Valteline, that Austria and Spain should abandon the cities they had conquered. His holiness even declared that he was ready to take charge of them himself, and to occupy them with his troops, until the susceptibilities of Italy and France were entirely reassured as to the good intentions of Ferdinand the Second and Philip the Fourth. This arrangement was agreed to, and Gregory, by the consent of the belligerents, placed garrisons in the towns and on the frontiers which were the object of disputes.

The pontiff was already thinking of taking advantage of this circumstance for his family,

and of giving the Valteline in fief to one of his nephews, when death came to arrest the execution of his plans, and to deprive the church of one of the most skilful politicians who ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. This event took place on the 8th of July, 1623.

Several excellent historians, and especially Heydegger, have contested the great political reputation of Gregory the Fifteenth, and maintain that his holiness had only mind enough to comprehend his own incapacity for business, and to surrender the government of the church to the mistress of his nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, a woman endowed with a prodigious genius.

This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of Cardinal Richelieu, who thus expresses himself in his memoirs. "Gregory the Fifteenth was a better man than a good pope, his only quality being an excessive love for his relatives, who, seeing him worn down by his great age, not only seized on every occasion to use with avidity this facility for enriching themselves, but constantly abused the weakness of his holiness. By the advice of Ludovisio, his nephew, or rather of the mistress who governed that cardinal, he accomplished very strange actions, and we must regard them as proceeding from an authority rather claimed by the popes than admitted by the church, rather founded on the abuses of the Roman court, than the merit of the chair of St. Peter. Once only could he resist the will that governed him, it was on the approach of death; as his nephew was pressing him to make still more cardinals, he replied to him, "that he could not do so, since there did not remain more than enough time to ask pardon from God for having created so many, and so unworthy." These words of Richelieu are entitled to more weight, since that minister owed his promotion to the cardinalate to him.

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA.

URBAN THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1623.]

Troubles in Rome excited by the cardinnl Barberino—He aspires to the papacy—He poisons his competitors in the conclave—Exaltation of the cardinal Maffeo Barberino by the name of Urban the Eighth—His history before being pope—His character—His strange rules—He wishes to follow the policy of his predecessor—Strife between him and Richelieu, the minister of Louis the Thirteenth—Plan of marriage between the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria of France—General war between the different powers of Europe—The pope joins the protestants to combat Richelieu—The Jesuits attack the minister, by order of the holy father—Civil war in France—Troubles in England—Assassination of Buckingham—Siege of Rochelle—Louis the Thirteenth sacks the cities of the south—Forcible continuation of the Catholic propaganda in the states of Germany—Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, declares himself the champion of protestantism—Quarrels between Ferdinand the Second and Urban the Eighth—The pope calls Gustavus Adolphus to the aid of the Holy See—Victory of the king of Sweden over the confederated armies of the house of Austria—Urban turns against Gustavus Adolphus—Death of that prince—The protestant party more formidable than ever in Germany—Urban the Eighth causes the young duke of Urbino to be assassinated—Condemnation of Galileo Galilei—Persecution of sorcerers—Curious details about the Sabbaths of magicians and Bohemians—The princess of Lorraine possessed of a devil—History of the devil of Loudun—Punishment of Urban Grandier—Louis the Thirteenth places his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin—Richelieu wishes to be appointed patriarch in France—Doctrines and morality of the Jesuits—Commencement of Jansenism—St. Cyran and Port Royal—Quarrels between the pope and Cardinal Richelieu—Publication of the Augustinus—The Jansenists and Molinists—Wars in Italy excited by the ambition and avidity of the nephews of the pontiff—Death of Urban the Eighth.

THE funeral rites of Gregory were not over when the factions commenced in Rome to give the tiara to their chiefs. The cardinal Maffeo Barberino exhibited the most arduous in the struggle, though he was rejected by the Spaniards, the French, the parties of the Borghese, and of Ludovisio, by the old cardinals, in fine, by almost all the sacred college. Far from being discouraged by the repulsion, of which he was the object, Barberino became only the bolder, and understanding that he could not count on the cardinals to scale the throne of St. Peter, he determined not to be chosen, but to impose himself.

By his orders, his brothers and nephews subsidised a troop of banditti, ran through the city, excited the people in the suburbs, and produced a revolt which compelled the cardinals to take refuge in the Vatican, and to form a conclave at once.

Barberino came to take his place among his colleagues, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; he listened at first with much patience to the discourses of the different candidates for the papacy; he then spoke, pointed out to the sacred college the necessity of choosing to occupy the chair of St. Peter, a man endowed with great energy, and who was capable of arresting the disorders of the Roman populace; he did not even conceal that he exercised a certain influence over the excitors of the troubles, and announced, impudently, that tranquillity would be restored to the holy city as soon as the cardinals had placed on his head the venerated tiara of the pontiffs. This declaration, instead

of giving him votes, only rendered the repulsion he had inspired still more unanimous, and he received not a single vote. He was not disturbed by this general reprobation; he did not abandon the part he had taken, he only judged that things were not sufficiently advanced, and sent secret instructions out of doors, that the banditti should carry fire and sword every where. His orders were punctually executed; Rome became the theatre of frightful atrocities; the bravos of the cardinal pillaged houses, murdered old men and children, violated women and young girls, and exercised the most frightful profanations on their dead bodies. When they were satiated with carnage and licentiousness, they ran through the streets of the city with torches in their hands, and stopped beneath the ramparts of San Angelo, where they uttered this terrible threat, "Death and fire, or Pope Barberino." These clamours reached even to the ears of the cardinals, assembled in the hall of the conclave, and chilled them with terror, the ballot, however, continued, and the name of Barberino did not leave the room. It was then remarked, with alarm, that the sacred college daily lost some of its members, either by death or sickness, and that these cardinals who disappeared so strangely, were those who exhibited the most opposition to the terrible Barberino. It became evident to all that he was ridding himself of his enemies by poison; for those who died were carried off in a few hours, whilst those who were sick could not mitigate their sufferings by the use of well known antidotes. All opposition at once

ceased in the conclave, and the cardinal Maffeo Barberino was proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Urban the Eighth.

The new pope was sprung from an old and noble family of Florence; he had first been clerk of the apostolic chamber, then nuncio of the Holy See to the court of France. At the time of his exaltation he was only fifty-five years old, and appeared endowed with strong health, and an energetic constitution.

As soon as he was seated on the throne of St. Peter, he elevated his nephew and brothers to the first dignities in church and state, in recompense for the assistance they had lent him, although they were notoriously unfit to fill such functions, and though he knew their incapacity perfectly, since he said himself, that his nephew, Francis Barberino, whom he had introduced into the sacred college, was only fit to say paternosters; that his brother Anthony, created cardinal of the title of St. Onophre, had no other merit than that of infecting the consistory, and driving away the members by the frightful smell of his frock; that his second nephew, the cardinal Anthony the younger, surnamed, in derision, Demosthenes, on account of a natural defect which made him stutter when he spoke, was only fit to get drunk three times a day; that the last of his nephews, Don Thadeo, whom he had appointed prefect of Rome, prince of Palestrina, and generalissimo of the armies of the Holy See, was better fitted to carry a distaff than a sword. As, however, his holiness had only to draw the purse of the faithful to enrich the members of his family, he did not hesitate to gorge them with gold, or to give them lands or domains, to provide them with benefices, to purchase palaces, and even principalities, for them.

Urban was then occupied about church matters; he prohibited the Franciscan friars from wearing the sandals and pointed hood, like the Capuchins; he prohibited the old Carmelites from calling themselves reformed Carmelites, a designation which belonged to the new order of Capuchins instituted by St. Francis; he exacted that the Premonstrant monks of Spain should resume their old habit and the name of brother, which they had abandoned from pride; he made different rules to modify certain ceremonies in the worship, which caused religion to fall into disrepute; he prohibited the exposure in the churches, for public veneration, of the statues of the faithful, dead in the odour of sanctity; of lighting tapers on their tombs, and particularly of publishing their miracles, without the approval of the court of Rome; which did not prevent him in the same month, and by a singular contradiction, from beatifying two Theatine fanatics, Andrew Avellina and Gaëtan of Thienna; a Carmelite debauchee, Felix Cantalice; a wretched inquisitor, Francis Borgia, duke of Candia, and general of the Jesuits, one of the descendants of the ancient family of the Borgias; a fanatic, the Florentine Carmelite, Coisuri; two extatic women, Mary Madeline de Pazzi, and Elizabeth,

queen of Portugal, and, finally, the blessed St. Roch and his dog.

When his holiness had regulated with the most minute attention all that concerned monks, and the worship of saints, he prepared to pursue the work of religious propagation which his predecessor had so happily commenced; following his example, he resolved to rely on brute force and preaching, that is, to employ by turns soldiers and Jesuits, the one to conquer, the other to subjugate and corrupt.

Of a daring and fierce character, Urban thought of first putting himself beyond the reach of every enemy from within or without; he constructed on that side of the Bolognese territory, which afforded an easy access to Rome, a fortress which he called Fort Urban; he surrounded the castle of San Angelo with a new rampart, which was already defended by double walls, and he provided it so abundantly with munitions of war, that it could sustain a siege of many years; he also raised a wall around his gardens of Monte Cavallo; he then established a manufacture of arms at Tivoli, disposed of the grounds of the library of the Vatican for the construction of an arsenal, and, finally, he transformed into a city of war the apostolic city, which should be the peaceful sanctuary of the morality of Christ.

His holiness regarded it an honour to leave gigantic monuments of his passage over the throne of the apostle, and to cause posterity to say, that if the popes, his predecessors, had raised palaces of granite and marble, he had produced from the soil monuments of bronze and iron.

He rarely took the trouble to assemble the consistory, and when he called together the sacred college, as he was unwilling to listen to counsel or remark, the cardinals had nothing to do but applaud his words and execute his decisions. So with the ambassadors of kings, he argued from his privilege of infallibility, when treating of the most serious matters. No pontiff before him, neither Gregory the Seventh nor Boniface the Eighth, had possessed the sentiment of individual importance in so high a degree; thus in a very grave question, the commissioners of a foreign power having presented an objection to him drawn from the old pontifical constitutions, he replied, imperiously, that his decision had more weight than the regulations of two hundred dead popes.

The athletic power with which he was endowed, contributed not a little to increase the high importance he entertained of himself. He wished to be adored as the spiritual head of the church and the king of the earth; and in his pride he dared to revoke a law, which prohibited the Roman people from ever raising a statue to a living pope, on the ground that it could never have been foreseen that the chair of St. Peter would be occupied by such a pontiff as himself.

Beyond doubt, a priest of this character, obstinate, absolute, recoiling before nothing to

reach his end, would have done more than any of his predecessors for the misfortune of man, and would have bowed all Europe beneath the yoke of the Roman theocracy; if he had not met on the way another priest not less obstinate, not less absolute, not less implacable than himself, and excelling him in skill and address; Richelieu, the minister or rather the sovereign of France, under the imbecile Louis the Thirteenth, and having, consequently, to maintain interests diametrically opposed to those of the court of Rome.

Whilst Urban was labouring to augment the preponderance of the house of Austria over Europe, to annihilate the Reformation, and induce the triumph of Catholicism, Richelieu was seeking to oppose an obstacle to the encroachments of Ferdinand the Second, was contracting offensive and defensive alliances with the protestants of Germany, and skillfully negotiating with James the First and his minister Buckingham, to stop the marriage of the prince of Wales, with the Infanta, now his mistress, and who was waiting but the dispensation from Rome to celebrate his nuptials. Urban committed the fault of not expediting the bulls of dispensation of the young princess, though his predecessor had already sent those of the prince, to compel the son of the king of England to be converted. This delay permitted Richelieu to intrigue at the court of London, and one day his holiness learned with extreme surprise that King James was about to recall his son home, and had sent to France a solemn embassy to demand the hand of the princess Henrietta Maria, third sister of Louis the Thirteenth, for the prince of Wales.

He at once addressed representations to the court of France to prevent this union; he offered as a compensation to marry the princess Henrietta Maria to the infant Don Carlos, and to give them the sovereignty of the Catholic Low Countries as a dowry; he even addressed two briefs on the subject to the cardinal, and finding that nothing could change the determination of the minister, he declared he would go further and refuse the dispensations necessary for the marriage. Richelieu replied laconically, "Go on." His holiness then turned his attention to England, and sought by promises to turn aside King James from his plans; but as the alliance of his son with the sister of Louis the Thirteenth procured serious advantages for the king of Great Britain, the prospect of spreading religious troubles in his kingdom, and the hope of recovering the Palatinate for his son-in-law Duke Frederic, who had been ejected from it by Gregory the Fifteenth, induced him to reject the proposals of the court of Rome, and to cause the marriage of the young prince with Henrietta Maria to be published. Such a determination was equivalent to a declaration of war.

Richelieu had for a long time foreseen the case of a rupture, and had allied himself with powerful auxiliaries, so as to strike a great blow at Austria and Spain, by attacking them

simultaneously on all their frontiers. It was the first example of several states lending each other mutual assistance to crush a formidable foe; the parts were thus distributed; Venice, Savoy, and France were to expel the papal troops from the Valteline, and assume the offensive in Italy; Holland was with her marine to attack South America; England was to disembark an army on the shores of Spain, the Turks were to invade Hungary, and the king of Denmark at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, and those of Lower Germany, was to fall on the Palatinate, and join Prince Mansfeld to attack the emperor of Austria in his hereditary states. Such was the organization of this formidable league.

France having undertaken to give the signal for action, the marquis de Cœuvres entered the Valteline at the head of a body of troops, and in less than eight days conquered the country, and forced the soldiers of the pope to retreat in disgrace into the states of the church. This invasion the more discontented Urban the Eighth, as he already regarded the Valteline as his property, and was preparing to form it into a principality for Don Thadeo, his nephew, the general of the pontifical troops. He was, however, careful not to allow the cause of his strong resentment to appear; he feigned to see in the invasion by the French, a proof that the cardinal Richelieu had abandoned the cause of orthodoxy for Calvinism, and instead of declaring war on France, he only prepared to raise up powerful enemies to the minister of Louis the Thirteenth.

A certain knight, named Bernardin, was sent from Rome to the leaders of the protestant party, who furnished them with money, made them magnificent promises, and induced them to raise the standard of civil war; on the other side the nuncio Spada despatched a legion of Jesuits into the Catholic provinces, to exalt the fanatical devotees against the cardinal, which succeeded admirably. Richelieu then found himself exposed to the hatred of both parties, and at once attacked by the Huguenots and Catholics.

For any other man the position would not have been tenable; but the ambitious cardinal was not the man to surrender his power without striving to the last; besides, if threatened within, had he not allies without who were capable of succouring him? He brought then from Germany the troops which the protestant states had placed at his disposal for the great coalition, and instead of employing them against the Holy See or the house of Austria, he used them to crush the religionists of France; then betraying his allies, he treated with the pope, and engaged to make the projects of the league abortive, if the court of Rome consented to expedite the bulls of dispensation necessary for the marriage of Henrietta Maria with the prince of Wales. Soon after the ratification of these arrangements, James the First died and left the crown of England to his son Charles the First.

In conformity with the secret intentions

agreed upon by the sovereigns of France and England, or rather between their ministers and the Holy See, the armaments directed against the house of Austria were suspended, the money destined for the king of Denmark and Prince Mansfield was stopped, so that the latter, finding themselves in the enemies' provinces, without provisions and subsidies, were obliged to retreat, after having been defeated at the battle of Lutter. This event had been foreseen by Duke Olivarez, the first minister of the king of Spain, and by the cardinal de Richelieu, for they learned in France, at almost the same time, the defeat of the king of Sweden, the dissolution of the league against the house of Austria, the publication of the treaty of Mouzon, between Louis the Thirteenth, Ferdinand the Second, and Philip the Fourth of Spain, and the consummation of the projected marriage between the princess Henrietta Maria and the new king of England, without the ministers of the three powers having deigned to consult the court of Rome. Richelieu triumphed, not only on the subject of the Valteline, whose independence he caused to be recognised in the treaty of Mouzon, but also in humbling the pride of the Holy See, and in permitting it to interfere in conferences only as a power of the second class.

Urban the Eighth then discovered what kind of an adversary he had to combat; and, in his rage at being unable to annihilate, with ecclesiastical thunders, or temporal arms, a cardinal who threatened to substitute the supreme authority of kings for the omnipotence of the pope, he unchained against him, a Jesuit named Santarelli, an enthusiastic madman of the theocracy, one of the fiercest satellites of the papacy, who lanced into the Catholic world a furious pamphlet, which left far behind it all the treatises of Mariana, Bellarmine, Suarez, and Becan. The work having been denounced to the parliament, and brought before the Sorbonne, underwent a double condemnation before these two tribunals, and was publicly burned by the hands of the executioner. A sentence of parliament, moreover, enjoined on the Jesuits who were resident in France, to subscribe to the censure of the Sorbonne against Santarelli, or leave the kingdom.

The last part of this decree was not executed; the cardinal, who feared to push these fanatics to extremes, lest he should perish by poison or the poniard, interfered, and contented himself with exacting a simple declaration, in which the Jesuits recognised the independence of the monarch in all that concerned the temporal affairs of the kingdom.

But the book of Santarelli was differently received at the court of the devotee Ferdinand the Second; instead of exciting the just resentment of the prince, it inspired him with remorse for his rebellion; he asked pardon from the holy father in all humility, for having sought to free himself from the yoke of Rome; and to obtain his pardon, he made, at the instigation of his confessor, an edict,

providing that, after the expiration of six months from the day of St. Ignatius, he would no longer tolerate in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, any of his subjects, be he even a prince, unless he professed the Catholic religion. He published like edicts for Upper Austria, and the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria. In vain did the unfortunate inhabitants of those countries solicit a longer delay to obey the orders of the sovereign; the nuncio Caraffa and the Jesuits represented to his majesty that these requests were only made in the hope of a change of government, and that the citizens should either become converts, or emigrate, or prepare to perish.

In Germany, things took the same course; the imperial armies had advanced as far as the Straits of Cattagut, to the shores of the Baltic, occupied Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and threatened to crush the protestant capitals if they showed the slightest resistance. Urban triumphed in his turn, and by virtue of his universal omnipotence, he regulated the destinies of the countries which the house of Austria had subjugated; he gave the city of Magdeburg, in full sovereignty, to an archbishop; he created a new Catholic archducal government under the direction of the nuncio Caraffa, in order to extirpate heresy from Upper Germany; he invested the count of Nassau Liegen, the young counts of Neubourg, as well as the grand master of the Teutonic order, all bitter Catholics, with the countships and cities of the Upper Palatinate, on the condition that they should convert the people and nobles of the country, willingly, or by force. He parcelled out the dutchies and countships of Lower Germany, gave them as the hound's fee to the priests and Jesuits most devoted to the Holy See. He confirmed the usurpations of the bishops of Constance and Augsburg, and those of the abbots Moenchsreitt and Kaisersheim, who, by the aid of those disorders, had seized on the domains of the ducal house. He also approved of the robberies made to the prejudice of Nuremburg, Strasburg, Hal, Ulm, and Lindau, by Catholic prelates and chapters.

Great as were these advantages for the papacy, they did not yet satisfy Urban the Eighth; for the nature of priests is such that success only increases their ambition, as the possession of great wealth only augments an insatiable thirst for gold. His holiness was jealous of the prosperity of the protestants of the north of Germany, and wished to subjugate Holland. The imbecile Ferdinand then prepared, in obedience to the pope, to invade the north of Germany, notwithstanding the difficulties which such an enterprise presented, and whilst Rome was preparing its batteries against the Hollanders. For Urban, in attacking these people, had a double end, of reducing their country beneath his sway, and of preparing the means of carrying the war into England.

But he wished, first, to follow the example of Richelieu, and form a league against these two allied powers. He first intrigued with

the French ambassador; he maintained that Charles the First had not fulfilled the solemn promises made at the time of his marriage with Henrietta Maria; he accused that prince of ill treatment of his wife, and engaged the ambassador to urge Louis the Thirteenth to a terrible war against Charles the First, to take from him his three crowns, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. His holiness then made overtures to the Spanish ambassador on the same subject; he instructed him to inform Philip the Fourth, that it was his duty to come to the aid of the queen of England, his sister-in-law, under penalty of eternal damnation, and to employ his efforts to wrest her from the hands of a heretic and a traitor, who placed religion in danger. Conferences then being entered upon, Urban did his best to prevent the duke of Olivarez, the minister of the king of Spain, and the cardinal Richelieu from penetrating the secret of his policy, and confided the charge of the negotiations to his nuncio Spada, reserving only to himself the organization of the plan of the campaign, to point out the means of capturing the English ships on the coast of France, and of burning their fleets in their ports.

The holy father and his counsel discovered a ruse of war so ingenious, and which appeared so infallibly to assure the success of the confederates, that the ministers of France and Spain, undecided, until this time, on the part they ought to take, no longer hesitated, and concluded a treaty with the Holy See. They even divided their projected conquest in advance, and the nuncio Spada was charged, under the seal of secrecy, to inform Urban the Eighth, that Ireland had fallen to him and that he could govern it by his nephew, Thaddeo Barberino, in the capacity of viceroy of the Holy See, and that, in compensation, he should use all his influence over the emperor to bring Germany, as well as Italy, into the confederation, so as to be enabled to strive on the sea against the maritime preponderance of the English and Hollanders.

Careful as they were not to allow the secret of these negotiations to transpire, a rumour of them reached the court of Charles the First, and determined that prince to commence hostilities by striking a great blow. By his orders Buckingham, his favourite minister, appeared with a formidable fleet on the coast of France, disembarked on the Isle of Rhé, seized on it, and spread abroad proclamations, calling the Huguenots to arms, in the name of liberty and of political and religious independence.

Roban and Soubise, who were the leaders of the reformed in France, hastened to assemble troops to retake the offensive in the civil war, and we might soon believe that the moment for the triumph of Calvinism had come. Unfortunately, Richelieu was there, and the papacy was saved. The cardinal minister assembled a fleet and an army, directed them at once against the English vessels and the reformed, and that so successfully, that Buckingham was forced to retreat and set sail for

England, leaving to the Huguenots all the burthen of the war. The latter, unable to maintain the strife in the open country, retired to their fortified cities, and chiefly to Rochelle, which was, if we may so speak, the Rome of their religion. But the terrible cardinal did not allow them to escape so easily; he pursued them under the very walls of the place, well determined to take the city, so as to make an end of the Reformation. The siege then commenced, and was vigorously urged by the cardinal in person. It was indeed no ordinary effort to besiege a city which was fortified towards the sea by six great bastions, containing one hundred pieces of artillery, which marshes and triple walls rendered almost inaccessible by land, and the position of whose port, moreover, rendered them able to receive provisions and succour from without.

Independently of all these difficulties, Richelieu knew that he had to deal with determined men, who had sworn to bury themselves under the ruins of their city, rather than surrender. Thus, on the first news which he received of the preparations of Buckingham, who was making arrangements to come with a numerous fleet to break the blockade of Rochelle, the cardinal thought of retreating; but a letter which he received from a Jesuit in London made him change his determination. One of the fathers of the Society of Jesus informed the minister that he had nothing more to fear from Buckingham; the event justified the prediction; the favourite of James the First was assassinated.

His eminence then determined to take the place by famine; he encircled it with a fosse three leagues in extent, defended by thirteen great redoubts, to batter down all sorties, and intercept the convoys which arrived by land. He then built in the roadstead a dike of two hundred and ninety-four yards long, to cut off all communications between the city and the sea, leaving but a single opening, through which two vessels could scarcely pass abreast, and erecting on each shore of the stream two strong forts to defend this narrow passage. The protestants were thus blocked up without hopes of succour, and having no alternative but that of submission, or of dying by famine. They, however, continued to defend themselves bravely, and when the envoys of the cardinal minister came to propose to the leaders of the reformed to surrender the city at discretion, Guiton, its governor, rose from his seat, placed his dagger on the council table, and declared that he would kill with his own hand the first Huguenot who spoke of capitulating.

For a whole year this heroic constancy did not fail for a moment; the inhabitants ate horses, dogs, rats, cats, and mice, and finally, the atrocities which had desolated Paris during the horrible siege of that capital were renewed in this unfortunate city.

As every thing in this world must have an end, the cardinal minister, informed of the extremities to which the besieged were reduced, and that twelve thousand had died from inan-

tion, determined on a general assault, that the execrable Louis the Thirteenth, who had joined him, might enjoy the sight of a city abandoned to pillage. But the longing of the monarch was disappointed, and he could not contemplate the massacre of his subjects by an unbridled soldiery, nor the violence exercised upon women and young girls, nor incendiarism carrying its devouring flame over all the edifices, amid the cries of the conquerors, the groans of the wounded, and the sighing of their victims.

The fall of Rochelle was a terrible blow for Calvinism. Some bands of the reformed, however, still appeared in arms in the southern provinces; the small town of Privas, in Vivarais, dared even to maintain a siege against the royal army, commanded by Louis in person. It was carried by assault, and by the command of his majesty, the Catholic soldiers committed there atrocities which equalled those which had been exercised at Merindol on the unfortunate Vandois. The city of Alaix also endeavoured to defend itself, but was constrained to capitulate. The duke of Rohan then convened a general assembly of the reformed party at Anduze, where it was determined that an embassy should be sent to the king to treat for peace.

Louis the Thirteenth granted an edict of pacification to the Calvinists, with the abolition of their former privileges; that is to say, that he permitted the Huguenots to profess the reformed religion, but without the power to hold political assemblies, and without having the right to appoint chiefs and form a common treasury. This triumph of Catholicism in France was not very satisfactory to Urban the Eighth, who, in exciting a war against the protestants, had no other intention than to prepare the ruin of Great Britain. Thus the nuncio Spada, and the Jesuits, who were the confessors of the kings and ministers of France and Spain, received orders from his holiness to stimulate the duke Olivarez and the cardinal minister, to concert their plan of attack against England.

This war of invasion was still more favourable to the court of Rome, as it was in some way to produce the subjugation of Great Britain to the papacy. Whether Charles the First determined to submit to avoid hostilities, or whether he resolved to enter on a war whose result was not doubtful, his Britannic majesty being exposed to the hatred of the Catholics and protestants of his kingdom, on account of his despotism.

Charles well understood the difficulties of his position, and not daring to expose himself to the chances of a war with France and Spain, he determined first to temporise; and, to bring the pope into his interests, he appeared to incline in favour of the ultra montane doctrines, without, however, adhering to them in a formal manner; he then entered into a secret engagement to labour for the conversion of his people, provided his holiness would dissolve the league.

Urban, satisfied with attaining the end pro-

posed, the submission of the king of England, was unwilling to hurry matters, and was contented with the formal assurances which Charles the First gave him of his conversion. It was, moreover, in accordance with the views of the pontiff to put an end to the war, so as not to furnish the kings of France and Spain, as well as the emperor of Germany, the occasion of increasing their influence over Europe, and of annihilating, to a certain extent, the authority of the Holy See. In fact, the success of the arms of Ferdinand the Second, gave serious disquietude to the court of Rome concerning the future. Urban the Eighth saw with displeasure the preponderance of the house of Austria increasing, and dreaded lest the emperor, master of the north, should fall back on the south, and take a fancy to revive the pretensions of sovereignty over the states of the church.

These fears were the better founded, since, after the fall of Christiern the Fourth, who, driven from city to city by the imperialist generals Wallenstein and Tilly, had thrown himself into his last fortified place, the city of Gluckstadt, nothing could prevent Ferdinand from adding the kingdom of Denmark to his empire, and thus becoming the most powerful monarch in Europe. His holiness, therefore, caused the Jesuit who was the confessor of the prince, to interfere in the matter, and to induce him to grant to Christiern the Fourth a much more advantageous peace than he could have hoped for, for it preserved to him the integrity of his kingdom. The reason of this singular solicitude of the court of Rome for the protestants, arose from the fact that it would have more to fear from them, if reduced to extremities, and because it also thought seriously of diminishing the preponderance of the empire of Germany.

Urban the Eighth had also the same motives for his distrust of Spain, which was beginning to weigh down the states of Italy, and threatened one day, with the assistance of the emperor, to bring them beneath its rule; but not daring to break with Philip the Fourth, he continued to remain his ally, ready to turn against him on the first opportunity. He had not long to wait; an unforeseen event set all the great political interests to work. Don Vincenzo, duke of Mantua, was on his deathbed, and left no direct heir. The duke of Nevers, his nearest relative, who was a Frenchman, having surrendered his rights in favour of his son Charles, duke of Réthel, the latter naturally considered himself as the heir of Mantua and Monterrat. As it was presumable that Spain would not permit a French prince to establish himself in Upper Italy, if it had time to oppose his installation, Urban caused Strizzio, the minister of Vincenzo, to write to the duke of Réthel to come secretly to Mantua, to have his rights recognised by the old duke, which was done without any difficulty on the part of the dying man.

There was still a princess of the ducal family, a great-granddaughter of Philip the Second, who was a nun. His holiness, fore-

saw that Spain would raise pretensions in favour of this young girl, and to remove the least pretext for war from Philip the Fourth, had sent her a dispensation of marriage, so that on the same evening, this young girl was brought out of her convent, and married to Duke Francis. A few hours afterwards the old Vincenzo died, and Charles de R  thel was hailed prince of Mantua.

This news caused a great sensation at Madrid. Duke Olivarez, furious at seeing himself outwitted by a young man, gave vent to his anger, and announced that he would make the new prince repent his rashness. To realise his threats, he excited two powerful enemies against him, the dukes of Guastalea and Savoy, who raised pretensions, the one to the dutchy of Mantua, the other to Montferrat, which was regarded as the key of the Milanese. He then sent orders to Don Gonzalez de Cordova, the governor of Milan, for Philip the Fourth to take up arms at once, and join his troops to those of the dukes of Guastalea and Savoy.

Urban the Eighth, the planner of the whole matter, immediately despatched couriers to the court of Louis the Thirteenth, to inform him of what was passing, and to engage him to come to the succour of the duke of Mantua. His holiness further offered to the king of France to place him at a head of a league against Spain, to take from it the Milanese, Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples. This proposal flattered too agreeably the ambition of Louis, for him not to accept it. He immediately assembled an army, and though it was mid winter, sent to attack the defiles of the Alps, which were guarded by the troops of the duke of Savoy. In less than three weeks the defiles were carried, the city of Suza taken by assault, and Victor Amadeus compelled to sue for peace. The king of France then prepared a treaty, which laid the bases of a perpetual league between him, the pope, the republic of Venice, and the dutchy of Mantua.

These two last powers hastened to ratify it; but the pontiff, who had attained his end in setting at strife the two most formidable monarchies of Christendom, thinking that they would destroy each other, was unwilling to adhere to any treaty. He even pretended that the council of cardinals were opposed to his taking an active part in the struggle, before knowing the determination of the emperor; a detestable excuse, for the holy father not only made good his observation concerning the sacred college, that he did not even permit it to deliberate; but in regard to Ferdinand, he made no hesitation in showing how odious he had become to him, and said openly, that it was only necessary for a claim, even the most lawful, to come from the court of Vienna to be rejected. Thus Ferdinand, having demanded from the pope that St. Stephen and St. Wenceslaus, two former kings of Hungary, should be admitted into the Roman calendar, his holiness had, ironically replied that they were unworthy of such an honour. On another occasion, the emperor having so-

licit authority to confer the ecclesiastical employments, rendered free by the edict of restitution, the pope had rejected his request, as trespassing upon the arrangement between the empire and the Holy See; which was false, since the king of France, by virtue of the same concordat of Francis the First, exercised in his dominion precisely the same right which was claimed by Ferdinand. Finally, the latter having asked from Rome permission to transform into colleges of Jesuits, the convents acquired by the edict of restitution, his holiness, instead of acceding to this desire, had ordered him to restore these monasteries immediately to the bishops.

The imbecile monarch remained steadily submissive, contenting himself with saying, that notwithstanding the pope, he would prove himself to be the devoted champion of Catholicism. To add example to precept, he sent three armies to the field; one, which he sent to aid the Poles, who were attacked by the Swedes, and which re-established the affairs of the former; another, which he sent towards the Low Countries, to form a junction with the Spanish troops; and a third, twenty-five thousand strong, which he sent to Italy, to seize on Mantua. At first, all bent before the Germans; Switzerland, which had wished to maintain its neutrality, and refused him a passage, was constrained to yield; the defiles of the Grisons were carried, and the imperial army descended from the summit of the Alps, following the banks of the Adda and the Oglio, and directed itself towards Mantua. The Spaniards, on their side, had penetrated the province of Montferrat, to fight the French, who had seized on Saluces and Pignerol; and these three formidable powers, drawn into Upper Italy by the pontiff, were preparing to cause rivers of blood to flow, to enable the Holy See to triumph.

But what Urban had not foreseen was, that Ferdinand the Second, that prince so devoted to the court of Rome, should at last break the yoke of priests, and carry his boldness so far, as to be willing to reckon with the pope, and claim for himself the sovereignty of Upper Italy. This however happened; the emperor, victorious in Italy, Poland, and the Low Countries, became elated with pride, and informed his holiness that he wished to receive the crown at his hands, and would go to Bologna or Ferrara for the ceremony. Urban dared not refuse him, and only sought to gain time; the court of Vienna penetrated his intentions, demanded explanations, and claimed moreover the sovereignty of the dutchies of Urbino and Monte Falco.

As his holiness still hesitated to give a reply, and to declare his determination concerning the new pretensions which the emperor raised to the domains of the church, the fierce Wallenstein, one of the generals of Ferdinand, deliberated whether or not he should go to attack Urban in Rome, giving him to understand that this city had not been pillaged for a century; that since that time, the popes had enriched it with the spoils of other people,

had piled up enormous sums in the cellars of the Vatican, and that he would not disdain so good an opportunity to seize on the immense treasures, raise up the empire of Charlemagne, and make it hereditary in the house of Austria.

These plans appeared the more easy to realise, since no power was in a situation to oppose the wishes of Ferdinand the Second. The Low Countries were invaded, the protestant cities subdued, the king of Denmark conquered; Italy trembled before the imperial armies; France, which was in discord from the troubles which Gaston of Orleans and the queen mother fomented, in order to overthrow the cardinal minister, remained indifferent to what was passing without. Urban the Eighth was beginning to despair of the safety of the church, when he remembered that there dwelt in the extreme north of Europe, a prince formidable for his valour, Gustavus Adolphus, who could make a diversion favourable to the Holy See, by carrying the war into the provinces of the empire. He immediately sent an ambassador to Richelieu, brought him into his views, and managed to conclude an armistice between Poland and Sweden; then, when the war had ceased on that point, his holiness agreed with France to furnish the king of Sweden with the sums necessary for the support of a formidable army destined for the invasion of Germany, imposing on him no other condition than that of tolerating the Catholic religion wherever he found it established, a clause which was kept secret, lest this tolerance should wake the suspicions of the reformed.

At last a general assembly of protestant princes and electors was held at Leipsic, and they decided by common consent to carry on the war against Ferdinand. This coalition, though formidable, would not perhaps have been sufficient to overthrow the powerful house of Austria, which was in the highest degree prosperous, if the confederates had not been seconded in their enterprise by the people, who were anxious to throw off the insupportable yoke of Wallenstein, the favourite of the prince, and one of his most skilful generals, but at the same time the most cruel, the most despotic, the most infamous of his ministers.

Gustavus Adolphus opened the campaign, and moved towards the Lower Oder, driving the German troops before him, and increasing his army by the accession of malcontents. Arrived beneath the walls of Leipsic, he met Count Tilly, routed his army, and pushed rapidly on Mayence, which he carried by assault. All the oppressed princes came to range themselves beneath the standard of the king of Sweden; and the reformed party, shortly before crushed and conquered, found itself in a condition to dictate terms to its oppressors; the protestant ministers immediately returned to the Palatinate, and traversed all the provinces of the empire, in the train of the army of Gustavus Adolphus, to re-awaken the religious enthusiasm.

His holiness could not conceal the joy which the triumph of the king of Sweden and the abasement of the house of Austria afforded him, which provoked energetic representations from the ambassador of Ferdinand. The emperor, informed of this circumstance, wrote to Urban, to testify his discontent, and to inform him, that as soon as he had driven Gustavus Adolphus and his thirty thousand heretics from Germany, he would have a settlement with the Holy See. The holy father replied, by this single phrase, "Alexander conquered the world with thirty thousand Greeks."

Urban showed less regard still for the Spanish cardinals, who, at the instigation of Duke Olivarez, endeavoured to remonstrate with him on his alliance with a protestant sovereign, and the cardinal Borgia having dared in full consistory to represent to him the scandal of his conduct, and to accuse him of labouring for the ruin of religion, he rose from his seat, and vomited forth a torrent of reproaches and blasphemies against the prelate who was bold enough to trace a rule of conduct for the vicar of God; and as the latter was about to reply, on a sign from the pontiff, the cardinal Barberino, who had great strength, fell on Borgia, threw him on the ground, and dragged him by his hair from the hall of the consistory.

After this scene of violence, all the members of the assembly separated in a tumult, the Spaniards loudly announcing that they would call a meeting of a council, to judge the pope and proceed to his condemnation.—The Jesuits even, who saw their power annihilated in Germany, by the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus, showed themselves hostile to Urban; and the confessor of Duke Olivarez, one of the principal dignitaries of the order, published a book on the attributes of the supreme head of the church, and proved by very logical reasoning, that the popes had no canonical power beyond their bishopric of the Lateran, and that they were not more elevated in dignity than other bishops. The court of Madrid found the arguments of the bishops so accordant with their own sentiments, that they deliberated in the council of the Catholic king, whether they should take from the pontiff the collation of the benefices of Spain, and should erect a datary to receive the money levied upon the ecclesiastics of the kingdom, by the Roman church.

Events were on the other hand taking place in Germany, in a very different direction from what the pope had expected. His holiness, in allying himself with the heretics, had counted on concurring in the weakening of the house of Austria, but not in its ruin, which necessarily drew after it that of Catholicism. The king of Sweden appeared to regard as too serious the mission on which he was employed, of humbling the emperor. His army had invaded Bavaria, after having a second time defeated Tilly, who remained on the field of battle; one of his lieutenants, Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, had penetrated into the Tyrol, and threatened Italy with his veteran

Swedish bands. It was no longer possible to doubt, that the intentions of Gustavus Adolphus were changed, and that he thought of profiting by his fortune, to cause protestantism to triumph, and transform the bishoprics of Southern Germany into temporal principalities. The prince had already announced that he wished to establish his residence at Augsburg.

Urban then discovered the enormous mistake he had made; he secretly undermined the party of his ally, retarded the payment of his subsidies, entered into correspondence with Ferdinand, gave him the plans of the campaign of the Swedish army, and what was most baneful for Gustavus Adolphus, determined the emperor to give the command of his armies to the terrible Wallenstein, who had been exiled by a court intrigue, and whom he thought the only general capable of coping with the king of Sweden. These two men, both renowned for their military talents, were thus opposed to each other; Gustavus Adolphus was at the head of thirty thousand excellent troops, Wallenstein commanding an army of more than sixty thousand imperialists; the meeting took place in Misnia, in a vast plain which extends between Weissenfels and Lutzen.

At the beginning of the action the Swedish army broke the lines of the imperialists, threw them into disorder, and seized their cannon. Gustavus, wishing to profit by this advantage, commanded his cavalry to charge the main force of Wallenstein, and in order to animate his troops, he charged bareheaded, with a troop of curiassours. Whether the command had not been heard by the troops, or whether there was treason on the part of the superior officers, the prince found himself engaged in the midst of his enemies, before he perceived that he was only followed by a small number of horse. He then wished to face about and cut his way through, so as to escape from the *melée*; it was too late.—Already weakened by the blood which escaped from a large wound in his left arm, assailed on all sides at once, he could only perform prodigies of valour; a blow from a musket which was fired from behind, striking him in the back, unseated him, and one of his feet remaining entangled in the stirrup, he was dragged along the ground by his horse; in this state, he received another blow from a musket, which broke his head. Thus perished this great prince, the zealous protector of protestantism, arrested in his victorious march at the moment he was about to cull the fruit of his courageous efforts, and plant the flag of religious independence on the ruins of the papacy.

Puffendorf and several other historians have affirmed, that Gustavus Adolphus was the victim of an odious treason, and their suspicions rest particularly on Francis Albert, duke of Saxe Lunenburg, the emperor, and the pope; certain it is, that the news of the death of the king of Sweden was received with transports of joy at Vienna and Rome. The death of their chief did not, however, abate

the courage of the protestants. The duke of Saxe Weimar, Torstenson, Wrangel, Horn, continued the war successfully, and the chancellor Oxenstiern, by skilful negotiations with France, Germany, and Holland, maintained the ascendancy of Sweden over the Germanic Roman empire.

But Urban knew that the Reformation had lost its most powerful prop, and he did not trouble himself about the struggle between the lieutenants of Gustavus Adolphus and Ferdinand the Second; besides, this war was very useful for his political interests, and permitted him to realise his plans of rule over the principalities of Italy, without fear of being disturbed by the house of Austria.

His holiness availed himself of it to assure to himself possession of the duchy of Urbino, by causing the young duke, the last heir of the house of Rovera, to be assassinated. The old lord Francisco Maria, who had for a long time abdicated in favour of his son, was obliged to resume the reins of government and to free his granddaughter, only a year old, from the ambition of the pontiff, he affianced her to the son of the duke of Tuscany, and sent her to a neighbouring country. Useless precautions! Urban threatened the old duke with a terrible war, and obliged him to recognise, that he held his cities, lands, and domains, as a fief of the Holy See; exacted from him that the officers of his province should take an oath of fidelity to him, and constrained him even to place his fortresses in the hands of his creatures; then, one morning, Francisco Maria was found dead in his bed. The nephew of the pope, Thadeo Barberino, came to take possession of the country, and the duchy of Urbino, with the cities of Pesaro and Sinigaglia, were declared dependencies of the states of the church.

Though his holiness was seriously occupied in increasing the patrimony of St. Peter, he did not neglect the fortune of his own family, and every day he added to their immense wealth by new gifts, so that in less than ten years, the apostolic treasury had been wrung by such enormous loans, that the revenues of the Holy See were no longer sufficient to pay the interest on them; they ciphered up a hundred and five millions of crowns, in money paid into the hands of the nephews of the pope, independently of what had been employed in the purchases of palaces, lands, vineyards, pictures, statues, gold and silver plate, vessels of gold or silver, and precious stones. "The value of all these things," says Fiscarini, "was so great, that it is impossible to believe or tell them."

Never had the excess of nepotism been carried so far by the pontiffs; for Urban, not content with gorging his brothers and nephews with riches, dignities, honours, and benefices, gave bishoprics to their children at the breast; and even, a scandal until then without example, even to those who were in the womb of their mothers. This great love of the pope for his relatives extended to their numerous creatures and flatterers; there was

not a lying versifier who was not provided with excellent benefices in recompense for some distich in praise of the Barberini.

If Urban protected the wretches who prostituted their pens in a base and servile adulation, by way of compensation he persecuted men of genius who refused to glorify such great turpitudes; and the celebrated Galileo Galilei, the father of experimental philosophy, was one of those whom he persecuted with most bitterness. This celebrated man had already established the theory of a movement uniformly accelerated, and fixed the rules of isochronism by the oscillations of the pendulum; he had, moreover, made a magnificent discovery, that of optical instruments, which opened a new route for astronomy, and permitted to prove by direct observation, the truths of the system of Copernicus as to the revolution of the earth around the sun.

By means of his telescope, Galileo plunged into the depths of immensity, and contemplated phenomena which no mortal had yet beheld; the surface of the moon appeared to him to be bristled with mountains and furrowed with deep valleys; Venus, also, as the satellite of the earth, presented to him phases which proved its sphericity; Jupiter also offered itself to his gaze with his four asteroides which constantly accompanied him; the milky way, the nebulous mists, all the heavens, in fine, were exhibited to him, with their thousands of invisible stars. What surprise, what pleasure did the appearance of so many marvels excite in the breast of Galileo. What days were, however, required by this great astronomer, to count all his worlds, and register the result of his admirable discoveries, in a work entitled "The Celestial Courier," which he dedicated to the princess de Medicis.

Galileo then continued the course of his investigations; he observed moveable spots on the sun, and did not hesitate to conclude that this star turned on its axis; he remarked on the dark side of the moon, during the first and last quarters, an ashy light, which was only visible through the telescope, and he judged, with reason, that this effect was owing to the light reflected by the terrestrial globe. His subsequent observations on the spots on the moon, and their periodical return at the same periods, led him to discover that this star always presented the same face to the earth; he studied the movements and the eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, used them for the measurement of longitudes, and even undertook a sufficiently large number of observations on these stars to construct tables for the use of navigators.

Finally, by discovery on discovery, Galileo was enabled to draw from nature, the mysterious veil which had hidden it from the looks of men; he could admire the sublime laws which govern the universe; the rotation of the earth; its revolution around the sun, the fixedness of that star; all the wonders of those luminous worlds which are drawn up in echelons through immensity up to the very throne of God. Galileo wished to enlighten other men,

to lay out a new route for science, and he published his admirable theories. But, unfortunately, he excited the jealous hatred of a pope who had pretensions to omniscience as well as to infallibility, and his protector, the grand duke of Tuscany, who had appointed him his mathematician extraordinary, was not powerful enough to defend him against such enmity. Every where Jesuits, priests, monks, declaimed against Galileo; some maintained that his discoveries among the stars were pure visions, like the imaginary journeys of Astolphus; others affirmed that they had the telescope in their possession for whole nights, and had been unable to see what the astrologer Galileo announced; all loaded him with epigrams in their sermons, or sought to throw him into ridicule. It was thus that the compatriots of Copernicus had acted, who had even turned him into ridicule on the stage.

Galileo continued to publish his labours, without troubling himself about the clamour of the priests; but they determined to attack him before the Holy See, to have his new theories condemned as false and heretical. The celebrated astronomer essayed in vain to calm this tempest, and produced a treatise in the form of an epistle, addressed to the grand dutchess of Tuscany, in which he endeavoured to prove theologically, and by quotations from the fathers, that the texts of scripture should not be taken literally, and could be reconciled with the new discoveries regarding the constitution of the world. This production only increased the rage of his enemies; he was accused of sustaining erroneous opinions in matters of faith, of wishing to overthrow religion, and outrage the majesty of God. He was accordingly cited to appear in person at Rome, to be condemned by an assembly of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and theologians, assembled under the presidency of his holiness Urban the Eighth. This cabal of ignorant, stupid, and fanatical priests, having no regard for this illustrious old man, refused even to hear the reasons he offered in favour of his theories, and pronounced the following declaration:—In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we, all assembled in this place, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, enlightened by the intelligence of the sovereign pontiff, decide that none of the faithful has a right to believe and maintain, that the sun is placed immoveable in the centre of the world. We decide that this theory is false and absurd in theology, as well as heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the words of scripture, and would imply an accusation of ignorance against God, the source of all science and the revealer of the sacred books. We also prohibit it from being taught that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe, that it is not immoveable, and that it has a daily movement of rotation, because, this second proposition is from the same reasons false and absurd, even in philosophy, as well as erroneous as a matter of faith.

Galileo wished to reply, and to produce arguments which the truth suggested to him,

in defence of a doctrine based on irrefutable facts; but the pope imposed silence on him, and declared that by virtue of his infallibility he decided that the earth was immovable, and that the universe was governed by the laws pointed out in Genesis; finally, he prohibited him from professing his new theories in future.

Although condemned, the noble old man, on his return to Florence, did not pursue with less ardour than before, the study of those sublime truths of which he regarded himself as the depository; and, to prevent this precious treasure from perishing, he collected into one work all the physical proofs of the double movement of the earth upon its own axis, and around the sun, and of its relations with the other planets in the solar system. To render these truths palpable, and to exhibit them to every mind, Galileo did not compose a treatise, but simple dialogues between two of the most distinguished personages of Venice and Florence, and a third interlocutor, who, under the name of Simplicius, reproduced the arguments of the theologians, and the scholastic philosophy. He then went to Rome and boldly presented his work to the master of the sacred palace, begging him to examine it with a scrupulous attention, to lop from it all that appeared to him suspicious, and to censure it with the greatest severity. The prelate, unsuspecting of any after thought in the author, read and re-read the work, even confided it to one of his colleagues, who also saw nothing in it to blame, and gave it an ample approval under his own hand. Galileo, overjoyed at having succeeded in his ruse, returned to Florence, and immediately printed his work.

The dialogues, on their appearance, excited an extraordinary uproar among the theologians and Jesuits; they all cried out scandal, and demanded the punishment of the guilty. Urban, who recognised himself in the person of Simplicius, and whose vanity was wounded, listened to the complaints of the clergy, and, notwithstanding the representations of the author, who entrenched himself behind the authority given to his book by the censor, notwithstanding his formal protestations of not having wished to attack religion, but only to lay open the two systems of Ptolemy and Copernicus, without adopting either of the two opinions, notwithstanding the protection of the grand duke of Tuscany, his holiness went on, handed him over to the tribunal of the inquisition, and ordered him to appear in person before the dreadful judges of the holy office. Galileo was constrained to obey; neither the feebleness of his health, nor the rheumatic pains with which he was tormented, nor his great age (he was then seventy) could moderate the sacerdotal hatred.

"I arrived at Rome," says he in one of his letters, "on the 16th of February, 1633, and I was delivered over to the clemency of the inquisition, and the sovereign pontiff, who had no esteem for me, because I did not know how to rhyme an epigram and a small love sonnet. I was at first confined in the palace

of the Trinity of the Mount; on the next day, I was visited by Father Lancio, the commissary of the holy office, who took me with him in his carriage. During the ride, he put different questions to me, and showed a great desire that I should repair the offence I had given to all Italy, by maintaining the opinion of the earth's motion; and to all the mathematical proofs which I could offer him, he replied to me by these words of scripture: 'The earth shall be immovable for eternity, because it is immovable from eternity.' Thus discoursing, we arrived at the palace of the sacred office; I appeared before a tribunal appointed not to judge me, but to condemn me. I went to work, however, to give my proofs. What pains soever I took, I could not make them comprehend me; they cut short all my reasonings by bursts of zeal, and always opposed to me the passage of scripture concerning the victory of Joshua, as the victorious piece in my trial. In turn, I quoted those strange words of the holy books in which it is said, 'That the heavens are solid and polished like a brazen mirror,' to prove that we should not interpret scripture literally, if we wished the people who are not plunged in barbarous degradation, to preserve some belief in the dogmas of religion; they only replied to me by reproaches."

At the close of this first interrogatory, Galileo was confined in the infected dungeons of the holy office, where he remained for several months; then, when they supposed that suffering, bad treatment, and a forced fast had weakened his moral energy, they brought him out; but, as he showed the same obstinacy, his holiness caused him to be conducted to the chamber of torture. The unfortunate old man underwent several times the punishment of the cord, with the greatest courage, and without admitting his guilt. Finally, his body broken by the terrible shocks of the strappado, and conquered by his horrid pains, Galileo asked pardon, and declared that his work was filled with abominable falsehoods. He was then brought before the tribunal to pronounce his abjuration there, which he did in these terms, "I, Galileo, in the seventieth year of my age, being on my knees before the most eminent lords, having before my eyes the holy gospel, which I touch with my own hands, abjure, detest, and curse the error and heresy of the motion of the earth."

It is said, that after having pronounced this abjuration, the old man, filled with the sublime sentiments of truth, rose, and striking the earth with his foot, exclaimed, "and yet it turns." When his expiation was achieved, they tore up his dialogues, and condemned him to prison for an indefinite period. Such was the reward which Pope Urban the Eighth granted to the admirable labours of one of the greatest genius of the human race.

Whilst the papacy was persecuting in Italy, the learned whose intelligence it feared; in France, royalty continuing to trample under foot the sacred rights of humanity, was persecuting the men who gave it umbrage, or the citizens whose wealth excited its covetous-

ness, and was burning them alive, as addicted to judicial astrology or alchemy. Thousands of innocent persons were thus sent to the stake on accusation of sorcery of a revolting absurdity; and a Richelieu, a cardinal, a first minister, a priest who ought necessarily to know how to treat such superstitions, was infamous enough to employ this means of ridding himself of those who were in his way, or to increase his treasures.

At his instigation, the Jesuits inveighed against the sorcerers, as they had done against the protestants, that is, against those who had inspired fears in the royalty or papacy. In order to excite the passions of the people against their victims, the disciples of Ignatius Loyola spread frightful calumnies about them. They accused them of casting curses on men, women and animals, to cause them to perish, or inflict upon them incurable infirmities; they said that they had power, by means of magical operations, to raise demons, destroy flocks, excite tempests, bring forth from the earth millions of insects and dangerous reptiles, to corrupt the air and water, and give birth to cruel murrains. They affirmed that these pretended sorcerers sought constantly to recruit new disciples for Satan, and that they nightly presented to their master, those whom they had seduced, men or women; they said that the prince of darkness appeared to them under different forms and exacted from them frightful oaths, to be assured of their fidelity, and that he impressed on their sexual organs certain indelible characters; that he then taught them to prepare beverages composed of the juices of venomous plants, of the brains of wild cats, and of the entrails of children in the cradle, and in which the sorcerers, his pupils, sometimes mixed pieces of the consecrated host, which they took from their mouths on the day of communion; that he showed them moreover how to make powders of different colours, to bring on diseases or to cure them; some black, which were mortal; others red, which caused violent fevers; and, finally, white powders to cure all sorts of diseases.

The learned fathers of the Society of Jesus also maintained, that the adepts of the evil spirit, under the presidency of their masters, held nocturnal meetings in vast plains, or in dark and remote forests; that they travelled through the air mounted on a goat, a dog without a head, or a broom handle. That some went up the chimney, placing their left foot on the pot hooks, besmeared first with an infernal drug with which they anointed their whole body; that others went out of the windows, and some even passed out through the locks of their doors; that these journeys were performed with incredible promptitude, and that the sorcerers and sorceresses only experienced an extreme lassitude in their limbs.

There, according to the Jesuits, passed sacrilegious honours, between the prince of darkness and his acolytes; the orgies commenced with a magnificent festival; meats,

admirably prepared, were served up to the guests in vessels of gold or silver, only the viands were putrid, and did not satiate. Satan presided over this banquet in the form of a he goat, a dog, or a black cat, or in that of a horse with the head of a wolf, or of a wolf with the head of a horse. After the repast he addressed them in an idiom which belonged to no human language; they then rose to dance to the sound of strange instruments; a club served as a flute, a horse's head, stripped of the flesh, for a violin, and for a drum, one of them struck with a mace on the trunk of an old oak, and to the noise of this horrible music, rendered more frightful still by the hoarse cries and howlings with which they intermingled it, the sorcerers and sorceresses stripped off their clothes, turned around dancing, their backs supported against each other, and men and women mixed, without choice or distinction, or age or sex, in horrible embraces. Satan clothed himself, by turns, in the form of a beautiful young girl or a handsome youth, and took possession of all, male and female, outraging nature. When they were tired of licentiousness, they hailed Satan, and thanked him for the feast he had given them.

Evil to those who did not return thanks to the demon; they were at once beaten unmercifully; finally, before separating, all came to kneel before the spirit of darkness, depositing at his feet certain offerings, to purchase exemptions from the misfortunes he could inflict upon them, or for the services they owed him. Some gave him black fowls, others small black dogs; if they failed in their offerings they were punished by domestic misfortunes, by the sickness or death of their children; for, when they once surrendered themselves to Satan, he governed them with a rigor scarcely credible; he maltreated them, smote them, afflicted them with sickness for the least disobedience, for being absent at a nocturnal meeting, for having come too late, for having restored some one to health without his permission, or for having refused to poison their neighbours when he commanded them to.

Such were the superstitions which the Jesuits propagated at the commencement of the seventeenth century; it resulted that the people, always lovers of the marvellous, believed in sorcerers, and could soon only speak of magic, sorcery, witchcraft. The most ordinary events were every where attributed to supernatural causes; and when the priests or rulers wished to rid themselves of an enemy, they had only to point him out as one of those who was in intercourse with the prince of darkness.

This belief became so general, that it reached the highest classes of society; thus, the young Princess Catherine of Lorraine being attacked with a lingering sickness, of the cause of which the men of science were ignorant, the priests maintained that a spell had been cast on her, and they accused a gentleman named Tremblecourt of doing it. On this

mere accusation, the unfortunate man was arrested, conducted to the chateau de Châte, and put to the torture; as he was unwilling to avow his pretended crime of magic, he was tortured and torn until death followed. We should, however, say that he was guilty of having spoken against some powerful ecclesiastics in his diocese, and that he was suspected of inclining towards the reformed. The sorcerer being dead, they began to exorcise the princess, and the bishop designated for this purpose, a Capuchin lay brother, named Felix de Cantalice. The latter came at once to the castle of the duke of Lorraine, and was conducted to the bed chamber of the beautiful Catherine, and commanded that he should be left alone with her all night, that he might perform his exorcisms without being disturbed by external distractions. But, unfortunately, the duke of Lorraine having wished to satisfy himself as to the means which the Capuchin employed to effect this miraculous cure, entered the chamber of his daughter one night, and was not a little surprised to find them asleep in each others arms; he could not restrain his anger, but fell upon the guilty pair and strangled the seducer. On the next day it was reported that the Carmelite had fallen in a strife with the evil spirit, and to give the more credence to this fable, the duke Charles of Lorraine, sent ambassadors to Urban the Eighth, to solicit the canonization of the blessed Felix de Cantalice, which the pope granted on the payment of sixty thousand livres, being the tax which new saints were to pay to be enrolled on the matriculation book of the Roman court.

The example spread far and wide, and every province had, like Lorraine, its sorcerers and its exorcists; the small city of Loudun in Poictou, became, among others, the theatre of a terrible strife between a legion of demons evoked by the curate Urban Grandier, and the fathers of a convent of Carmelites, sustained by some venerable Jesuits; the following is the case. The city of Loudun contained a convent of Ursulines, composed of young ladies of noble families and without fortune; the post of director of these beautiful nuns was assuredly a very agreeable one; so that after the death of the priest who was their confessor, several candidates appeared. The curate of the city, named Urban Grandier, was among them, and was rejected because he had condemned, from his pulpit, the Carmelites who carried on intercourse with the nuns, because he had attacked some odious privileges of the nobility, and, especially, because he had written a vehement satire, under the title of the Shoemaker of Loudun, against the cardinal minister. A canon of the church of the Holy Cross, named Mignon, was put in possession of the post of director of these girls. The canon Mignon had exercised his post of confessor for some months, when, suddenly, strange things were spoken of as occurring in the convent of the Ursulines; the rumour was spread abroad that spectres and phantoms appeared

every night to the nuns, and that several of them were agitated by strange symptoms; and very naturally, according to the ideas of the time, these phenomena were attributed to the devil. The director assembled several Carmelites and canons, and examined in their presence three Ursulines, who declared that they were labouring under a charm of the curate Urban Grandier; that the witchcraft had been performed by means of a branch of flowering roses thrown into the convent, so that all who had smelt the roses had been spell bound.

Grandier, finding himself personally attacked, accused the canon Mignon of calumny, and went before the judges and the bishop of Poitiers, who refused to have any thing to do with it; he then addressed himself to the archbishop of Bordeaux, who was at his abbey of St. Jouin, near to Loudun, and endeavoured, with his assistance, to put an end to the clamours of the religious possessed. Things were in this condition when the counsellor of state, Laubardemont, the tool of Richelieu, came to Loudun to superintend the demolition of the fort of that city; the enemies of the curate hastened to inform him of what had occurred in the monastery of the Ursulines, of which the superior, Sister Jeanne des Anges, was his relative. On his return he gave an account to the cardinal of this singular affair. Richelieu, delighted at being enabled to be avenged on the author of a satire which had unmasked him, immediately sent back Laubardemont to Loudun, with a royal commission, to take informations against Grandier.

The curate was arrested and conducted to the castle of Angers; his papers were seized, but nothing was found against him except a manuscript against the celibacy of the priests, which, if we are to believe Bayle, was falsely added to his papers by his enemies. As, however, the order of Richelieu was formal, the proceedings were conducted with all care; and the judges, failing in material testimony, subsidised false witnesses. Two women of loose life declared, that they had criminal commerce with the accused; and one of them avowed that he had intoxicated her with infinite pleasures to induce her to consent to become a priestess of the magicians. The Ursulines accused him of having introduced himself by day and night into their convent, of having appeared to them under all forms, of having abused them now in the form a beautiful swan, of a bull, of a serpent—sometimes in the form of a handsome youth, and even in that of their director Mignon; and as an irrefutable proof, they argued from their gross conditions, which was confirmed by physicians and matrons. They proceeded to new exorcisms; the nuns made the same avowals always, and accused Urban Grandier of being the author of their misfortune from his compact with the devil.

The judges, who were all sold to Richelieu, adopted these ridiculous accusations, and pushed impudence so far as to attest, that at different times during the exorcisms they

had seen three demons escape from the body of Sister Jeanne des Anges, the superior of the Ursulines, one in the form of a black cat, by the nostrils; another, under that of a cock, by the arms; and a third in flame of blood colour, by her private parts. This monstrous proceeding terminated, Laubardemont sent the papers to the cardinal minister, and he appointed a commission of fourteen magistrates of his creatures, taken from different jurisdictions, to judge, or rather to condemn, the unfortunate curate. This great iniquity was accomplished on the 18th of August, 1634. Urban Grandier was declared to be attainted and convicted of the crime of magic, witchcraft, and possession of the devil on the persons of the holy Ursulines of Loudun, and to be condemned to beg pardon with naked head, to be tortured and burned alive, with the magical compacts and characters which the nuns had deposited in the registry.

Before being conducted to punishment, the unfortunate man was put to the extraordinary torment of the boot, and frightfully tormented, in order to arrest an avowal from him; but frightful as was the punishment, he bore it to the end, and persisted in declaring himself innocent of the crime of magic. "The true motive for this persecution against Urban Grandier," says Nicholas Pinette, in his memoirs, "was not magic, for I, who write this, assisted at the ceremonies of the exorcisms of the sisters of Loudun, and I can affirm that they played a ridiculous and execrable farce, which did not impose upon the judges. The proof of this is, that after the condemnation they were dispossessed, and returned to their habitual mode of life. . ."

Urban the Eighth learned of the judicial assassination of Grandier, and the history of the devils of Loudun, with a mixture of indignation and pity; but he was careful of refusing credence to facts which were attested to him by the reverend fathers of the Society of Jesus, the witnesses of these prodigies, and by a stupid lord named Montague, who, a dupe to this jugglery, had come to Rome to turn Catholic.

The imbecile Louis the Thirteenth believed firmly that his kingdom was assailed by legions of devils, and imagined that by placing it under the protection of the Virgin, he could guard it from their charms. The following is the royal edict: "We consecrate in an especial manner our person, our sceptre, our diadem, and all our subjects to the blessed and ever glorious mother of God, whom we now take for the special patron of our kingdom of France."

This affair was but an insignificant episode for Richelieu. A Catholic from calculation, he persecuted the Huguenots, the sorcerers, and the men of letters who dared to write against the papacy, whilst he was forming alliances with the protestants of Germany, whilst he was striving with the English, whilst he was preparing means to free France from obedience to the pope and have himself made patriarch of the Gauls. He had already brought

into his views a skilful and wary Italian ecclesiastic, named Mazarin, and who filled the post of nuncio extraordinary at the court of France; he had already adjudged all the regular abbeys, and placed at their head priors devoted to his person, so as to form useful auxiliaries when the time for the struggle with the Holy See arrived.

But the pope, who had divined his plans, went to work to defeat them. He immediately sent an order to the nuncio Mazarin to quit the court of France, and to go to the country of Avignon, in the capacity of vice legate, an injunction to which that prelate was obliged to submit, to the great displeasure of Richelieu, who wished to send him to Spain or Germany, to detach the sovereigns of those countries from the cause of Rome; he then informed the cardinal minister that he must resign his ambition if he did not wish to be pointed out to the nations as an enemy of religion. Following the example of his holiness, they soon had no respect at Rome for France or its representatives. One of the nephews of the pope dared to kill, with his own hand, the grand equerry of the marshal d'Estrees, the French ambassador, because he did not bow low enough when saluting his eminence; and another did not fear to poison the daughter-in-law of the marshal, who was his mistress, and was with child by him, lest he should be compelled to marry her.

In vain did the ambassador demand the punishment of the guilty; his holiness would hear nothing, and even interdicted the marshal from entering his palace and the consistory. The latter retired immediately to Caprarole, to the duke of Parma, who was in hostilities with the Holy See, and sent to the court of France an account of what had occurred, in order that it might exact a brilliant reparation for the insults offered to the nation in the person of its ambassador. Richelieu would not, however, make any representation to the holy father, and by his silence appeared to approve of what had been done. The wary cardinal did so to increase the boldness and insolence of Urban, and to avoid all discussions with the court of Rome, until the time came when he was ready to strike the great blow, that is to say, to free France from obedience to the popes. In order to insure the success of this important enterprise, it only remained for him to bring the Jesuits into his interests, and he laboured actively in favouring the tendencies of these holy fathers towards temporal grandeur.

Since the commencement of the century, the disciples of Ignatius Loyola had introduced into their statutes important modifications, which were insensibly to relax the bonds of discipline, and produce great changes in the order. Thus the professed, who had never before exercised but an intellectual control over their brethren, were put in possession of administrative charges, with the right of sharing in the revenues of the colleges, and the other benefices of the society; it followed naturally that they lost a great part of their

moral influence, and relaxed gradually from their severity in the admission of new members, in order to increase their revenues. The colleges were soon encumbered by greedy and interested persons, who made no scruple in departing from the duties which their title of Jesuits imposed on them of defending the papacy, and only thought of the means of reaching rapidly the highest grades of the order, which gave at once spiritual authority and temporal power, and permitted them to enjoy in idleness the wealth which flowed into the treasury of the society from all quarters.

Having once entered on this path, the Jesuits of France did not stop; and these men, before so austere, so humble, so disinterested, did not fear to exhibit their immoderate love of money in open day; they became courtiers, merchants, bankers; they managed the affairs of laymen, looked after law suits, and directed commercial enterprises. Their professed houses became themselves the counting houses and centres of great industry, which gradually extended into the two hemispheres, and produced enormous advantages to their colleges established in different parts of the world.

Up to this time they had observed the principle of their society in regard to the gratuitous instruction of children; having become more greedy from the very accumulation of riches, they began to depart, if not openly, at least by accepting presents for the admission of pupils, and seeking from preference scholars whose families were powerful.

They were no longer engaged in propagating the faith, and conquering the world for Catholicism; on the contrary, they endeavoured to bend religion to meet the wants of their material interests; and not only did they change the constitution of their order, but they even altered the doctrines of Christianity, and corrupted its morality. Their theologians published numerous works on the nature of sin, and declared that it was only a voluntary departure from the commandment, and that consequently men were not guilty, except from the previous knowledge of the fault, and the deliberate wish to commit it.

This principle adopted, they developed it with incredible scholastic subtlety, and drew from it the strangest consequences. According to this doctrine it was sufficient that an occasional, or necessary cause, should have acted on our free will, or even the liberty of our will, not to have sinned, even in committing parricide. A violent passion, habit, bad examples, were an excuse to justify the greatest crimes. The fathers, Thomas Tamburini, Suarez, Basenbaum, Bellarmine, Emanuel Sa, Sanchez, and a multitude of casuists, composed enormous books on these matters. We will be content with relating some of their dissertations, that the reader may judge of the degree of immorality which those infamous priests had reached, and to be enabled to comprehend the just indignation which drove them out of every country, and the reprobation,

which down to our own day, attaches to the name of Jesuit.

"It is a great blessing and a precious grace," say the children of Ignatius Loyola, "not to know God; for sin being an injury to the Divinity, if there was no knowledge of God, there would be necessarily neither sin, nor eternal damnation; thus the atheist, since he does not believe in the existence of God, cannot commit any action condemnable by the church, even though he should wish to. . . . It is certain that we can lawfully adore all sorts of inanimate things, and even animals, although it may appear to be blameable at the first sight; we can also render worship to the creature, or any parts of his body, even those of shame, because the church permits us to adore God in his works; however, as in prostrating ourselves, or in kissing those things, we might pass for superstitious, we should not do it publicly."

"When the gentile and pagans adore idols, as they firmly believe that their idols represent the Divinity, they do not commit sin."

"We are not bound to believe in the dogmas of religion or its mysteries, in order to be saved; it is enough that one should have had faith once, though only for a second during his whole life. So with regard to love for God; we are not bound to love him, but through a certain decency, which tells us he is worthy of our love; but in conscience one is not bound to love him, not more than to serve him with sincerity of heart."

"To hear mass, it is enough to be present whilst the priest officiates; a bad disposition of mind, as that of regarding women with the eyes of concupiscence, is not enough to lose the merits of this sacrifice for us, provided that we are externally continent."

"It is not a great sin for young girls to abandon themselves to love before marriage, nor for women to receive the embraces of other men, and be unfaithful to their husbands, under certain circumstances. Thus, when the chaste Susanna of the Holy Scriptures exclaims, 'If I abandon myself to the shameful desires of these old men, I am lost,' she was in error. As she feared infamy on the one hand, and death on the other, she should say, 'I will not consent to a shameful action, but I will endure it, and I will tell it to no one, in order to preserve my life and honour.'"

"Young women without experience think that to be chaste they must call for aid, and resist their seducers with all their strength; it is not so. They are equally pure if they are quiet and do not resist. We sin but by consent and co-operation. Had Susanna permitted the old men to exercise their licentiousness upon her, without taking part internally, it is certain she would not have been guilty. . . . Moreover, concupiscence is not bad, either of itself or in itself; it is a thing of indifference, and one is not blameable for touching or regarding all his body, and even that of another, whether in the bath or elsewhere, if he finds it useful or agreeable; a man and a woman, who are strangers, may

unrobe in the presence of each other, until the very last garment, without committing a sin. A young woman may, without wrong, be particular in her attire, in order to provoke the carnal desires of man, use paint and perfumes, adorn herself with superfluous ornaments, wear fine and delicate garments which show her bosom, and the contour of her limbs, provided the world permits it."

"A man does not commit a sin, be he monk or priest even, who having gone to a place of debauchery to talk of morality to harlots, though he should succumb to temptation, even although he had frequently proved that he was liable to be seduced by the sight and cajoleries of these women of love. The intention which led him into these temples of pleasure, is enough to preserve him from sin. So a domestic who is compelled, for a living, to serve a licentious master, may fulfil the vilest and most shameful functions, without ceasing to be in a state of grace; he may procure courtizans for him, and point out improper places; may aid him to scale a window to accomplish a rape, or an abduction. A serving woman may also favour the intrigues of her mistress, introduce her lovers without the knowledge of her father or husband, carry letters, and acquit herself of all little employments of this kind, without drawing on herself any consequences."

"Robbery is not a sin under certain circumstances; a woman may, unknown to her husband, take from the common purse, as much as she may judge necessary for pious donations; she may steal to spend at her leisure, whether in play, on her toilet, or even to pay her lovers, provided she gives half to the church. Children may also on the same conditions, take from their parents, for their little pleasures, all the money that their condition authorises them to spend; domestics may rob their masters by way of compensation, if their wages are too small, and divide with the priests: finally, whosoever robs a rich man without inconveniencing him, acquires the right of lawful possession, if he employs a part in pious works, and he may, without sin, say boldly that in justice he has robbed him of nothing."

"If, however, the conscience recoiled before a false oath, one might murder the words of the formula in pronouncing them, so as to be beyond all suspicion of sin; for example, instead of 'juro,' which signifies I swear, he might pronounce 'uro,' which signifies I burn, and thus would only commit a venial sin. It is, moreover, permitted in light or grave matters to take an oath, without intending to take one; in this case, one is not obliged to keep it. If a judge summons one to keep his sworn faith, he may refuse and say, 'No, I have not promised anything,' because that may mean, 'I have not promised with a promise which compels me.' Without this subterfuge, he might be condemned to pay that which he does not wish to reimburse, or to espouse the girl whom he does not wish to take for a wife."

"Then, if you have slain another man in

lawfully defending yourself, you may affirm, under the sanction of an oath, that you had not slain him, with this mental restriction, 'if he had not attacked me.' If you are surprised by a father in the apartment of his daughter, and he wishes to force you to make him a promise of marriage, you may swear boldly that you will espouse her, with this mental reservation, 'If I am constrained to it, or she please me in the end.' A shopkeeper whose wares are sold too low, may use false weights; and he may deny before the judge that he has used false weights, with this mental reservation, 'by which the purchaser has suffered unjustly.' So we may testify before justice of supposed things, by the aid of mental reservation; thus we may depose, not only to what we have heard one say, but we may even invent feigned facts, and receive money for false testimony without scruple, provided we hand over a part of it to the church."

The doctrines of the good fathers concerning sodomy, the amorous intercourse of women with each other, the shameful turpitudes of bestiality, were as frightful as those they taught concerning perjury, prostitution, robbery, and adultery; but we are compelled to pass them by in silence, on account of the obscenity of the monstrous scenes which these venerable Jesuits trace in their works, with an affectation of complacency, omitting no detail, nor allowing any occasion of showing their prodigious knowledge in such matters to escape. They were also very indulgent for murders, poisonings, even for parricide.

"If a monk," they say, "though well informed of the danger which he runs in being surprised in adultery, enters armed into the house of a woman with whom he has had amorous intercourse, and kills her husband in defence of his life, it is not irregular, and he may continue his ecclesiastical functions. If a priest, being at the altar, is attacked by a jealous husband, he may lawfully break off from the celebration of the holy mysteries to kill him who attacks him, and at once, with his hands covered with blood, return to the altar and achieve the sacrifice of the mass."

"A son may make vows for the death of his father, that he may enjoy his inheritance; a mother may desire the death of her daughter to avoid being obliged to support and endow her; a priest may wish for the death of his bishop, in order to succeed him, because it is less the evil of his neighbour than his own good he desires;—a son who in a moment of intoxication has killed his father, may rejoice in the murder he has committed, on account of the great good it may bring him, and his joy has nothing reprehensible in it;—a son may kill his father when the latter is banished, or declared a traitor to the state or religion;—Catholic children may denounce their parents, if they are heretics, though they know this crime draws after it the penalty of death for the authors of their days; and if they inhabit a protestant country, they may murder them without fear or remorse."

Such were the doctrines propagated by the

satellites of the court of Rome, by the servants of the popes, by that infamous company of Jesuits, who had the control of the education of youth, and the government of consciences. During more than fifty years, one of these shameless priests, the Jesuit Escobar, dared to affirm in his works that it was no sin to practise the act of sodomy, and yet he preserved the privilege of confessing artless young girls, and of preaching his detestable system of morals from the chair of truth. Another disciple of Ignatius Loyola, named Busenbaum, dared to write that one might drink without measure and without sin, provided he stopped whilst he could distinguish a man from a hay cart; and yet he remained in the post of rector in the college of Hildesheim and Munster, with the approval of the Holy See.

We must not believe that the excessive indulgence of the popes for the Jesuits could any longer draw closer the bonds which attached them to Catholicism; no, the time of devotion had passed. Some casuists, led on by the ardour of religious disputes, attacked the doctrines and mysteries of religion, and no longer respected the altar by which they lived. Father Guimenius wrote that it was not necessary to believe in the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation in order to be saved, that otherwise, and contrary to all justice, those who were born deaf and dumb would be damned. "The Christian religion," adds the learned Jesuit, "is credible, but not evident, for it teaches obscure things; still more, those who admit that this religion is evidently true, are forced to admit that it is evidently false. Conclude from this, that there is no evidence that there ever has been a true religion upon earth; for from whence do we know, that of all the religions which have existed or which do exist, that of Christ's is the most truthful? Have the oracles of the prophets been given by the Spirit of God? I deny it! Are the miracles attributed to Jesus Christ true? I affirm they are not. It is true that it is convenient to make simple men believe any thing false; it is on that account that I approve of the gospel and all the holy books."

Father Tamburini, in his doctrine of probabilities, goes still farther: "It is permitted," says he, "to follow now one opinion, now another, in matters of religion, as in all other matters. It is probable that Christ made himself a man; it is probable that Jupiter transformed himself into a bull. Am I then to believe it? Yes. The contrary is also probable, and I may equally affirm it." The same author, passing on to other considerations, adds, "It is probable, for example, that a certain impost has been unjustly laid upon a province; it is probable also, that it has been justly laid. Am I then, in my capacity of collector, to exact it conscientiously? Yes. Am I equally, as a contributor, to refuse it? I will reply yes, also."

As these good fathers had composed manuals for the faithful of all professions, in which all cases of conscience were related, explained,

and excused, it was enough for a man to regulate his conduct according to their prescriptions, to be assured of being in a state of continual grace.

But the age was too far advanced, and intelligence too generally diffused, for such doctrines not to excite an energetic opposition; as the system of this pernicious doctrine of morals reposed entirely on dogmatical ideas, of which free will was the basis, it was precisely on this principle that their enemies attacked them. This struggle, the most terrible which the Jesuits had to sustain, and which was to place in question the very existence of the society, commenced thus singularly.

At the time when the celebrated Louis Molina was publishing his works on grace, and dividing the theologians of every country into two camps, two young students, the one a Hollander, named Cornelius Jansenius, the other a Gascon, named Duverger de Hauranne, were pursuing their studies in the university of Bouvain, then in opposition to the Jesuit Molina. Both adopted the doctrines taught in their college, and conceived a violent hatred against their adversaries, which increased with their years, and which was afterwards to produce terrible consequences for the Molinists. Duverger and Jansenius went to Paris to finish their studies, and then went to Bayonne, called by the bishop of that city to take the direction of a college which he had founded there. Jansenius filled the post of head master until he was thirty-two years old, and only left it to return to Louvain, where he had been appointed principal of the college of St. Pulcherie. Some time afterwards he was made doctor in theology; he afterwards occupied the chair of sacred literature, and was finally promoted to the dignity of bishop of Ypres, which he preserved only a few years, having fallen a victim to a pestilence which broke out in his diocese.

It was an error that the Molinists thought themselves delivered from one of their most formidable enemies. Jansenius had died a victim to his charity, in succouring those attacked with the disease; but his works remained, and the glorious end of their author gave them an extraordinary value.

One of them, the *Marsgallicus*, divided into twenty-eight chapters, which formed as many bitter satires against sovereigns, attacked royalty in front, unveiled the crimes of the kings of France from Clovis to Louis the Thirteenth, and had already obtained a prodigious renown throughout Europe. But this success was nothing compared with that which was to greet his last work, called the *Augustinus*, and which had not yet been printed. In this book, which was written principally against the Jesuits, the author developed the formulas concerning grace, sin, and its remission, with rigour and clearness; he demonstrated in it, that the principle which rules them is the negation of liberty or human will, that the soul is enchained in the bonds of concupiscence, and cannot be freed but by the aid of grace or spiritual delights; that is to say, that our will

is determined to will and execute what God has dictated. Jansenius also made God the source of justice and truth, or rather he recognised truth itself as God, for it is the most sublime expression of the Divine Being.

Whilst the illustrious bishop of Ypres was composing the *Augustinus*, his friend Duverger de Hauranne, who had returned to Paris, was seeking there to realise by the practices of his life the perfection of his doctrine, and was labouring to propagate its essential ideas. His principles were adopted by a great number of ecclesiastics, and among others by la Rocheposay, the bishop of Poitiers, who being very anxious to have him about his person, gave him the post of a canon in his cathedral. Duverger could not accustom himself to the slothful and idle life of the canons, and resigned his post for the dignity of the abbot of St. Cyran. He soon, however, determined to quit Poitiers, to return to Paris, and to abandon himself to his zeal for proselytism on a large theatre. He devoted himself to the direction of consciences, and soon obtained a reputation for piety and knowledge which attracted to him numerous disciples and ardent friends in the highest classes of society. Bishops, magistrates, ministers of state, monasteries of nuns, persons of the most eminent piety, all consulted him and received his advice with the most profound respect, and extreme docility. Sebastian Zamet, bishop of Langres, conceived so great an affection for him, that he even wished to appoint him his coadjutor, a dignity which the abbot of St. Cyran refused, as well as the title of bishop of Bayonne, which the cardinal minister offered him, from a motive of personal interest, and to make a creature of the learned friend of Jansenius.

Soon after, Zamet presented his protegee to the celebrated Mother Agnes Arnaud, abbess of Port Royal, and to the sister of Agnes, named Mother Angelica, abbess of the convent of the Holy Sacrament, associated with this abbey, and which was afterwards suppressed by order of the king; which compelled the holy girls to unite with the nuns of Port Royal.

This pious residence then obtained, thanks to the solicitation of the friends of the bishop of Langres, the privilege of being consecrated into an aggregate body of monks and nuns, under the direction of an abbess, Duverger de Hauranne, appointed director of the community, could then put in execution the plans which he meditated, and attack the infamous doctrines of the Jesuits. These, furious at finding themselves unmasked, lanced libellous publications against the abbot of St. Cyran, excited the jealous hatred of the cardinal minister against him, pushed their audacity so far as to accuse him of heresy, and obtained an order to confine him in the dungeon of Vincennes.

Laubardemont, the same who had figured in the affair of Urban Grandier, was commissioned to carry on this new proceeding, and to have a condemnation pronounced.

It was at this moment, that they learned in France of the death of Jansenius, and the appearance of the *Augustinus*. Attention was not however given immediately to this work, the minds of men being too much occupied with the enterprises of the cardinal minister against the papacy. Richelieu obtained a decree from parliament, prohibiting information being given to the apostolic nuncio, who were the subjects appointed to consistorial benefices; at the same time, he declared null the enrolment of some briefs which the parliament of Burgundy had promulgated of its own accord; he had moreover published in the name of the two brothers Dupuy, a work entitled, "*The Rights and Liberties of the Gallican Church*;" finally, the Jesuits, always by his inspiration, had produced writings filled with direct attacks upon the papacy, and in which the good fathers endeavoured to prove that the creation of a patriarch in France was not schismatic, and that the consent of Rome was no more necessary, than it had been at the time of the establishment of the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.

Urban the Eighth was extremely offended at the work of the French Jesuits; he handed it over to thequisition at Rome, and had it condemned as containing pernicious maxims, contrary to the hierarchical order, and the jurisdiction of the church. Although the holy father knew well from whence the blow came, he dared not strike the true culprit, and dissembled his resentment; he did more—he sent to beseech the marshal d'Estrées to return to Rome, and obliged his nephew, who had poisoned the daughter-in-law of the ambassador, to go to meet him, as a sign of repentance for what had occurred; he even advanced the promotion of two cardinals, to give the hat to the nuncio Mazarin, and thus testified his inclination to satisfy the desires of Richelieu.

The cause of this excessive condescendence to the French minister was simply caused by the desire of his holiness to obtain the condemnation of the *Augustinus* of Jansenius in France. But it was not in the power of a man to prevent the propagation of a work which had produced a profound and universal sensation; the theologians of Paris applied themselves to the study of the *Augustinus* of Ypres, and had commented on it in every way; the Jesuits had taken the side of the pope, and had attacked the common enemy. Through all Europe the clergy was divided into two camps; nothing else was talked about but efficacious and sufficient grace; and the names of Jansenists and Molinists, which were given to the two parties, became as famous as those of Guelphs and Ghibelines had formerly been in Italy.

Urban the Eighth, warned by the experience of the last century, that all religious discussions were injurious to the papacy, wished to arrest them by issuing a brief, which prohibited the *Augustinus* from being read; but this prohibition only increased the general

curiosity, and the book spread with surprising rapidity.

In the height of the dispute the cardinal Richelieu died, and the abbot of St. Cyran, set at liberty, was enabled to place himself at the head of the establishment of Port Royal, and give a fresh movement to the theological war.

The pope, finding his efforts to arrest these quarrels powerless, determined not to trouble himself about them any longer, and to bestow all his care on the more serious war which had broken out between the Holy See and Duke Odoardo Farnese. He proceeded as the pontiffs were accustomed to do; he excommunicated the duke of Parma, lanced the thunders of the Vatican against him, declared him to be deprived of all rights in his states, and freed his subjects from the oaths they had taken to him as their lawful sovereign. As bulls of anathema had fallen into great discredit, especially since his holiness had fulminated them against the Spanish Catholics who chewed tobacco, who used it as snuff, or who smoked it in the churches; and as Urban was himself the very person to recognise their inefficacy in things of this world, he was careful to strengthen his excommunication by a good army which started for Parma. In vain did the ambassadors of foreign powers wish to interfere, and reconcile the two enemies; the sovereign pontiff refused to listen to any proposal for peace, and replied, "that there was no possible pacification between a lord and his vassal; that he was desirous of punishing the duke; that he had money, courage, and troops, and that moreover God and the world would be with him."

Urban was however in error, for the Italian princes, jealous of the aggrandisement of the Roman court, were unwilling to allow the pontiff to seize on the duchy of Parma, as he had done on the provinces of Urbino and Ferrara. The dukes of Este, the princes of the family of the Medici, and the Venetians formed a league, and encamped in the territory of Modena, to prevent the passage of the troops of the pope. Odoardo Farnese, finding that Italy had declared in his favour, became bolder, and resolved to attempt a bold stroke which should immediately terminate the war. At the head of only three thousand horse, without artillery and without infantry, he turned the flank of the army of the pontiff, which had gone into winter quarters in the environs of Ferrara; he made an irruption into the states of the church, without being arrested either by the fort Urban, on which his holiness counted largely, or by the militia of the Holy See, which, instead of fighting, shut itself up in Bologna; and he arrived at the gates of Rome, having received on his way the submission of the cities of Imola, Faenza, Lodi, Castiglione de Lago, and de Città del Pieve. But there, whether he was alarmed by his own boldness, or whether he was under the control of religious considera-

tions, instead of attacking the holy city, which was destitute of troops, and which he could certainly have carried at the first assault, he entered into negotiations.

The wary pontiff skilfully protracted the conferences, gained time, recruited fresh troops, and when he was in a condition to take the field, he broke off the conferences, forced the duke to retreat, and ordered the cardinal Antonio to resume the offensive at the head of a new army of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. He was at first successful. His troops drove the Venetians and the dukes of Ferrara and Modena before them, penetrated into the territory of Modena, and even as far as Polesina and the duchy of Rovigo. None of the allies of the duke of Parma submitted however to the Holy See; all continued to resist it quietly, and appeared to have no other end but to protract the war, until a financial crisis should give them the victory without fighting.

The pope, who knew perfectly well that his treasury was empty, his resources exhausted, and his credit gone, saw with rage the time approaching in which his troops would disband for want of pay, and would leave him at the mercy of his enemies, if they did not even reinforce their ranks. He wrote to his generals to bring on a decisive battle; he sent courier after courier to excite them to activity, and to reproach their indolence. All this great impatience, however, only ended in inducing the leaders of the papal army to commit imprudences; for they, in obedience to the orders of the pope, engaged in several skirmishes in very dangerous places, and were defeated by the Venetians. In one of them, the cardinal Antonio himself almost fell into the power of his enemies, and was only saved by the fleetness of his horse.

At last the critical moment arrived, that of paying the troops. His holiness not having wherewith to satisfy the exigencies of his position, was obliged to address himself to the ambassadors of the regent of France, and to entreat them to negotiate a peace with the other states of Italy. The latter, in their turn, were unwilling to listen to any proposal, until the pope had relieved the duke of Parma from the sentences of excommunication lanced against him, and would restore to him the city of Castro, which he was compelled to do. Urban was so mortified at being reduced to such an extremity, that from the moment of signing the treaty, he sank into a state of febleness. His health languished, all his moral energy seemed to abandon him; he was heard to do nothing but sigh and groan, asking for vengeance from heaven on the impious princes who had constrained him to make peace, and on the 20th of July, 1644, he breathed his last, blaspheming the name of God, and confounding in the same curses the doge of Venice, the dukes of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, the French and Spaniards, protestants and Catholics.

INNOCENT THE TENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1644.]

Election of Innocent the Tenth—Character of the pontiff—His sister-in-law Olympia governs the church—The pope endeavours to make the Barberini disgorge—They take refuge in France under the protection of Mazarin—Marriage of the nephew of his holiness with the young Olympia Aldobrandina, the richest heiress in Rome—Debauchery and incest of the pope with the two Olympias—Scandalous quarrels between these two women—Re-establishment of the Barberini—War of Italy between France and Spain—Revolution at Naples—History of Masaniello the Fisherman—The duke of Guise makes an attempt to seize on the crown of Naples—Innocent the Tenth refuses to recognise John the Fourth as king of Portugal—He protests against the peace of Westphalia—Tyranny of Charles the First, king of England—Punishment of Charles the First—The pope adopts Camillo Astalli, who becomes his minion as the cardinal nephew—Division in the papal family—The Molinists and the Jansenists—Port Royal and its solitaires—The five propositions—Fanaticism of Vincent de Paul—He persecutes the Jansenists with fury—Innocent refuses to take part in the theological quarrels about grace—Charles Stuart, the son of Charles the First, endeavours to mount the throne by aid of the civil wars—He is conquered by Cromwell—The English republic—Cromwell seizes on the sovereign power, and reigns by the title of protector—Death of Innocent the Tenth.

THE mortal remains of Clement the Eighth were scarcely buried, when the Barberini introduced troops into Rome, in order to control the new elections, and to be able to elevate to the pontificate the cardinal Sachetti, their creature; but they soon saw that their candidate, rejected by the factions of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, had no chance of success; they then united with the Medici, to intrigue for the cardinal Firenzola, a monk of the order of St. Dominic. They were again compelled to abandon their candidate, the French party actively opposing their proceeding to this exaltation, because Firenzola was the avowed enemy of Cardinal Mazarin, who had succeeded Richelieu in the post of minister of the king. The Barberini and the Medici joined the Spaniards out of spite, and gave the majority to the cardinal Pamfili, who was declared sovereign pontiff by the name of Innocent the Tenth.

The holy father was a Roman by birth, and of an old family. He had been successively advocate, consistorial, auditor of the rota, nuncio to Naples, datary in the legations of France and Spain, and finally cardinal. His character was similar to that of most priests, dissimulative, vindictive, cruel, audacious in success, timid in danger, and implacable in its vengeance; his face was hideous and deformed; his mind worthy of his exterior.

On the advent of Innocent the Tenth to the Holy See, the policy of the court of Rome was singularly modified, not from the action of the pope, but from the new direction impressed on affairs by his sister-in-law, the widow Dona Olympia Maldachini de Viterba, who carried on incestuous intercourse with him, and so publicly, that she was known by the name of the popess. By the wishes of this shameless courtesan, the Medici, and the cardinals of the Spanish faction, were placed in possession of all the most important offices of the church, which took from the French party the pre-

ponderance they had enjoyed during the former reign.

As for the Barberini, they were less reserved with them; under pretext of making them render an account of their financial administration during the war of Castro, they accused them of concussion, of encroachments on justice, and of a robbery of the public money. These, finding that they desired their wealth, sought to save it by placing themselves under the protection of France; and as the cardinal Mazarin was discontented with the court of Rome, he informed his holiness through the ambassador, that the regent took the Barberini under her safeguard, and attached them to her crown. In his turn, the pope declared that he would forcibly assist justice, and that he would not abandon his rights, even though the armies of the most Christian king were beneath the walls of Rome. Antonio Barberini, who, as the richest of the family, was the most exposed, fled immediately, and retired into France, where he was joined some time afterwards by Francisco, his brother, and Thadeo, his nephew.

Whilst, on the one hand, the ungrateful pontiff was pursuing the nephews of Urban, to whom he owed his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, on the other, in contempt of the treaties concluded by his predecessors, he recommenced the war against the duke of Parma, sacked the city of Castro, and ordered his generals to level the walls to the earth, and on the smoking ruins of this magnificent city he caused a column to be erected, with this barbarous inscription, "Here was Castro."

After having accomplished the ruin of the Barberini, the new pope was engaged in the elevation of his own family. Already had his incestuous mistress Dona Olympia attained so high a degree of power, that ambassadors, who came to Rome, commenced by visiting her, before they presented themselves at the Vatican. Cardinals had her portrait suspended

in their apartments by the side of that of Innocent, as a testimonial of their deference for the favourite; and foreign courts openly bought her protection by presents or pensions. Those soliciting preferment sought equally to interest her in their favour by the same means, so that from all sides riches flowed with such an abundance into her coffers, that she was enabled in a short time to acquire palaces and immense estates. The holy father then thought of the establishment of the children of his dear Olympia. He married the eldest of her daughters to a Ludovico, and the second to a Gustiniani. As for his bastard Don Camillo, a young man of notorious incapacity, who had been judged capable at the most of being made a cardinal, the opportunity of a brilliant marriage offering to him, he relieved him from his vows, and made him espouse Dona Olympia Aldobrandina, the richest widow in Rome, young, beautiful, full of grace and spirit, but who, at the same time, joined to these brilliant qualities an insatiable thirst for ruling.

As soon as she was installed in the pontifical palace, the young Dona Olympia sought to supplant her mother-in-law, by disputing the price of incest with her. Frightful quarrels of jealousy broke out between these two women, and were carried so far, that in order to arrest the scandal, his holiness was compelled to separate himself momentarily from his new mistress. The disgrace, however, of the young Olympia lasted but a short time; the pope himself recalled her to the Vatican, and appeared to grant her a marked preference over his sister-in-law. The intestine dissensions then became more violent than ever, and in consequence of reproaches which these two rivals addressed to each other in the midst of the Corso, the whole city was apprised of the outrageous orgies of Innocent the Tenth, and of the mysteries of the gardens of the palace of the Lateran.

This false position of the holy father naturally influenced his character; he became versatile, capricious, obstinate, insupportable to himself and others; placed between two mistresses equally ambitious, equally exacting, he was constrained to obey their orders; and as both took pleasure in contradicting each other, it reached so far, that at night his holiness prohibited what he had authorised in the morning. Thus, after having pursued the Barberini with extreme violence at the instigation of his sister-in-law, yielding to the solicitations of his niece, he suddenly changed his conduct towards them, stopped the proceedings commenced against the cardinal Antonio, recalled all the members of that family to Rome, reinstated them in their wealth and dignities, and even gave one of his nieces in marriage to Maffeo Barberino, prince of Palestrina. It is true that the success of the French in Italy had induced the holy father to take this favourable determination towards the protégés of Cardinal Mazarin.

Another event, until that time unexampled in the annals of Italy, had shown Innocent that it was surer for him to re-attach himself

to France, than to follow the Spanish power in its fall. This event was the memorable revolution of Naples directed by Masaniello, a common fisherman of the Lagunes.

The viceroy, Ponce de Leon, duke of Arcos, who commanded for Philip the Fourth, was driven from his castle by a band of malcontents, and obliged to save himself in the castle Neuf, one of the principal fortresses of the city. In vain did he endeavour to appease the revolt, by promising to the insurgents the suppression of all imposts; Masaniello, who was the leader of the revolt, was unwilling to listen to any plan of arrangement, until the duke of Arcos had handed to him the original of the privileges granted by Charles the Fifth to the city of Naples. The young fisherman then went to the viceroy at the head of a magnificent calvacade, and clothed in a garment of brocade, to negotiate a treaty, to which he agreed as the leader of the people, correcting and modifying the articles without any one daring to contradict him. Masaniello exacted, that there should be in future an absolute equality in political rights for all citizens; he suppressed taxes and imposts; he exacted that a general amnesty should be proclaimed for all those who had taken part in the revolt, and stipulated that the Neapolitans should remain armed, until the ratification of the treaty by his majesty Philip the Fourth.

When all these conventions had been signed by the duke of Arcos, the fisherman convened the people on the great square of Naples, and announced his resolution to abdicate the temporary royalty with which he had been invested, in order to return to his cabin; fifty thousand voices were then raised to beseech him to preserve the sovereign authority until the treaty was entirely executed. Ponce de Leon feigned to share the sentiments of the crowd, besought the fisherman of the Lagunes to retain the command of the city, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, which he gave in his palace in token of rejoicing. On leaving this repast, the unfortunate Masaniello felt himself attacked by a strange fever, which manifested itself in a fit of delirium and of real madness; the traitorous Spaniard, not daring to rid himself openly of his enemy, had administered poison to him. And as if this first crime had not been enough, the infamous duke sent four gentlemen to the cabin of Masaniello, during the night, to murder him. One of these assassins cut off his head, took it by the hair, and bore it still bleeding to the vice king, who caused it to be thrown into the ditches of the city.

In the morning, the news of the death of the fisherman spread through Naples and excited a general rising; twenty-four thousand citizens pressed to the public square demanding vengeance; the dead body was carried in triumph through all the streets of the city, the head having been reattached to the trunk; it was then covered with a royal mantle, and the brow encircled by a crown of laurels; all men and women, came in crowds to touch the body of the martyr with their rosaries,

and this manifestation was so universal, that the duke of Arcos could not avoid sending his pages, and all his officers, to the funeral of the victim.

This first moment of exasperation over, things resumed their usual course; the viceroy, freed from the leader of the insurrection, thought only of punishing the rebels, and not of fulfilling his promises. All danger was not, however, over; the noise of this revolution had spread rapidly to Rome, and the pontiff seeing the possibility of wresting the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily from Spain, by favouring the troubles, determined the young duke of Guise, who was then with him, to throw himself into Naples, in order to put himself at the head of the revolt. The young prince, seduced by the glitter of a crown, obeyed the holy father, embarked on a mere felucca, passed rashly through the midst of the naval armament of Don Juan, disembarked on the Lagunes, and entered the city, escorted by the old friends of the unfortunate Masaniello. The Spaniards were again driven from Naples and obliged to take refuge in their fortresses or vessels; but the triumph of the duke of Guise was of short duration. Some adventures of gallantry greatly indisposed several nobles towards him, and one day, when he had sallied forth at the head of some troops to facilitate the entrance of a convoy, the latter surrendered the city to the viceroy. His efforts to retake it were useless, and ended with his falling into the power of the Spaniards. The great Condé, who was then serving in the ranks of the enemies of France, asked and obtained the liberty of Henry of Guise, on condition that he would foment divisions in the kingdom, and would take the side of the house of Austria. The duke promised all that was required of him; but the bad treatment he had experienced at Madrid, during his captivity, had left in his heart too much resentment, for him to think of keeping the oaths he had taken to recover his liberty. Instead of returning to France, he went again into Italy, to solicit from Innocent the Tenth an authority for his divorce from the countess of Bossu, his wife, and to enable him to marry Mademoiselle de Pons, one of his mistresses, and also to obtain the aid which would enable him to strike another blow at Naples.

Unfortunately for the young duke, other events of great importance engaged all the attention of the pontiff, and prevented him from thinking of his affairs. John the Fourth, duke of Braganza, had seized on the throne of Portugal, and had proclaimed the independence of that kingdom of the crown of Spain, by favour of a revolution which was accomplished in Europe, in all the colonies, in Madeira and the Azores, in Tangiers and Carache, in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola, in Ethiopia, Guinea, and India, and even in the opulent city of Macao, situated on the borders of China. All the powers of Europe had recognised the new sovereign, except the princes of the house of Austria and the king Spain.

Notwithstanding this unanimous agreement of the Portuguese to break the odious yoke of Philip the Fourth, and the enthusiasm which had hailed his advent to the crown, John the Fourth, who knew the superstitious character of his nation, and feared a change in its ideas, so long as the court of Rome had not ratified his election, employed all his efforts to bring the pope into his interests, and to induce him to recognise him officially as king of Portugal. Thus, after the example of Louis the Thirteenth, he had placed his states under the protection of the Virgin; he had distributed large alms to churches and convents; and several episcopal sees, having become vacant, he had pushed his deference for the pope so far as to refuse to fill them, until he had received authority from him.

Supposing that such conduct had rendered the pope favourable to him, he sent to Rome, with the consent of the ecclesiastics of his kingdom, the prior of Sodefeyta, named Nicholas de Montegro, to solicit bulls of nomination for the prelates who were to fill the vacant benefices. Montegro went to the Vatican on the day of a consistory, and with a noble boldness presented the request of his master, pleaded the cause of the revolution of Portugal, and condemned in energetic terms the cruelties which the kings of Spain had exercised in that country since the usurpation of the execrable Philip the Second. The count of Sirvola, the Spanish ambassador, who was present at the reception of the prior of Sodefeyta, dared not enter into a public discussion with this skilful orator, and retired, covered with shame and confusion; but some days afterwards, he took his revenge. Banditti whom he had taken into his pay, attacked the carriage of Montegro, in open day, killed six of his people, and fired several pistols at him, which fortunately only grazed his garments. Though Innocent knew very well, that the count of Sirvola had commanded this expedition, he dared not act with severity against the culprit, and contented himself with sending him from Rome. His holiness refused all kind of reparation to the prior of Sodefeyta, and was unwilling to do any thing about the bishoprics of Portugal, which so much discontented him, that he left Rome at once and returned to Portugal.

In Germany, the political horizon was also darkening for the court of Rome and the house of Austria. The war which had been until this time, carried on between the Catholics and protestants, with alternate reverses and success, threatened to become more terrible than under Gustavus Adolphus. The Lutheran armies were commanded by Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, one of the great captains of the day, a calm, intrepid man, joining the courage of the soldier to the moderation of the philosopher. Such a leader was too formidable for the papal cause, and he died of poison.—Bannier, who succeeded him in the command, met the same fate. Torstenson, the Swedish general, was more fortunate than his predecessors, he escaped the dagger and poison,

archbishops from undertaking the defence of the fraternity of Port Royal, and from opposing the condemnation of the doctrines they professed. Innocent finally wished to interpose his authority in the matter, to stop the uproar; but he encountered so active an opposition on both sides, that he was compelled to renounce it from regard to his dignity as sovereign pontiff. He had it, besides, more at heart to put an end to the very serious dissensions in his own family, arising from the jealousy which Camillo Pamfili had conceived of the cardinal Don Camillo Astalli. The holy father, placed in the alternative of losing his mistress or his minion to restore tranquillity to the Vatican, determined to separate from his nephew Pamfili and the young Olympia.

The sister-in-law of Innocent availed herself of this circumstance to return to the palace; she gradually recovered the empire she had exercised over his mind, she became the purveyor to his pleasures, and among others, presented to him a young man named Azzolino, whom she destined to supplant the cardinal Astalli, in the good graces of his holiness, as he persisted in wishing to preserve the honours and profits of his place for himself alone, and refused to surrender the least part to her. Azzolino, in fact, reached, notwithstanding the opposition of his rival, the important post of secretary of the briefs, and acquired such an ascendancy over the pope, that the cardinal nephew, foreseeing his approaching discharge, sought to assure himself of aid against Innocent the Tenth himself, by betraying to the Florentines and Spaniards the secrets of the policy of the court of Rome. But the treason having been discovered, and the proofs placed before the eyes of the pope, Astalli was stripped of the purple, driven from the Vatican, and exiled to Sambucco, in the marquisate of his brother. The name and arms of Pamfili were taken from him, as well as his post and benefices, and Olympia made him restore the sum of six thousand crowns of gold, which he had carried off in his baggage when quitting the palace.

After the fall of this favourite, the sister-in-law of the pontiff became, as during the first years of his reign, the dispensers of all the wealth and all the revenues of the church; Innocent was so entirely occupied with his passion for the handsome Azzolino, that he was unwilling to pay attention any longer to temporal or spiritual affairs. If ambassadors addressed any remarks to him on the disorders in his finances, he replied, "Speak to my dear Olympia." If the Jesuits wished to urge him to condemn the Jansenists, he replied to them, "That he was unwilling to annoy himself with such absurd things, that he desired to live in peace; that they must speak to Cardinal Chigi, the minister." The disciples of Ignatius Loyola returned, however, so often to the charge, that, to rid himself of their importunities, Innocent published a bull against the five propositions attributed to Jansenius, as heretical, blasphemous, and loaded with improprieties, and he declared that he had nothing more at

heart than to guide the ship of the church into a calm sea, that it might reach a port of safety. This decision was immediately sent to France, with briefs for the king and the bishops; then the cardinal Mazarin, at the instigation of Father Vincent de Paul, published an edict which enjoined on all the prelates of the kingdom to accept the bull which condemned the five propositions of Jansenius. No opposition was shown to this decree; the followers of the bishop of Ypres themselves adhered to the censures of the Holy See; they only declared that the condemned propositions were not found in the writings of Jansenius, and that they were the invention of the Jesuit Cornet, and of the head of the missions, Vincent de Paul, which rendered that polemic more violent than ever.

In England the religious and political wars continued with the same fury, and caused rivers of blood to flow. The oldest son of Charles the First, from his retreat at the Hague, sent Jesuits into Ireland and Scotland to excite these two kingdoms against the English; he had also established communications with several influential peers, who were to propose his installation on the throne when parliament assembled. But Oliver Cromwell, informed of what was about to take place, was beforehand with them, and sent to the house of commons a decree, declaring that the house of peers should be abolished as useless and dangerous. Freed from this new anxiety, he claimed, and obtained from parliament, authority to go into Ireland at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army, to combat the papists and royalists; he traversed the country like a torrent, ravaging every thing on his way with brutal ferocity, putting the garrisons of places to the sword, burning towns, villages, farmhouses, massacring, indiscriminately, men, women, and children, and leaving behind him but ruins, heaps of ashes, and dead bodies. Almost all the cities of Ireland, which held for the pretender, hastened to submit to the English general, in order to shun the effects of his anger; and every thing presaged that the kingdom was about to be pacified, when an order of parliament interrupted the progress of Cromwell, and compelled him to return to England to protect his own country against an invasion of the Scotch. Before, however, parting, he left the command of the troops with Ireton and Lud, two of his best generals, who finished his work. On his return to London he caused himself to be appointed captain general of the armies of the republic, placed himself at the head of the troops which parliament could spare, and which only amounted to sixteen thousand men, and with this small army advanced boldly against the Scotch troops, which were commanded by Charles Stuart, in person, met them near Dunbar, gave them battle and cut them to pieces.

Cromwell was not content with one victory; he wished to profit by his advantages; he pursued the pretender, drove him from the other side of the Perth, whither he had re-

tired with the wreck of his army, cut off his provisions, and forced him to fight retreating. After several months of reverses, marches and counter marches, Charles Stuart, abandoned by his followers, and pursued on every side, embarked for France, and went to join his mother, Henrietta Maria, who had been received with great distinction by the cardinal Mazarin and the regent, Anne of Austria.

The captain general returned in triumph to London, and caused it to be immediately decreed by parliament, that royalty was abolished in Scotland, and that kingdom should no longer be regarded but as a province of the English republic; he, moreover, demanded an edict of expulsion for all Catholic or episcopal priests, who were the brands of discord. He caused similar resolutions to be passed concerning Ireland, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly and the colonies. There was then seen, with astonishment, a vast empire pass from a monarchy to a republic, almost without a shock, and a parliament chosen by the commons, and totally destitute of political experience, without other aid than that of a council of state composed of thirty-eight members, occupied with government, finances, war, marine, levying armies, equipping fleets, passing laws, making treaties, and that without crushing the provinces with imposts, ruining commerce, and oppressing the people. All these facts, prove in an incontestable manner, and better than all reasoning can do, the superiority of democratical over monarchical governments.

But, for the misfortune of England, things could not remain long in the same condition. Oliver Cromwell, the old republican, that terrible adversary of royalty, wanted a dictatorship for himself. Although he had, up to this time, directed in some sort the deliberations of parliament, he discovered that he could never conquer nor corrupt the citizens who formed the national assembly, nor render them accomplices in his attempt upon the public liberties; he determined then to give the preponderance of power to the army. He induced the officers to present to the parliament a petition, asking it to pronounce its own dissolution, and providing that the sitting members should be replaced by new men. Then, as Cromwell had foreseen, parliament was offended at the audacity of the army, and several members proposed to pass a decree declaring those guilty of high treason, who should in future present such petitions. The officers immediately addressed active remonstrances to the members of the house of commons; the latter replied, with bitterness, and soon parliament and the army were engaged in a quarrel.

Finally, when he supposed the moment for striking the great blow had come, Cromwell took with him three hundred soldiers and surrounded the hall in which the assembly met. He entered alone, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, sat down in his usual place, and listened to the debate for some time. When he saw the assembly about to close the

discussion, he suddenly rose, spoke, addressed vehement reproaches to the members of parliament on their pretended tyranny, and declared that he was about to put an end to it; he then stamped with his foot and called out in a loud voice. At this signal soldiers precipitated themselves into the hall with drawn swords, and ready to execute the orders of Cromwell. Sir Henry Vane, unintimidated at this sight, rose from his seat, protested in energetic terms against this odious action, and branded Cromwell with the names of despot and tyrant.

"Sir Henry," exclaimed he, in a burst of passion, "be careful lest heaven rid me of you at once! It is you," he said, addressing the deputies, "it is you who have driven me to this extreme measure. I implored the Lord night and day. I besought him to wrest my life from me rather than constrain me to this violence; but he ordered me to drive you hence, as he before drove the traffickers from the temple." Then pointing to the speaker's mace, which was the emblem of the inviolable power of parliament, he added, "What is this bauble doing here?"—As soon as it was carried off, he drove out all the deputies before him, emptied the chamber, and having given an order to shut the doors, he took the keys and returned to preside over the session of the council at Whitehall.

Notwithstanding his success, the captain general was not without uneasiness as to the consequences of his state blow; he wished then, in order to prevent any rising among the people, to give a new parliament to the English, and determined that the sovereign power should be divided among a hundred and thirty-nine members, of whom he reserved the nomination to himself. He chose them from among the most ultra and ignorant fanatics, in order that these incapable men might not think of disputing the exercise of the supreme authority with him, or that their exaggerated doctrines might cause their dismissal to be desired, and consequently the final dissolution of parliament be rendered more easy.

The conduct of these new deputies fully justified the hopes of Cromwell; they surpassed every thing in absurdity and fanaticism. The majority were antinomians, and affiliated with a sect which declared themselves to be enemies of the laws, and pretended to infallibility through communication with the Holy Spirit, which they said they had received like the apostles. They commenced by choosing eight members of their tribe who were especially charged "to seek the Lord in prayer," whilst the others were employed in debates about the suppression of the Presbyterian ministers, the universities, and the courts of justice. They gravely decided that all these institutions should be replaced by the laws of Moses; they declared that all Presbyterians and Catholics were carnal beings, only occupied with trade and industry, and that they must refuse even to make a covenant with them; finally, they pushed their nonsense so far as to ask of God

by vote, that the Man of Sin should disappear from the surface of the earth, and that a new generation, born of prayer and meditation, should people the world.

The people soon exclaimed against these absurd legislators, and demanded their suppression. Cromwell hastened to grant it, and the parliament was dissolved. Nothing now opposing the ambitious projects of the captain general, he was saluted as Protector of the Republic by the army; the lord mayor and aldermen of London, who were already sold to him, ratified the nomination, and came to salute him in this capacity at the palace of Whitehall, where he had already taken up his residence.

The Jesuits, who had reappeared in Ireland, sought to avail themselves of this event to renew their intercourse with the Catholics of Great Britain, and to try a movement in favour of Charles Stuart; but they were completely foiled, and obliged to re-embark in haste to shun the vengeance of the protector. They were more fortunate in an enterprise of another kind, whose success excited great joy among the whole order. They had brought about, by their intrigues, the conversion of the

daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, the celebrated Christina, queen of Sweden, who had abdicated her crown, and was preparing to go to Rome to receive imposition of the hands of the pope.

Innocent the Tenth was then lying on a bed of sickness, tormented by the gout, and entirely exhausted by his excesses of lust. In addition to his physical sufferings, which were intolerable, he was under the empire of imaginary fear, and dreaded so much lest his old minion should endeavour to poison him, that he feared to take any nourishment unless it had been prepared in the presence of his sister-in-law; he even exacted that she should not leave his room for a moment, and constantly held one of her hands clasped in his.

He finally expired on the 5th of January, 1655, after a sickness of several months. His body remained three whole days abandoned to the mercy of the domestics of the palace, without any one taking the pains to bury it, according to the usages of the court of Rome. Dona Olympia herself refused to contribute to the funeral expenses, and permitted an old canon to bury it at his own expense.

ALEXANDER THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1655.]

Intrigues in the conclave—Election of Alexander the Seventh—Character of the new pontiff—Debaucheries of the pope and his nephews—Journeys of Queen Christina to Italy and France—St. Vincent de Paul persecutes the Jansenists—Appearance of the Provincial Letters of Pascal—The Alumbrados and the Quietists—History of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism—Atheism of the pope—He refuses to take part in a war against the Turks—Satire upon his covetousness and that of his family—He endeavours to rekindle war in Europe, in order to raise up the power of the Holy See—Quarrels between the courts of Rome and Versailles—Louis the Fourteenth threatens to come and burn the pope in the Vatican—His holiness sends relics painted in cartoons to the great king—Restoration in England—Charles the Second mounts the throne of Great Britain—The Jesuits kindle an immense fire in London, in order to destroy the Presbyterians—The court of Rome congratulates Charles the Second on the protection he grants to Catholicism—Massacre of the Vaudois in Italy—Death of Alexander.

As soon as the obsequies of the old pope Innocent the Tenth were over, the cardinals hastened to assemble in conclave to proceed to a new election, and the struggle was as usual among the Imperial, Italian, French, and Spanish parties.

The celebrated cardinal de Retz, who was then at Rome, and a party to the conclave, has transmitted to us minutely the long intrigues in which he took an active part, and which ended in elevating to the Holy See the cardinal Fabio Chigi, who took the name of Alexander the Seventh.

The new pope was born at Sienna, and was the descendant of a noble family. Through the influence of the marquis of Pallavicini, he had been rapidly elevated at the court of Rome, and had filled in succession the offices

of grand inquisitor at Malta, and nuncio at Munster. It is maintained that in this last city, the legate wished to traffic with his conscience, and become a heretic, in exchange for a rich bishopric, but that his demand had been rejected, and that in revenge he had thrown himself into the most ultra Catholicism.

The cardinal de Retz, in his memoirs, asserts that he was all his life a profound dissembler, and had deceived the sacred college concerning his true character. "His honied tone of voice, and hypocritical countenance, imposed on all the cardinals," says the learned prelate. "When the ballot which made him pope was counted he shed tears; at the adoration, he affected to seat himself on a corner of the altar of St. Peter, and upon the remark of the master of ceremonies, that

custom demanded that he should place himself in the middle of it, he did it, but with extreme humility. He received the congratulations of the sacred college with still more modesty; instead of replying to the congratulations, he went to sobbing in so grotesque a manner, that those assisting could not restrain bursts of laughter, and said to him, 'enough, holy father, enough.' Finally, as I approached in my turn to kiss his feet, he threw himself on my neck, and said to me whilst embracing me, 'pity me that I have been made pope, and pardon the marks of weakness I show, from the consideration that I am but a man.' "

During the first months of his pontificate Alexander the Seventh continued his hypocritical life; but when he had consolidated his powers, he acted like his predecessors, cast aside the mask, and showed all his vices in open day.

His first care was to distribute the most important offices of the church among the members of his family, in order to have around him people interested in defending him; he gave to his brother Don Mario the superintendence of the Anona; and the administration of justice in the Borgo; he made his nephew Fabio Chigi, cardinal padrone, with a revenue of a hundred thousand scudi; he chose another of his nephews, named Agostino, to perpetuate the race of the Chigi, and married him to a Borghese, giving him as a dowry the magnificent island of Anicia, the Farnese principality, a palace on the place Colonna, and a considerable revenue on the apostolic treasury; he did not forget one of the members of his family, and there was not even the most remote cousin of his holiness, who did not find himself provided for by his care, with some fat benefice, or very lucrative employment.

Alexander was then occupied with his pleasures, and amply recompensed himself for the constraint he had imposed upon himself before he was pope; instead of passing his days in the church, and his nights in prayer, he embarked in festivities, in hunting parties, and orgies. Instead of dwelling at Rome, the better to superintend the affairs of government, he took up his residence at his magnificent country seat of Castel Gandolfo; and if, by chance, he came to pass a few hours of the day at the Vatican, it was to give an audience to buffoons, or licentious writers, who read their works to him. "I served Alexander the Seventh for forty-two months," said Guicciardini; "I discovered that he thought of nothing but wallowing in the mire of licentiousness, and that he possessed but the name and the vices of the papacy."

Every thing was carried on by the congregation of state, instituted during the pontificate of Urban the Eighth, whose members divided the labour and the power among themselves as follows:—his eminence Rospigliosi managed foreign affairs; the cardinal Carrado de Ferrara those of ecclesiastical immunities; Lugano had the direction of the religious orders, and the Jesuit Pallavicini decided theological questions. His holiness only reserved

to himself the free disposal of the apostolic treasury, which he used and abused so greatly, that in order to sustain his profusions, he was obliged to double the imposts.

The preparations alone for the festivities which took place on the arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden at Rome, compelled three levies of subsidies in the same year.

The daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, after having abdicated the crown, left Sweden, and crossing through Germany, came to Brussels to abjure Lutheranism in the presence of the archduke Leopold, the counts of Fuensaldagna, Monte Cuculli, and Pimentel. Some months afterwards, she made a public profession of the Catholic religion, in the cathedral of Inspruck, and started for Rome, where she wished to reside.

Few persons believed in the sincerity of the conversion of Christina. The Jesuits themselves avowed that she had yielded, not to religious convictions, but to her love for the extraordinary and the marvellous; they report, in support of their opinion, that she expressed herself in disrespectful terms of the supreme head of the church, and that her conduct in church, at the foot of the altar, was light and indifferent. It is even affirmed, that one day having read in a book a quotation from the work of a Jesuit called "Sincerity of the Conversion of the Queen of Sweden," she underlined this title, and wrote on the margin, "he who has written knows nothing about it, and she who knows all about it has written nothing."

From Inspruck the princess went on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto, and made an offering of her crown and sceptre to the Virgin; she then took the route for the states of the church, and finally arrived in the Campagna of Rome. She made her entrance into the sacred city mounted on a superb courser, and dressed like an Amazon. The sacred college went to meet her; the pontiff received her beneath the porch of St. Peter, at the head of a part of his clergy, and administered the rite of confirmation to her with his own hand, giving her the name of Alexandra, which she added to that of Christina. After having assisted at the festivities which had been prepared in her honour, she took her leave of the pope and went to France, in which she wished to travel before fixing herself definitely at Rome. She did not make a long sojourn, either from secret disappointment at seeing that she produced very little sensation, or from becoming tired of hearing of the constant talking about the quarrels of the Molinists and Jansenists.

It was, in fact, the time in which the disputes about grace had reached their paroxysm of irritation. Not content with having forced the solitaires of Port Royal to submit to the bull of Innocent the Tenth, the hot-headed Vincent de Paul wished to constrain them to recognise that the five propositions which had been anathematised, were to be found in the work of Jansenius; and to reach his end he acted upon Mazarin, and induced the minister

to assemble a cabal of thirty-eight bishops, who declared that the Holy See, in censuring the propositions which had been denounced to him by the Molinists, had intended to censure Jansenius himself; and that consequently those who professed his doctrines were excommunicated. The brotherhood of Port Royal replied that they did not follow the doctrines of Jansenius, but those of St. Augustin. They also established that pontifical infallibility could not be admitted in questions of faith, but only in those of right, and then commenced those famous discussions about right and fact.

Vincent de Paul and the Jesuits caused the Sorbonne to censure the two following propositions, which were found in the letters which had been published by Anthony Arnaud, one of the most distinguished members of Port Royal. The first proposition, which was called of right, was as follows:—"The fathers show us a just man in the person of St. Peter, whom grace failed on one occasion, wherefore we cannot say that he never sinned." The second which was called of fact, was thus summed up: "we may doubt whether the five propositions condemned by Innocent as coming from Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, are in the works of that author." The examination of this matter was confided to commissaries, enemies of Anthony Arnaud, who, in defiance of the statutes of the faculty of theology, introduced thirty-two mendicant monks into the assembly, to reinforce the ranks of the Molinists.

Without any regard for the explanations presented by Arnaud, this iniquitous tribunal, which was under the influence of the chancellor Séguier, an infamous man, if there ever was one, the satellite of despotism, the promoter of all measures which were odious and destructive of public liberty, the tool of the Jesuits, the regent, and Mazarin, pronounced a sentence of condemnation. Arnaud wished to protest against this judgment on account of the want of liberty in his defence; but his demands were rejected, and he himself obliged to fly from Port Royal to escape his implacable enemies, notwithstanding the powerful interference of the dukes of de Luynes and de Liancourt, the marchioness of Sablé, the beautiful dutchess de Longueville, the marquis de Coislin, the baron St. Ange, the princess de Guéméné, and the prince de Conti, all partizans of Jansenism.

This defeat did not abate the courage of the solitaires of Port Royal; it only increased their hatred against the Molinists, and consequently caused them to seek the means of crushing their adversaries. Until that time, they had treated of theological questions, already so dry of themselves, in a dogmatical and serious tone, contenting themselves with exhibiting the truth to the learned, and had never thought of placing the public in a position to judge of these propositions, so that the Jesuits, much more numerous and more powerful, had easily triumphed in the eyes of the world, if not by reason at least by clamour.

After the condemnation of Arnaud, it was

determined to appeal from the judgment to all France, and to place these all-important questions on dogmas open to every mind. Pascal was charged with the composition of this work by the other solitaires. He soon discovered that he must enliven this sterile matter by a piquant irony, so as to strike to the heart of his enemies, by the doubly powerful arms of ridicule and reason. The work of Pascal appeared under the name of the Provincial Letters, because it was divided into eighteen letters, of which the first ten were addressed to a Jansenist in the provinces, named Perrier, counsellor of the Court of Aide, in the city of Clermont in Auvergne.

These letters had a success which surpassed all the hopes of the Jansenists: the author stigmatised the Jesuits with an ineffaceable ridicule, as well as the doctrines of proximate power, sufficing grace, and withholding of knowledge, which were taught in the works of Molina and St. Thomas Aquinas. He devoted to the execration of men the treatises of the moralists of the Society of Jesus, and principally their dangerous propositions on probabilities, and the art of ruling the intention was to excuse all crimes.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola, floored by the powerful reasoning of Pascal, called the court of Rome to their assistance, and obtained a new bull, which confirmed that of Innocent the Tenth, pronounced a new sentence of excommunication against the Jansenists, designated them by the name of disturbers of the public peace, children of iniquity, and condemned all the works they had printed, or the manuscripts they had prepared to sustain the doctrine of St. Augustin, as well as those which they might in future compose: the Molinists, and Vincent de Paul, especially, showed great earnestness to have this bull received in France. At their instigation, the principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom assembled in Paris, and declared that the constitution of Alexander should be published with the ordinary forms in all the dioceses, and that severe measures should be adopted to procure its execution.

Independently of this triumph over the Jansenists of France, the Jesuits obtained as brilliant a success in Venice, and by their skillful machinations were reinstated in their colleges by the senate, by a majority of one hundred and sixteen votes against fifty-three.

At Florence their influence was felt in a still more striking manner; all the dignitaries of the order were occupying the most important employments of government, and taking part in the direction of affairs. Thus they had no difficulty in persecuting those Florentines who followed the instructions of a canon named Baron Pandolphus Ricasoli, director of a convent of women, suspected of wishing to renew the heresy of the Alumbrados or Illuminati of Spain, inoffensive sectaries, who professed a doctrine of perfect quietude and impeccability, whom the inquisition had condemned to the stake by thousands half a century before, and whom the cardinal Richelieu

had persecuted in France, where they were known by the name of Guérinets, from their leader Guérin, curate of St. Georges de Roye, in the province of Picardy.

By way of beginning, the canon Ricasoli was handed over to the inquisitors and subjected to frightful tortures. The Jesuits spread a story, that this venerable priest, who had edified the city by an exemplary life of fifty years, had associated himself with the widow of a rich merchant, named Fausina Minardi, to form a congregation of young girls; that, aided by Father Seraphin Lupi, a servite monk, and a priest named Jacques Fantoni, he had inculcated among his flock of young nuns a system of libertinous quietism, and that he had availed himself of it to initiate Manardi, and her spiritual daughters, in all kinds of voluptuousness. The unfortunate man having died in consequence of the torture, could not give the lie to the calumnies of his enemies; his disciples were driven from the territory of Florence, and the nuns of his convent were condemned to perpetual detention in the dungeons of the inquisition, where they served for the debauches of the monks and their executioners.

The funeral pyres of the holy office in Spain had not been able to annihilate the Alumbrados, and the cruelty of the Jesuits to the canon Ricasoli, was not sufficient to destroy the sect of the Quietists in Italy; from Florence it spread into France and Belgium, where we will soon see it reappear.

It would really appear from the multitude of doctrines to which this age gave birth, as if men were determined to adopt the most ridiculous beliefs, and even to improve upon the extravagancies of the dogmas of the Catholic religion. One of these leaders of sects deserves to occupy an honourable place in history. It is George Fox, a simple artizan of Drayton, a village of Leicestershire, in England, the founder of the Quakers, or Tremblers.

The life of this memorable man, who was called by his followers by the names of "an apostle of the first order," "the glorious instrument in the hand of God," is too singular to be passed over in silence. In his childhood, he was placed with a dealer in wool and cattle, who sent him to keep his flocks in the woods, a kind of occupation which had contributed to exalt an imagination already addicted to contemplation. Abandoned without a guide to his own inclinations, he gave himself up with ardour to reading the Holy Scriptures, and knew the Old and New Testament almost entirely by heart. When he was sixteen years old, his father sent him to Nottingham, as an apprentice to a shoemaker, where he continued his meditations and his reading until he was nineteen years old. He then quitted his master, clothed himself in a dress of skin, and went far into the forests, passing whole days in a crotch of a tree, reading his Bible unceasingly in devout meditations. He arrived at such a degree of asceticism and exaltation, that every night he had ecstasies

and hallucinations, during which he thought he heard supernatural voices speaking to him, and ordering him to preach the word of God to men.

† He then determined to quit his retreat, and appear in public. He went first to Manchester, and loudly announced that all men had abandoned the ways of God, and had left nothing uncorrupted in doctrine or morals. He preached universal tolerance, condemned war as contrary to the divine laws, and to prevent men from having any collision among themselves, he declared that all things should be in common; that no member of society should exercise any authority over another, and that the distinctions of master and lord should be for ever proscribed from the world. In regard to true faith, he professed that all external worship should be abolished as dangerous and immoral, and that the sacraments should be suppressed as absurd and ridiculous.

Fox drew around him a large number of disciples of every age, sex, and condition, who attracted the respect of the people by an incorruptible probity in their commercial relations, and by the spirit of concord, devotion, and fraternity which reigned among them. Filled with simplicity in their manners and dress, the disciples of Fox were distinguished from other sects by their horror of falsehood, and even of every chance word; thus the use of an oath was severely forbidden them, because, said the master, "it adds no value to the words of a man who speaks the truth."

The leader however of this new sect, notwithstanding the regularity of his morals and the mildness of his character, was not the less pursued for having preached against inebriety and the payment of tithes. A sermon against legal proceedings also drew on him the animadversion of the magistrates, and he was one day arrested for having announced that the Lord had forbidden him to bend his knee before any power on the earth, nor from submitting to any authority. Being brought before the judge, he presented himself with his leather cap upon his head; and in his interrogation, he refused to speak to the magistrate in the usual forms of language. The latter called him insolent, and inflicted a blow upon him; Fox turned the other cheek to him; the judge declared that he was crazy, and sent him to a lunatic hospital, with orders to whip him twice a day.

The noise of this singular arrest having at length reached London, Cromwell had the curiosity to see Fox, brought him to the capital, and after having spent an hour with him, set him at liberty. From that time the founder of the Quakers openly professed his doctrine, and prodigiously increased the number of his disciples.

The sects which rose up in every quarter, in France, Italy, Germany, and England, excited the more the anger of the Holy See, since they threatened its temporal power; thus the congregation charged with the management of affairs did not cease to fulminate anathemas, now against the Quietists,

now against the Jansenists, now against the Quakers.

Although Alexander the Seventh was of notorious impiety, and publicly proclaimed his atheism, he still gave his approval to all rigorous measures; and through a singular contradiction, this man who joked with his cardinals about the virginity of the mother of Christ, and the simplicity of St. Joseph, and who was so lavish of the dogmas of Catholicism, exhibited the greatest jealousy concerning his privilege of infallibility, and wished to establish it as an article of faith, that at all times, the pope, in his capacity as vicar of God, is the summary and expression of human science, and that consequently all minds should bend and bow before his.

He addressed the following brief on this subject to the doctors of the university of Louvain: "Know, my brethren, that it is absolutely necessary to listen to the voice of the chief shepherd, the vicar of Christ, and to obey him, not only in all that concerns our safety and eternal life, but even in every thing scientific or doctrinal. For if all men, and especially men of letters and science, do not adhere immutably in all their ideas and determinations, without restriction or reserve, to the apostolic decisions, the curiosity inherent in the human mind will draw them into an incredible multitude of vain opinions and foolish errors; there are ways in infinite number for error, but there is but one for the truth; that of submitting to the decision of the pope, who is infallible like God, whose vicar he is."

Notwithstanding the proud pretensions of his holiness to omniscience and universal sway, no sovereign was willing to accept Alexander as the arbiter of his destinies, and all even affected no longer to consult the court of Rome on political matters. Thus the kings of France and Spain, who were at war, did not fear to conclude a peace without informing the pope of it; and all the deference they showed for the Holy See was, to mention in the preamble of the treaty, that their Catholic and most Christian majesties did not doubt that the prayers of the sovereign pontiff, addressed to God for the repose of Christendom, had contributed to lead to this happy result. Alexander exhibited great irritation at this want of attention on the part of Don Louis de Hadro and the cardinal Mazarin, the two plenipotentiaries of the courts of France and Spain; he manifested especially his ill will for the cardinal minister, and sought every means of counteracting him in his ulterior negotiations.

The occasion was not long wanting; the Venetians, exhausted in men and money by the wars they maintained against the Turks, had applied to France for aid, and had obtained from Cardinal Mazarin a body of troops, which the prince of Este was to lead to them, and the formal promise of deciding the pope to second them powerfully in their wars against the infidels. But Alexander, charmed with the opportunity of taking vengeance for the affront he had received, and of showing that his will was to be held of some account

in the councils of princes, refused to enter into the league against the Turks, and replied dryly to the French ambassadors, that if Mazarin desired to convert the infidel, nothing was easier than to send the fanatic Vincent de Paul into their country, or that if he wished to get up a crusade, he had nothing to do but place himself at the head of the troops, and make the attempt; but that he must not expect the Holy See to throw itself into an extravagant enterprise; that besides the apostolic treasury was dry, and that if he should create new subsidies, it would assuredly not be to levy troops, but to finish the numerous monuments which were in course of execution.

Since the commencement of his reign, Alexander, in fact, appeared to place his whole glory in surpassing his predecessors by his gigantic constructions; especially did he raise palaces, open streets, plant gardens. At his command the Salviati palace disappeared to form the square of the Roman college; in the midst of the place Colonna, he reared a magnificent palace, which he destined for his family, and the square of St. Peter was embellished by a colossal monument, composed of two hundred and eighty-one columns and eighty-eight pillars.

This passion for masonry, joined to the love of the holy father for his family, led him into such enormous expenses, that he was under the necessity of loading the people with imposts, and giving an unmeasured extension to the trade in relics, indulgences, absolutions, annates, and prebends. His cupidity was so universally recognised at Rome, that they openly sold a satirical engraving, representing Alexander the Seventh, with his minions, mistresses, and cardinals, at the feet of an image of Christ, which, instead of blood, permitted pieces of gold and silver to escape from his side, which the pope received in his tiara, repeating in the form of a litany, "He was crucified only for us."

To heighten the infamy, Father Oliva, the general of the Jesuits, preached in the churches, "that all the actions of the pope were holy and meritorious, and that it was for the good of the faithful, that Alexander the Seventh and his cardinals resigned themselves to being rich, and to obey these words of the canticle of canticles, 'How beautiful are thy breasts, my sister, my spouse.'" The astute disciple of Ignatius Loyola added, "that God was unwilling his church should have a withered breast, like the Amazons described in the works of profane authors, but that her breast was adorned with two redundant paps, that princes and bishops might be nourished with abundant milk."

Not only did his holiness not neglect any occasion to stimulate the charity of his own subjects, for the greater glory of God, but he even sought to usurp the domains of his neighbours, always, however, for the same principle, and solemnly decreed the incarceration of Castro and Comachio, without being stopped by the fear of exposing himself to a terrible war with Louis the Fourteenth and Philip the

Fourth, who had engaged to cause these cities to be restored to the families of the Este and the Farnese, their lawful owners.

Still further, Alexander the Seventh having assured himself, by a treaty, of the assistance of the emperor of Germany, preserved no more restraint towards France; he even publicly insulted, by means of the Corsicans of his body guard, the people of the duke de Crequi, the French ambassador, which produced a bloody collision. The Corsicans, having had some of their number killed or wounded, wished to take revenge, assembled to the number of more than four hundred, and advanced in arms, with drums beating and colours flying, towards the palace of the ambassador, seized on the avenues and streets which led to it, and prepared to assault it. The duke de Crequi appeared in his balcony, to cause his character, as ambassador, to be respected by the soldiers of the pope, but instead of listening to him, they fired upon him. Fortunately, he was not struck, and the balls only broke the panes of glass of his apartment. Almost at the same moment, they discharged their muskets at the carriage of the embassadress, who was endeavouring to return to the palace, and killed the page at the door. Finally, nothing but the interference of the ambassadors of the other powers put an end to the disorders.

The duke de Crequi protested against such a violation of the law of nations, and demanded the punishment of the guilty; the holy father refused to give him satisfaction, or even to withdraw the posts of the Corsicans, which were around the palace of the French embassy. It was not possible to push insolence further; then the duke de Crequi, after having protested against such conduct before the representatives of the other powers, declared that he was no longer in safety in Rome and retired to San Quirico, on the frontiers of Tuscany.

As soon as these events were known at the court of France, they excited extraordinary ferment in every mind; Louis the Fourteenth, who, since the death of Mazarin, had placed himself at the head of affairs in the kingdom, was so indignant, that he swore to punish the audacious pontiff, and to go to Rome to burn him. He immediately drove the nuncio Piccolomini from Paris, enjoined on him to retire to Meaux, and there to await his pleasure; and as he learned that the latter, instead of obeying, had taken the road for St. Denis, he sent a company of horse musketeers in pursuit of him, and had him conducted to the frontiers of Savoy.

When Piccolomini arrived at Rome, his holiness received letters from the cardinal of Arragon, and the grand duke of Tuscany, which announced to him that France had demanded from the Spaniards a passage through the Milanese territory, for an army which was assembling under the orders of Marshal Plessis Prashim, destined to invade the ecclesiastical states. Alexander thought that these preparations were only intended to

alarm him, and when the duke de Crequi notified him that France demanded, as a reparation for the insults committed to her ambassador, that his brother, Don Mario Chigi, governor of Rome, should be exiled to Sienna, for not having succoured him against the Corsican guards; that the hat should be taken from Cardinal Imperiali; that the Corsican troops should be banished for ever from Rome; that a pyramid should be erected in the midst of the place Farnese, having a disgraceful inscription, for the attempt committed on the person of an ambassador; that the city of Castro should be restored to the Farnese, and that of Camachio to the house of Este: the pope in reply appointed the cardinal Imperiali legate of Romagna, gave a month's pay to his Corsican guards as a gratuity, added new benefices to the revenues of his brother, and published that he would never effect the disincameration of Castro, since the pontifical bulls commanded him to increase the domains of the church, and expressly prohibited from ever reducing them. "We are determined," added his holiness in his brief, "to expose the ecclesiastical state, and even our own life to the sanguinary violences of kings, in support of the sacred rights of our see; but we will never succumb without having set to work, in our defence, all the aid we can obtain from men; and if they are insufficient, we will pray to God to send us legions of angels from heaven to combat in our favour."

As he had announced, the pontiff, having to enlist angels beneath the standard of the church, summoned Leopold the First to keep his promises, and send an army into Italy to defend the Holy See, whilst he should attack France on the other side. But the emperor, who not desirous of entering into hostilities with Louis the Fourteenth since the recent victories of the generals of that monarch, refused to keep the engagements he had made with the Holy See, and merely gave it permission to levy troops in the states of the empire. His holiness exclaimed against this want of faith, but dared not openly break with the emperor at so critical a moment; he decided to accept the last proposition of Leopold, and levied German troops, to join them to the twenty thousand foot and two thousand cavalry who were already enrolled under the flag of the court of Rome.

Whilst Louis the Fourteenth, putting his threats against the Holy See in execution, was seizing on the city of Avignon and on Provence, and was preparing to invade Italy, by one of those aberrations of the human mind so common among kings, his majesty was pursuing, with bitterness, the detractors of pontifical authority, and was taking the part of the Jesuits against the Jansenists. The Jesuits, aided by the monarch, had induced the Sorbonne to condemn the Provincial Letters of Pascal, and the disquisitions of Paul Ireneus, and had caused the ordinances against defamatory libels and heretical writings to be applied to them.

Vincent de Paul, who had been one of the

instigators of this iniquitous judgment, also employed his efforts to have adopted the formulary concerning the condemnation of the five propositions, and which the general assembly of the clergy of France had drawn up, but without, however, being able to conquer the obstinate resistance of the Jansenists. Finally, at his solicitation, and that of his confessor, Louis the Fourteenth took a part in this important matter, and to constrain the solitaires of Port Royal to submit to the decisions of the pope, he drove Marie Angelique Arnaud and the nuns from their retreat, and dispersed the pious monks among different convents.

The great king pursued no less his war with the Holy See, and his troops had penetrated the Milanese territory, when Alexander, alarmed by their progress, and fearful of seeing the states of the church in fire and blood, Rome sacked, and himself driven from the apostolic throne, consented to make a reparation for the insults which France had received in the person of its ambassador. His holiness accordingly signed the treaty of Pisa, bound himself to raise a pyramid in token of expiation, as the duke de Crequi had demanded, and to banish the Corsicans for ever from the territories of the church, and took an oath publicly, that no officer of his court, or member of his family, had taken the least part in the attempt of which the king of France complained; which, however, did not hinder him, six days after having ratified the treaty of Pisa, from drawing up with his own hand, and depositing in the archives of the castle of San Angelo, the following protest as a proof of his distinguished knavery: "Of our own motion and knowledge, in the plenitude of our power we declare, that we concluded peace with Louis the Fourteenth through constraint and the fear which the army of that despot inspired in us; we protest before God and the glorious apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, that we have not consented sincerely to any of the acts that we have signed, nor to any of the numerous satisfactions we have sworn to give that king. Far from desiring to fulfil our engagements, we declare that we oppose their execution, and chiefly the disincameration of Castro and Comachio; we declare our promises null and void; we declare moreover that the present protest shall be valid, and that it shall have full and entire efficacy, though it be not registered in the public acts; finally, we wish it to bear testimony of our true will, in all times and places, for the advantage of the Holy See; we supply by the plenitude of our power, and the infallibility of our decisions, all irregularities which may be in this act, notwithstanding the usages, styles, laws, decretals, apostolic constitutions, statutes, and every thing which may be contrary to it."

Alexander the Seventh appeared, however, to submit, and sent the cardinal Fabio Chigi to the court of France, under the pretext of making the excuses of the Holy See to Louis the Fourteenth; but in reality to excite trou-

bles in the kingdom. The cardinal nephew had scarcely arrived in Paris, when he resumed the train of life he led at Rome, and gave rise to such scandals that the satiric poets made epigrams and vaudevilles on his amours with the ladies of the court, and his infamous liaisons with the young clerks of his train.

But in the midst of his debaucheries and intrigues of gallantry, Fabio Chigi did not neglect the affairs of the church, and acquitted himself faithfully of his mission by animating the Jesuits against the king, and by sustaining those who in their writings placed the power of the states-general above the authority of the monarch. The nuncio even encouraged Father Moya, the confessor of the queen mother, to publish two works under the pseudonymic of Jacques de Vernant, and Amadeus Guimenius, to maintain the doctrines of the Jesuits in all that concerned the submission of princes to the Roman church.

The despot, who was more jealous of his absolute authority than of any thing else in the world, appointed a commission of inquiry, and had them condemned as subversive of all temporal authority and public morals. Alexander immediately addressed a brief to his most Christian majesty, beseeching him to have the sentence pronounced by the Sorbonne revoked; the parliament opposed the brief, and published the following declaration:

"Two most condemnable books have appeared; the first contained maxims subversive of lawful government; the second a great number of propositions dangerous to morality. The faculty of Theology, recognising that simony, rebellion, prostitution, robbery, and murder were extolled in those writings, thought it was its duty to oppose the progress of these pernicious doctrines. The pope has thought otherwise; he annuls the censures, and orders that these infamous books should be scattered through the country for the edification of the faithful. Notwithstanding the pretended infallibility of the Holy See, we declare that the king cannot, without making an encroachment on his authority and injuring the rights of his crown, grant to the pontiff the satisfaction he asks in his brief."

The censures of the faculty having been maintained, Alexander the Seventh fulminated a terrible bull, in which he declared the decisions of the Sorbonne to be presumptuous, scandalous, and rash, and prohibited all ecclesiastics from receiving them under penalty of excommunication. This bull did not cause the slightest sensation in France, and the pope dared not go further, for fear of a serious rupture with Louis the Fourteenth.

What contributed to render him more moderate, was the sending of a considerable sum by the monarch for the canonization of St. Francis of Sales, titular bishop and prince of Geneva, and for the purchase of relics which he wished to deposit in the different churches of the capital. Alexander sent faithfully the brevet of saint which was demanded of him; he also sent three boxes of relics, done up with great care, tied with cords of red silk, and

sealed with the seals of Cardinal Genesti, to whom was committed the guardianship of the remains of martyrs and saints.

Unfortunately, the holy boxes were received, on their arrival in Paris, by a bishop who secretly favoured Jansenism; the prelate, under the appearance of the most ardent zeal, and the most artless faith, asked permission for physicians and anatomists to assist at the opening, in order to point out to what parts of the body the bones of the blessed martyrs belonged. This verification produced singular discoveries. The anatomists having proceeded to open the first box, on which was written a legend indicating that it contained the remains of two celebrated martyrs, discovered bones with which to form three skeletons instead of two. The cardinal Fabio Chigi, who was present, skilfully threw the blame on the scribe who had set down the legend.

In the second trunk were found, in the midst of human bones, three thigh bones of asses, and two of the inward bones of the legs of dogs, with other remains of bones which had belonged to different domestic animals. The cardinal legate could scarcely restrain his laughter whilst listening to the analysis of the relics expedited by his uncle; he was not, however, disconcerted, and contented himself with saying that the devil had, doubtless, added these bones out of malice, in order to prove their faith.

Finally, in the third case, which, in accordance with the brief of his holiness, was to contain the head of St. Fortunus, was found a death's head, perfectly resembling a dissected skull; but a physician having thrown it into a vessel filled with boiling water, the head of St. Fortunus lost its proper shape, and was found to be merely a skull of painted pasteboard. Fabio Chigi dared not explain this miracle, and retired covered with confusion. The anatomists prepared a report for his majesty on what they had discovered, and affirmed, moreover, that the bones sent from Rome, as having belonged to holy persons of the first centuries, were, on the contrary, those of individuals recently dead, and that thus the great king had been the dupe of an infamous piece of jugglery.

Louis the Fourteenth, fearful lest this affair should cover him with ridicule, and make him the jest of Europe, if it were noised about, threw the report of the anatomists into the fire, and prohibited them from telling what they knew, under penalty of being thrown into the dungeons of the bastille. He then commanded that they should replace the bones in boxes, closed and sealed up, and distribute them to the churches of Paris.

In England great changes had taken place; Oliver Cromwell was dead. His son Richard, who had at first taken the reins of government, determined to abdicate and resign the supreme authority into the hands of the members of parliament. This new government was overthrown by General Monk, a traitor, who had sold himself to the son of Charles Stuart, and who, for a little gold, delivered

up his country to a cowardly, hypocritical, sanguinary, and despotic king. Charles the Second was, finally, seated on the throne of Great Britain.

The new sovereign, who had become a Catholic during his exile, and who knew the invincible repugnance of the English for the papacy, appeared in the beginning to have returned to the reformed religion, and communed in public, in accordance with the English ritual; but in secret he continued to profess Catholicism, and followed all its exercises in a mysterious chapel served by Jesuits.

When his power was more confirmed, he imposed less constraint on himself, and commenced a religious persecution, which had for its apparent cause, the tranquillity of the state, and for its real end, the triumph of Catholicism. He first published severe regulations against the nonconformists, and the Presbyterians; he re-instated the bishops suspected of papacy, and who had been degraded by an act of parliament; he prepared a bill against the Quakers, who refused to take an oath of obedience to him; he published the famous act of uniformity in worship, and prohibited ministers who had not been ordained by a bishop to administer the communion to the faithful, and enjoined on the inhabitants of the three kingdoms, to adopt the English liturgy and the book of Common Prayer.

These ordinances, which were all opposed to the national spirit, forced more than two thousand reformed ministers to renounce their churches, which, however, did not prevent the disloyal Charles the Second from persevering in his odious path. To increase the misfortunes, the plague broke out in London, and carried off a prodigious number of victims; then a fire, kindled, it is said, by the Jesuits, almost entirely consumed the capital.

The Scotch wished to take advantage of these circumstances to break the yoke, and drive off the English bishops whom Charles Stuart had imposed on them; but the tyrant was on his guard; a formidable army passed the Tweed, entered Scotland, defeated the Presbyterians, and forced them to lay down their arms.

The court of Rome hastened to congratulate Charles the Second and his brother, the duke of York, on the vigour they had displayed against the heretics, and offered them his assistance, in advancing the work of the regeneration of Catholicism in Great Britain, that is to say, the extermination of all heretics.

It would be unjust, however, to cast on the holy father all the odium of the measures which were taken in England, France, and Italy against heretics, as well as the infamy of the executions which embued in blood the English cities, the provinces of the south of France, and the valleys of Piedmont. He was already attacked by an extremely severe illness, and was not in a condition to be able to occupy himself about the organization of massacres. He died, at last, on the 22d of May, 1667, and went to join in eternity the execrable pontiffs who had preceded him.

CLEMENT THE NINTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1667.]

Simoniacal election of Clement the Ninth—He declares against the abuses of nepotism—New political tendencies of the papal government—His holiness prohibits the works of the savants of Port Royal from being read—Louis the Fourteenth wishes the pope to become the godfather of the dauphin of France—Divorce of the king of Portugal—The pontiff consents to appoint prelates to the vacant sees in Portugal—The Jesuits deliver the Isle of Candia to the Mahometans—Their treason the cause of the death of the holy father.

TWENTY-SEVEN days after the death of Alexander the Seventh, the cardinals chose Julius Rospigliosi to succeed him, who was immediately proclaimed the supreme head of the church, by the name of Clement the Ninth. The new pope, originally from the town of Pistoia, in Tuscany, had successively filled the posts of auditor of legation, nuncio in Spain, governor of Rome, cardinal of St. Sixtus, and secretary of state.

Some ecclesiastical authors maintain that his election was not exempt from simoniacal stipulations; to support this opinion, they point to the care which he took to maintain, in their dignities, the members of the sacred college who had sustained his party, and the exclusion which he inflicted on those who had opposed his election. Other writers refuse to see a proof of simony in his preferences for certain cardinals, and represent him as the most worthy and most capable of occupying the Holy See. They agree that he did not possess an activity proportioned to his laudable intentions, and compare him to a tree covered with vigorous branches which produce leaves in abundance, sometimes flowers and never fruits. It is certain that he possessed that species of negative virtues which consists in the absence of vices. Thus, whilst refusing to imitate his predecessors in their nepotism, and to sacrifice the interests of the church to his relatives, he did not the less call them to court to place them in possession of lucrative offices; he was only unwilling to place them at the head of the government.

This propensity of the new pontiff to leave the exercise of authority in the hands of the princes of the church, was, moreover, in harmony with the ideas of the period; for an aristocratic reaction was manifesting itself in all the courts of Europe. In France, Louis the Fourteenth was surrounding himself with his nobility, to make a rampart of them against the burghers, and was giving to their care all the offices of the state; in Spain, the grandees governed the monarchy; in Germany, the nobility was obtaining a decided preponderance; in Poland, it had assumed to itself the election of the kings; in Sweden and Russia, it had dictated restrictive dispositions to the prerogatives of the sovereigns. It was then natural for Clement the Ninth to follow the general impulse, and instead of embarking in a struggle with the numerous aristocracy which sur-

rounded the papal throne, he consented to modify the spiritual omnipotence of the court of Rome, under the form of an oligarchical constitution. Governed by the members of his council, he resolved to take an active part in the war against the Turks, by furnishing troops and money to the most serene republic of Venice. As the treasury was empty, he did not hesitate to fill it with sums taken from several convents of men and women, whose wealth had become an object of remark among the faithful. He dared not, however, touch the treasury of the Jesuits, on account of the immense influence which the society exercised over the minds of men; he even sought to attach them firmly to the Holy See, by taking part with them in their quarrels with the Jansenists, and by condemning a translation of the gospel, commonly called the New Testament of Mons, the most remarkable work which had been composed at Port Royal. Clement the Ninth prohibited the reading of it, under penalty of excommunication; pronounced it a rash and pernicious version, and differing from the Vulgate; after his example, the archbishops of Paris, Embrun and Reims, the bishops of Evreux, Amiens, and several other prelates, declared that it was filled with additions and arbitrary changes, and was conformed to the version of Geneva, that is to say, favoured Calvinism. The atrabilious Louis the Fourteenth interfered, and caused the work to be proscribed by his council of state. But on the other side, the bishops who were partizans of the doctrines of Jansenius refused to submit; thus the religious disputes were revived and became more violent than ever.

His holiness then desired to repair the evil he had done; he drew back his brief, and contented himself with anathematising the five propositions attributed to Jansenius, supposing, added he, that these propositions have really emanated from the books of the bishop of Ypres. The Jansenists accepted these conditions, and signed the last formulary of Alexander the Seventh, taking care to specify very clearly the right and the fact, and pointing out that they only promised external respect and the submission of silence. Arnaud and his friends declared, moreover, without ambiguity, that in condemning the five propositions, they had not intended to deny the doctrine of St. Augustine, nor of St. Thomas, nor efficacious

grace. Peace was, however, apparently concluded between the Molinists and the Jansenists. The nuns and solitaires of Port Royal were relieved from censures, discharged from the interdict, and permitted to return to their convents. From this time the Jansenists, tolerated by the court of Rome, and supported by the credit of the minister Pomponne, rose to a degree of importance which daily became more considerable; and as they knew very well that they were to expect new attacks from their enemies as soon as the latter found a favourable opportunity, they sought themselves to shackle the Holy See, and prepared to inflict terrible blows on the tottering colossus of the papacy.

Nothing, however, could then foretell the triumph of Jansenism; the court of Rome appeared to be all-powerful in France. The great king had been weak enough to ask Pope Clement, if he would be the godfather of the dauphin, and the holy father had sent a commission as legate extraordinary to the cardinal Vendôme, that that prelate might hold the royal child at the baptismal font in his name. The ceremony of the baptism finished, it was supposed that the mission of the cardinal legate was over, and that the absolute power with which he had been momentarily invested, ceased with his functions as godfather; but it turned out otherwise. The prelate, following the example of the Roman pontiff, whose representative he was, wished to use his ecclesiastical omnipotence for the interests of his family; he pronounced the divorce of his niece Maria Francisca d'Aumale, princess of Savoy Nemours, from her husband, Alphonso the Fifth, king of Portugal, a scion of the house of Braganza, for impotence, and authorised her union with Don Pedro, the brother of the king and lover of the young queen.

The court of Spain, which had never yet renounced its hope of recovering possession of the kingdom of Portugal, and which found itself in a good position to make its rights available, in consequence of the troubles which agitated that country, sent an ambassador to the sovereign pontiff, to solicit an annulment of the marriage of Don Pedro to his sister-in-law.

Unfortunately, the thing had become very difficult, the queen having declared that she was pregnant; Clement also secretly favoured France, and some presents which were sent him by Maria d'Aumale, served to gain him to the side of the queen; he confirmed all that had been done by the cardinal of Vendôme, and declared her marriage with Alphonso well and truly annulled. Only, to save appearances, and not to be suspected of having yielded to presents, he specified in his bull that he approved of the new union of the queen with Don Pedro, because the evil had become irremediable; but that the Portuguese bishops who had pronounced the divorce under pretext of impotence on the part of the husband, were greatly guilty before God, for not having submitted the two spouses to the proofs then in use in the church, and which were called the proofs of Congress.

His holiness not only confirmed the marriage of Don Pedro and the queen, but even consented to make nominations to all the vacant bishoprics; which the court of Rome had refused to do up to this time. In consequence of this concession, the king of Spain was compelled to recognise the independence of Portugal. Clement the Ninth congratulated himself the more on the success of his policy towards these two countries, since he counted on it to use the influence he had acquired over their princes, to obtain from them succours in men and money, to push the war vigorously against the Turks. Unfortunately, he had not time to realise his plans; he learned that the Turks had seized on Candia, notwithstanding the brave defence of the Venetian garrison, and that it had fallen into the power of the sultan Mahomet the Fourth, in consequence of the treason of the Jesuits.

This news chagrined the holy father so violently, that he was seized with a fever, of which he died on the 9th of December, 1669. Father Nodot endeavours to free the society from the accusation of having caused the death of Clement the Ninth, and maintains that his holiness, who was addicted to intemperance, had simply died of indigestion, brought on by his excesses at table.

CLEMENT THE TENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1670.]

Vacancy in the Holy See—Election of Clement the Tenth—Nepotism of the new pope—Cardinal Pauluzzi governs the church—The Holy See during this reign loses a part of its political influence—Beginning of the quarrel about the right of regale—Hatred of Louis the Fourteenth to the Jansenists—Shameful vices of the holy father—He dies, destroyed by drunkenness.*

THE cardinals having entered the conclave on the 20th of December, that is to say, ele-

* A right belonging formerly to the kings of France, of enjoying the revenues of vacant bishoprics.

ven days after the death of Clement the Ninth, had not been able to choose a pope at the end of four months, in consequence of the intrigues which divided the sacred college.

Finally, in the last part of the month of April, the factions of the Chigi, Barberini, and Ros-pigliosi, until that time so hostile to each other, united, and proclaimed as sovereign pontiff by adoration, Emilius Altieri, an old man of eighty years of age, who was enthroned by the name of Clement the Tenth.

The family of the new pope was one of the oldest in Rome, and noble after the fashion of Italy, where those who could live without exercising professions take the title of gentleman, and purchase the right to be called count or marquis. As Altieri had only nieces, he solemnly adopted as cardinal nephew, Antonio Pauluzzi, the brother-in-law of Gasparo Pauluzzi, who had married Dona Laura, one of his relatives, and loaded all the members of his new family with dignities and favours. He made Antonio cardinal padrone, first minister, with a salary of a hundred thousand crowns; elevated his brother, Don Angelo, to the dignity of general of the galleys, and gratified Don Gasparo with the post of generalissimo of the pontifical troops.

When he had sufficiently provided his adopted family with lands, benefices, domains, and principalities, he reposed himself, and placed all the burthen of the government of the church in the hands of the cardinal nephew, who used it to increase his fortune, without troubling himself about the misfortunes of the people, nor the terrible wars which the sovereigns were carrying on. We should say, however, that his efforts to arrest the evil would not have produced any result; for the European powers having taken up a position of complete independence of the Holy See, the influence of the Roman court was annihilated in the great political interests which actuated sovereigns.

The Catholic world was divided into two hostile camps, the French and Austrian parties, both seeking to annihilate each other, both employing all their efforts to insure success in the strife, and both preferring their political interests to those of religion. Thus, although a bigoted Catholic, Louis the Fourteenth, instead of obeying the pope, wished to point out a line of conduct to him; and in his displeasure at seeing that Clement the Tenth, and his nephew Pauluzzi Altieri, favoured the house of Austria, he encroached on the spiritual power, confiscated ecclesiastical property by his own authority, claimed the right of establishing military pensions chargeable on the benefices of the church, declared by an edict that the sovereign had the right to collect the revenues of a bishopric during its vacancy, and to confer the benefices which were dependent on it, a right which became so celebrated by the name of regale; and,

finally, which was a terrible blow to the Holy See, he placed the receivers or bearers of the Roman rents under strict surveillance, to prevent the faithful from sending so much money as was done to the court of Rome for the purchase of indulgences.

The sovereign pontiff protested feebly against the usurpation of ecclesiastical privileges by the temporal power, at first because his protests would not have been listened to, and then because he was altogether incapable of taking an energetic resolution, the abuse of strong liquors having plunged him into a state of almost constant idiocy. A very curious anecdote is told on the subject of the holy father's habit of drunkenness. "One night," says the Italian chronicler, "when his holiness had become drunk, as usual, with a monk of St. Sylvester, his confessor, he took a fancy to make this unworthy frockling archbishop, and his butler a cardinal. The patents were signed, and the next day Antonio Pauluzzi had great difficulty in preventing the titularies from using these papers, and claiming the benefit of their commissions."

In France, the quarrels between the Jansenists and the Molinists broke out anew, and threatened to disturb the kingdom seriously. The Jesuits pursued their adversaries to the utmost, and such was their hatred against the solitaires of Port Royal, that they preferred to see atheism triumph rather than tolerate the propagation of Jansenism; thus they caused a criticism which the learned Perrault published on them, under the title of "The Practical Morality of the Jesuits," to be burned by the hands of the executioner, whilst they did not make the slightest complaint against "The Theological and Political Treatise," which the celebrated Jew, Benedict Spinosa, published, and in which the author maintained that God was not an infinitely perfect being; that he was not even endowed with intelligence; in a word, that the Divinity was nothing else than that force, or that vague energy of nature, which thinks in men, feels in animals, vegetates in plants, and which resembles the atoms of inert matter.

This material pantheism found no contradiction on its appearance among the Catholics, not even in Rome. It is true that they paid no attention to religion, and that it mattered little to the cardinal nephew what belief the faithful had, so they regularly paid the taxes and imposts which he laid upon them.

Antonio Pauluzzi was at last obliged to resign the supreme power. The holy father, weakened by old age, and worn out by intoxication, fell into a prostration, which took from him even the power of motion, and carried him off, the 26th of July, 1676.

INNOCENT THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1676.]

Election of Innocent the Eleventh—History of the pope before his exaltation—Quarrels between the new pontiff and Louis the Fourteenth—Father la Chaise, the confessor of Louis the Fourteenth—Synod of the bishops of France—The four propositions of the liberties of the Gallican church—Innocent anathematizes the French prelates who assisted at the national council—Catholic reaction in England—Conspiracy of the papists—The English parliament causes a large number of Jesuits to be arrested—Sir Edmonbury Godfrey is assassinated by order of the queen of England—Bill excluding the fanatical duke of York, the brother of the king, from the throne of Great Britain—Charles the Second dismisses the parliament, and murders his subjects—The Whigs and Tories—Death of Charles the Second—Fanaticism of Louis the Fourteenth—Revocation of the edict of Nantz—James the Second on the throne of England—Punishment of Monmouth—Condemnation of the Quietist Michel Molinos—Abolition of the franchises for ambassadors at Rome—Louis the Fourteenth causes the pope to be insulted by the marquis de Lavardin—Death of Innocent.

THE cardinals entered into conclave on the very night of the funeral of Clement the Tenth; as usual, intrigue decided the election, and after two months of struggle and sharp shooting, the members of the conclave proclaimed as sovereign pontiff, the son of a banker, the cardinal Odescalchi, who was adored by the name of Innocent the Eleventh.

This pope, who was of an imperious, lofty, and determined character, was born in the kingdom of Austria; before embracing the ecclesiastical career, he had followed the trade of arms, and when he put on the tiara, there might still be seen on his brow the mark the casque had left there.

Louis the Fourteenth appeared to him to be a rival worthy of him, and against whom he might display his double warlike and sacerdotal energy. The moment was the more opportune for a rupture with that monarch, as he was at war with the apostolic Roman emperor, Leopold of Austria, and as Charles the Second of Spain, and Charles the Fourth, duke of Lorraine, were leagued with the heretics of the United Provinces to weaken the most Christian king, who, on his side, had made an alliance with Mahomet the Fourth, emperor of the Turks. The pope seized the pretext of the right of regale, which Louis the Fourteenth claimed, and declared that the sovereign had not the right to abuse this custom established in France, to dispose of the rentals and benefices of vacant sees, nor to seize on the revenues of abbeys and churches, without regard to their exemptions, their immunities, and their privileges.

The holy father was sustained in his step by the Jesuits, and even by the Jansenist prelates; still, he dared not come to an open rupture with Louis the Fourteenth, and contented himself with merely sending him a brief of warning. The moderation of the sovereign pontiff was induced by the financial situation of the Holy See; as the expenses had exceeded the receipts by a considerable sum, it was apprehended lest the least difficulty should bring on bankruptcy. Innocent

then wished to gain time, to ward off the inconvenience of such a situation. He first suppressed the enormous emoluments paid to the nephews of dead popes or their creatures, he abolished a crowd of useless offices, restored order to the administration of the finances, laid taxes on the nobles who had been exempted from them; he then reduced the interest on the funded debt to three per cent., made new assessments, doubled the taxes, and restored an equilibrium between the receipts and expenses.

When the skilful pontiff had placed things on a good footing, he resumed his plans against Louis the Fourteenth, and wrote to him, "Most dear son in Jesus Christ, we have already represented to your majesty how much the ordinance, which was published during the reign of our predecessor, concerning the regale, was injurious to ecclesiastical freedom, contrary to divine and human law, and remote from the examples and customs bequeathed to us by the ancient kings. We have, however, learned that your agents trample under foot the authority of the bishops, trouble the order and discipline of the church, openly, and with the assent of the royal power. We will not accuse your majesty of these deplorable outrages; we will throw the blame upon your counsellors, who have not courageously warned you that you are wandering from the right path; who have not told you to remember that you swore before God to shed your blood in the maintenance of the faith, and the defence of the liberties of his holy church; we will excommunicate those cowardly courtiers who have not recalled to you that God should be obeyed above men, that the life of kings and princes passes by as rapidly as a flash of lightning, that the most powerful of sovereigns, as well as the lowest of his subjects, after that terrible instant, called before the tribunal of the Eternal, appears there without sceptre, crown, mantle of purple, guards, suite, nor any of the terrestrial insignia of his mundane power; that there your majesty will have but your crimes as

your train, and that around it will arise the victims of your cruelty appealing for vengeance.

"We, who do not dread to make you hear the energetic language of truth, and who desire to prevent you from heaping up the measure of your iniquities, we inform you, that your edict about the regale is an impious work, and that you cannot hasten too soon to repeal it, to merit your pardon before God. We are not ignorant that you seek to make compensation for the crimes of your life by praiseworthy actions, that you destroy the synagogues, that you persecute the heretics, and that you wish to prepare yourself for the infinite recompenses of heaven; but be careful that your left hand does not overthrow that which your right hand builds up, and remember that the apostle has said, 'he who falls voluntarily into sin, loses the merit of his pious works.'

"We are rent with grief when thinking that death may surprise you, whilst your conscience is burthened with the most execrable iniquities; we thus hasten to cry to you on behalf of God, 'Repeal the ordinance of the regale, abolish all you have undertaken against the liberty and the temporal rights of the church, or dread my indignation.' If, after this new warning, you do not obey the orders of God, if your majesty does not quit the fatal path on which you have entered, we will use against you the terrible arms which Jesus Christ has placed in our hands. The performance of our duty will certainly expose us to terrible tempests, but in this holy strife we will place our glory in suffering for the cross of Jesus Christ.

"Given at Rome, on the 22d of December, 1679."

Whilst appearing to have only the interests of religion in view, it was easy to perceive, that the pope thought only of re-establishing the omnipotence of the Holy See; it was also evident that Louis the Fourteenth, under pretext of maintaining the rights of his crown, wished to make himself master of the ecclesiastical benefices, make the clergy dependent on him, and use them to rule the people.

Innocent the Eleventh had already divined Louis the Fourteenth, and the latter had penetrated the secret hopes of the holy father; the struggle then commenced between royalty and the papacy.

Never had a prince governed his empire more despotically than Louis the Fourteenth, and been more entirely the master of his subjects; all, nobles, priests, and burghers were trampled like vile slaves beneath his feet, and the prince of Condé, to paint the subjection of the clergy, said, "that if the king should take a fancy to embrace protestanism, the priests would be the first to imitate him." Father la Chaise himself, the great nephew of Father Cotton, who had become in his turn confessor of the king, and who for fifteen years directed the conscience of Louis the Fourteenth, had joined in the views of the monarch concerning the regale, and, though a Jesuit, opposed the Holy See. Some historians

VOL. II.

2 S

accuse the good father of having contributed to inspire his august penitent with the desire to break entirely the yoke of the court of Rome, in order to have the list of livings in the king's gift at his disposal.

Instead of obeying the injunctions of the pope, Louis the Fourteenth assembled the principal prelates of the kingdom in council, in the palace of Monseigneur Marca, the metropolitan of Paris, and placed the matter before them. They who followed the lead of Father la Chaise, were careful not to contradict him, and confirmed the right of regale over all the churches of France. The archbishop of Paris even wrote a very badly digested work on the subject, called "The Agreement between the Priesthood and the Empire." Innocent the Eleventh immediately ordered his canonists to refute this book, and renewed his remonstrances to Louis the Fourteenth to abandon his pretensions to the regale. The monarch, finding himself sustained by the clergy, stood firm, refused to submit, and using as a pretext that the liberties of the Gallican church were in danger from the encroachments of the court of Rome, convened a national council to defend the rights of his crown.

Bossuet, the illustrious bishop of Meaux, who had been gained over to the cause of the king, opened the sitting in an extremely skilful discourse; he affected the most respectful deference for the Roman church, called it the mother, the nurse, the mistress of all the churches, insinuating, however, that it was necessary to examine the fundamental rights of civil power and religious authority. After five months of deliberations, the assembly published the four following propositions, which comprehended what is called, in our days, the liberties of the Gallican church:

1. "The pope and universal church have no authority, direct or indirect, over the temporal concerns of princes, and cannot depose sovereigns, nor free their subjects from the oath of fidelity.

2. "The authority of general councils is above that of the popes, as was decided in the fourth and fifth sessions of the council of Constance, a decision which the church of France recognises as universally approved of, and applicable even to times in which there is no schism.

3. "The authority of the see of Rome in matters of discipline, receives its force from the consent of the other churches, and the exercise of supreme ecclesiastical power should be regulated by the canons.

4. "On questions of faith, the decisions of the pope are not infallible; they only become so from the approval of the church."

These propositions, which were principally the work of Bossuet, were signed by eight archbishops, twenty-six bishops, and twenty-four deputies of the second order of the clergy. The king ordered them to be accepted and taught in all the universities, in the faculties of theology and the canon law, by a perpetual and irrevocable edict. Innocent the Eleventh

29

was so indignant at them, that he immediately assembled the sacred college, and pronounced in full consistory an excommunication against all the prelates who had assisted at the council, and caused the four propositions they had decreed, to be burned by the hand of the executioner. His holiness did not confine himself to that; comprehending that his powerless thunders would not intimidate the French clergy, he determined to create for himself defenders even in the ranks of his enemies, and to corrupt, instead of threatening.

In conformity with his instructions, the legate sought to reconcile himself with the Jansenists; he even made overtures to the theologian Arnaud, and to some other solitaires of Port Royal, and offered them the hat of a cardinal, if they would embrace the cause of the pope, and defend the omnipotence of the Holy See. Arnaud rejected the proposals of the legate, and wrote in favour of the maxims published by the French ecclesiastics. But some of the disciples of the abbot of St. Cyran proved to be better disposed, amongst others the monks Sfondrati and d'Aguierre; they were decorated with the Roman purple, gratified with rich benefices—and in exchange, they declaimed against the national council of 1682.

Louis the Fourteenth, on his side, distributed sees and abbey to the signers of the declaration, so as to prevent defections; and as his holiness refused to grant canonical institution to the proteges of the king, it resulted in the churches having pastors who could neither receive ordination, nor exercise any spiritual power. Thus the difference between the courts of Rome and France became every day more serious.

In England, things were also beginning to take a turn less favourable to the interests of the Holy See. The murmurs of the people and the representations of parliament had reminded Charles the Second that the head of his father had fallen beneath the axe of the executioner. The prince appeared to have abandoned his extravagant project of absolute monarchy, and of the restoration of papacy into the kingdom of Great Britain; he even affected a great desire to become popular, and married his niece to the prince of Orange. All this was but trick and knavery, and the discovery of the famous conspiracy of the papists exposed the infamy of the king to open day. This dark conspiracy, which counted among its members bishops, lords, the most influential personages of the court, the duke of York, the brother of the king, Catherine of Portugal, his wife, and the king himself, had as its end to re-establish Catholicism in England, massacre the Presbyterians, and overthrow the constitutional government, to substitute a despotism for it.

Charles the Second had joined the conspirators for this last purpose, and had reserved to himself the right to decide afterwards on the fitness of the measures to be taken to secure the triumph of papacy; his secret intention was to use the Catholics to overthrow

the parliament, and then to join the Presbyterians against the papists, so that, favoured by the troubles, he might cause himself to be recognised as an absolute king, that is to say, he counted on betraying at once the English people and the Catholics. But he had to deal with persons more skillful than himself, for the leaders of the conspiracy, whilst appearing submissive to his will, had determined to put him to death, and place his brother, the duke of York, on the throne.

The plot was on the eve of breaking out, when a Jesuit, named Titus Oates, one of the conspirators, yielding to the calls of conscience, went to a magistrate in London, Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, and revealed all that he knew to him. He declared, amongst other things, that the pope, regarding himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, in consequence of the heresy of the sovereign and people, had tacitly adjudged to himself the sovereignty of these two kingdoms, and had placed them in the hands of the Jesuits, as being the patrimony of St. Peter; that in consequence of this, Father Oliva, the general of their order, had been appointed legate by the Holy See; that several English Catholic lords had also been designated by the pontiff to fill the principal posts in the state; that Lord Arundel was to be created chancellor; Sir William Godolphin keeper of the privy seal; that Coleman, the secretary of the duke of York, was to be promoted to the secretaryship of state; Langhorne to the post of attorney general; Lord Bellasis to the dignity of generalissimo of the armies; Lord Petre to the rank of lieutenant general; and Lord Strafford to the post of treasurer.

He also revealed that the Jesuits, at the instigation of the conspirators, had formed a secret tribunal, in which it had been decided that the king of England, whom they designated by the name of the Black Bastard, was to be poisoned, for having married his niece to a heretic. He said that this decision had been communicated to Father la Chaise, the confessor of the king of France; that the latter had offered ten thousand pounds to Sir George Wakeman, physician to the queen, to take charge of this matter, and that the doctor had exacted fifteen thousand, which had been given him at once.

He also declared that the reverend fathers, fearful lest the doctor should not keep his promise, had employed four banditti, who were to poignard the king in his carriage the day he went to parliament, and that in case their blows should fail, two other conspirators, Gove and Pickering, were to fire on the king with silver balls; that the first had asked fifteen hundred pounds as his pay, and the second thirty thousand masses to ransom him from the flames of purgatory.

He added, that Coleman, the secretary of the duke of York, had in his hands the written order of the secret tribunal, concerning the plan of poisoning or stabbing the king; that he himself had been commissioned to

carry several letters for this end; that a bet of a hundred pounds had been made by several Jesuits in regard to the death of Charles the Second, some maintaining that the prince would not be in existence at the festival of Christmas; others maintaining that he could not be assassinated until after that period. He revealed also that the Catholics had planned to set fire to the four corners of London, and to do the same in the principal cities of the three kingdoms; that at a given signal, twenty thousand men were to leave Flanders, disembark in England, penetrate to London, and rain fire balls on the people, which they called the piquant pills of Tewksbury; that a general rising had been concerted in Ireland, and that, finally, the crown was to be solemnly offered to the duke of York, because they were assured he would not hesitate to take an oath to extirpate the protestant religion.

Several Jesuits denounced, by oaths, were arrested at once; Coleman, who had at first concealed himself, then surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and presented himself boldly before the magistrate, as if the high protection of the duke of York could guarantee him from every danger. The investigations of justice, however, took their course; Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who had been commissioned to take informations on this dark affair, acquitted himself of his duty with great zeal, made requisitions for all suspected persons, and seized them. Finally, he accidentally laid his hands upon a correspondence of the queen, the duke of York, and several Catholic lords, with the nuncio of the pope, who was residing at Brussels, and with the confessor of Louis the Fourteenth. As he was about to use these important letters, the court rid itself of him. His dead body was found one morning in a ditch near Primrose Hill, on the road from Hampstead, transfixed with his own sword, the whole of it in the wound, and presenting the singular circumstance that not a drop of blood had flowed from this horrid sore. It was suspected that his assassins had passed his sword through his body after he was dead, in order to create the suspicion of suicide; and this opinion was corroborated when they took off the dress of the victim, and discovered a livid and blueish mark around his neck, which proved that he had been strangled. The crime was evident; it remained to discover the guilty. William Bedloe, a captain of cavalry, one of the trusty friends of the papists, appeared before the council of inquiry, and made revelations. He declared that on the eve of the discovery of the dead body, he had been sent for to Somerset House, where Queen Catherine resided, where they showed him the unfortunate Godfrey lying strangled in a lower chamber of the palace, and that a domestic of Lord Bellasis had offered him four thousand pounds to carry it off.

The guilt of the queen was evident; the house of commons thought of accusing her; the lords alone rejected, with all their might,

the scandal of a judgment against the wife of their sovereign; Charles the Second was, however, compelled, in order to give satisfaction to public opinion, which began to threaten, to allow the trial of Coleman to proceed, and to join with him the priests Ireland, Pickering, and Gove; they were all four condemned to death, and sacrificed to the safety of the monarch. All, however, was not over in this matter. A goldsmith, named Miles Prance, a Roman Catholic, who had been denounced by Bedloe as one of the accomplices in the murder of Godfrey, indignant at seeing that the court permitted those who had obeyed its orders to be executed, made revelations in his turn; he declared that the crime had been committed in Somerset House, by Gerard and Kelly, Irish priests, assisted by Horace Hill, a lackey of the queen, Robert Green, who was employed in her chapel, and Henry Berry, a Swiss of the palace. All were tried, attainted and convicted of the assassination, and condemned to capital punishment. The provincial of the Jesuits, Whitebread, Fathers Fenwick, Gaven, Turner, and Harcourt, who were involved in the principal accusation, underwent the same punishment; George Wake-man the physician of the queen, was alone saved by the interference of Charles the Second himself, without any one having ever known what motive induced the monarch to use clemency towards a man who wished to poison him. The marquis of Strafford was also condemned as guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hung and quartered; by way of commutation, he had his head cut off. Finally, the parliament having inflicted judgment on all these wretches, talked of attacking the great culprits, and of bringing the duke of York and Queen Catherine of Portugal to judgment.

The king, who feared the consequences of such a proceeding, determined to dissolve the house of commons, which had been in existence for seventeen years, and to order new elections, hoping that it would be easy to corrupt the new delegates and to put an end to the prosecutions against those who had embarked in the plot of the papists. He judged ill; the members sent to the new parliament proved to be as incorruptible as their predecessors; they continued the inquiry commenced against the duke of York, passed a bill which excluded that prince from the throne of Great Britain, and decreed that in default of a direct heir, the king abdicating or dying, without children, the crown should devolve on the person whom the nation should judge most worthy of it. Parliament did not confine itself to this act of vigour; it passed the celebrated law called the *habeas corpus act*, which placed bounds on the power of the king, and took from him the right of imprisoning or hanging a citizen by the mere act of his will.

The duke of York, seeing the turn which things were taking, determined to retire to Scotland in order to tranquillize the fears of the English nation, and to attach the Scotch to his cause. The departure of the prince from the city of London gave birth to manifesta-

tions extremely disagreeable to him; his carriage was accompanied by the hootings of the populace, and his people were chased with stones.

On the other hand, public opinion declared for the duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles the Second. Two parties were now formed in England, the Whigs and the Tories; the former declared themselves to be the defenders of the national liberties; they received the name Whigs from an appellation by which the Presbyterians of Scotland were designated. The Tories, the partizans of royalty, maintained the privileges of the noble castes; they took their name from an English word which was used to designate a band of Irish robbers.

The struggle between these two parties became daily more lively and animated. The king determined to dissolve parliament a second time, and to convene a new house of commons in the city of Oxford. This new effort succeeded no better with Charles the Second than the preceding one had done. The members of the assembly opened their sitting amid cries of "No papacy! no slavery!" and that, notwithstanding the presence of the royal troops which guarded the approaches to the hall in which the deputies were.

The new house was still engaged with the interminable business of the popish plot. An Irishman named Fitz Harris made revelations of a new plot still more frightful than any of those which had been discovered, and offered to furnish proof that the duke of York and Queen Catherine had ordered the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, and had presided over the accomplishment of the crime.

Charles the Second, who had the same interests as his brother and wife in not awakening public attention to this matter, and who feared lest the parliament should attack him personally, hastened to have a warrant issued by the house of lords authorizing the arrest of Fitz Harris. The house of commons claimed the prisoner; declared that the cause should be tried at its bar; that if he had calumniated any one, it was right that the justification should be public; but that if the revelations of the accused were sustained by irrefutable proofs, it was necessary that the guilty should receive the punishment of their crime, and that the house of commons should attain them, even on the very steps of the throne.

This energetic declaration showed that the deputies would push the investigations to the utmost. Charles the Second dared not expose himself to the chances of the proceeding, and to put an end to the dispute he dissolved parliament, and determined never to convene another. From that moment he governed with despotic power, and, throwing off the mask, appeared in his true character—unjust, debauched, greedy, and cruel; he was always surrounded by spies and satellites; he took from the Presbyterians their offices and employments, and openly favoured the Episcopalians and Catholics, and deprived of its char-

ter the city of London, which had been for a long time at the head of the popular party.

Scotland was not treated better than England; the king sent troops into that country to bring the Presbyterians to reason. He enjoined on the inhabitants to give neither quarters nor food, nor a place of refuge to the non-conformist ministers or their partizans, and authorised the soldiers to pursue them to extremities, and to exterminate them to the last man. All the corporations and cities were forced to surrender their charters to Charles the Second; and those who preserved some privileges had to pay for them with weights of gold. For two years the nation appeared to be plunged in apathy; at last some courageous men determined to make an appeal to the national sentiment, to foment a revolution, and hurl Charles Stuart from the throne. The leaders of the conspiracy were the duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, the two republicans Essex and Algernon Sidney; an honourable citizen named John Hampden; Colonel Ramsay, an old republican officer; Lieutenant-colonel Wolcot, who held the same opinions; the under sheriff of London, Goodenough; Ferguson, a fiery Presbyterian; several lawyers and some rich merchants of the city. Unfortunately they were sold by a wretch named Reiling, and all paid with their heads for their generous devotion to their country, except Monmouth and Hampden, who were both banished.

Shortly afterwards, the king perceived himself attacked by a strange sickness which the physicians attributed to the effects of poison, and which had the character of an apoplectic attack. Public opinion accused the queen and the duke of York of this new crime. He languished for a week, and died on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

In France the religious reaction was felt more violently than even in England. The infamous Louis the Fourteenth, at the instigation of his confessor, Father la Chaise, and of Maintenon, his mistress, persecuted the protestants, excluded them from all the liberal professions, destroyed their churches, imprisoned their ministers, and compelled them to bring their children to the church and to subscribe a Catholic formula for them and their wives.

Rather than submit to these tyrannical and vexatious measures, a large number of the reformed determined to leave France; but the great king, who was not desirous of losing a part of his revenues, put a stop to this plan, garnished the frontiers with soldiers, and drove back the emigrants with blows, into the interior of the kingdom. Those Huguenots who dared to protest against this abuse of power were merely sent to the galleys of the king to serve the gracious monarch for the rest of their lives.

So much injustice finally exasperated their minds; the protestants of the southern provinces took up arms, and claimed the liberties and franchises guaranteed to them by

the edict of Nantz. Louis the Fourteenth replied to their just demands by inundating the country with dragoons and missionaries, the one commissioned to exterminate, the others to convert. Frightful massacres were organized in all the southern provinces, and the cities became the theatres of bloody executions, which recalled the atrocities of the St. Bartholomew. But these religious and military expeditions not producing the result which his majesty expected, the radical extirpation of Catholicism, the king ordered the bishops to assemble and bring a complaint before his throne against the obstinacy of the heretics, who had the audacity to wish to be neither converted nor murdered. As a consequence of the representations of his clergy, Louis the Fourteenth made the famous decree called the revocation of the edict of Nantz. The monarch declared all that had been done in the kingdom in favour of the reformed religion abolished for ever; he ordered the demolition of all the protestant temples that were still standing; he expressly prohibited the Huguenots from assembling in any public or private place; and he commanded all their ministers who refused to abjure their belief, to leave the kingdom in fifteen days after the publication of the edict.

Whilst excluding the preachers, his majesty prohibited the faithful from following their pastors, and from transporting out of France either their property or persons, under the penalty of the galleys for men, and the confiscation of their persons as well as property for females. "Notwithstanding the dangers they incurred of being arrested on the frontier, more than eight hundred thousand Huguenots," says the marquis de la Fare, "succeeded in emigrating, and of carrying into a foreign country their money and most precious objects. This was the more baneful for the country, since, independently of the capital which they took away from commerce, the land remained uncultivated in many parts of the country, in consequence of the departure of these intelligent and laborious men."

Although his holiness was at open war with the great king on the subject of the regale, he sent to him a letter of congratulations on the act of infamy he had accomplished, in revoking the edict of Nantz, which encouraged Louis the Fourteenth to persevere in this deplorable path. His majesty was soon not content with the execrable glory he had acquired of murdering his own subjects, he wished to hear of massacres in the states of his neighbours, and compelled Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, to exterminate the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, La Perouse, and St. Martin, commonly called the Vaudois, who professed the doctrines of Calvin.

The Piedmontese troops, united with the dragoons of the king of France, enveloped all the country and massacred more than twenty thousand Huguenots in the defiles of the mountains.

Louis the Fourteenth was not the only

prince who had declared himself the champion of Catholicism; the duke of York, having become king of England in defiance of the decree of parliament which excluded him from the throne, laboured openly to bring back Great Britain into the bosom of the church, and affected to go every Sunday to the chapel of his palace, clothed in the insignia of royalty, to assist at mass. He did more, he sent an ambassador to the court of Rome to demand officially from the holy father if he would receive the obedience of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He then published an edict of conscience, and abolished, of his own authority, the laws which had been before promulgated by parliament against the Catholics.

By his orders, Titus Oates, the Jesuit, who, during the reign of Charles the Second, had betrayed his companions and discovered the conspiracy of the papists, was arrested, thrown into prison, condemned as a perjurer to be whipped by the executioner, during the passage from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned for life, to stand in the pillory five times a year, and to pay a fine of twenty thousand marks of silver. This vengeance on a former accomplice served as a prelude to the bloody executions of which the Presbyterians were the victims.

The nation, which held in horror all that resembled papacy, then allowed its hatred for the king to break out, and appeared disposed to break the yoke. The duke of Monmouth, who since the last conspiracy had lived in retirement in Holland, partook of the general indignation, and determined to devote himself to wrest the crown from the brow of James the Second. He sent the earl of Argyle to Scotland to raise the country, whilst he himself prepared to make a descent on England. Argyle was unfortunately attacked by the royal troops before he had collected together more than two thousand men; he was defeated, taken prisoner, judged by a military commission, and beheaded on the public square of Edinburg. This check did not prevent Monmouth from throwing himself into the county of Dorset, at the head of his partisans. The popularity of his name was so great, and the hatred for the king such, that four days after his arrival his small troop was reinforced by three thousand men; he marched immediately on the city of Taunton, where reinforcements awaited him. There he took the title of king; but instead of using his time advantageously, and marching rapidly on London, he erred by remaining in those parts to receive puerile honours.

James the Second assembled troops in great haste, and sent them under the command of the earl of Feversham and Churchill to stop the progress of the rebels. The two armies met at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater. Monmouth, inspired by his high courage, wished to deserve the throne or lose his life in the first battle. At the head of a chosen troop he vigorously charged the royal in-

santry, threw its ranks into disorder, was bearing it down, and every thing was pre-saging victory to him, when his cavalry, commanded by Lord Grey, either from cowardice or treason on the part of its leader, fled at the first attack, and left the field of battle. Monmouth saw in a moment his lines outflanked by his enemies, who charged from all sides at once; he did not, however, give way until after a bloody combat of three hours. He fled more than twenty miles without stopping and almost alone; finally, his horse having fallen beneath him, he continued his way on foot, followed only by a German count. At night they slept on the ground, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, and covered themselves in the grass. On the next day they were discovered by their pursuers; the duke was arrested and conducted into the presence of James the Second, who wished to feast his eyes with the sight of a conquered enemy. He was then judged and condemned to death.

The day of the punishment having arrived, the intrepid Monmouth was led to the place where he was to be executed. During the passage he did not exhibit the slightest sign of alarm, and when he arrived at the foot of the scaffold he only besought the executioner to measure his blow well, so that he would not be obliged to strike twice, as had happened to Lord Russell. This recommendation produced so painful a sensation in the executioner, that he felt all his strength abandon him; he raised his axe, but his arm was so weak that the axe struck an uncertain blow, and only entered half an inch into his flesh. The duke raised his head and turned to him as if he would have reproached his want of skill, he then replaced it on the block; the executioner gave him two other blows, which only inflicted on him two new wounds; then, being beside himself, he cast down his axe to the ground and wished to fly, but the sheriff stopped him and compelled him to finish his ministerial duties; finally, two more blows separated the head from the trunk.

Terrible as had been the death of the young duke of Monmouth, it was not enough for the vengeance of the sanguinary James. After the leader came the turn of the soldiers, and all the rebels who had been made prisoners were pitilessly murdered. Colonel Kirke, the worthy slave of such a master, executed the royal will with incredible barbarity. This monster, joining irony to the most atrocious cruelty, massacred two hundred of these unfortunate men in a festive hall, whilst he was gorging himself with food and wine; as the victims were writhing in the convulsions of death, he said that the rebels appeared to be in a humour to dance, and ordered the trumpets of the regiment to play in honour of the king. This same Kirke dared to propose to a beautiful young girl who asked the pardon of her brother from him, to buy it at the price of her honour, and when the unfortunate child had consented to this infamous bargain, and accomplished her frightful sacrifice, he open-

ed a window and showed her the dead body of her brother hanging to a gibbet.

The military executions not proceeding fast enough for the impatient James the Second, he added a judicial commission to them, under the presidency of a hot Catholic named Jeffries. It is computed that this tribunal of blood tortured, burned, or beheaded, in one month, more victims than the troops of the king had murdered during the whole campaign. As a recompense for the zeal which the president of the commission had shown in the service of royalty, James made Jeffries the Catholic, Jeffries the executioner, a peer, declared him worthy to sit in the capacity of chancellor among those lords, the descendants of robbers and assassins, who composed the upper chamber, that scourge of England, the execration of the people and the shame of the human race.

From that moment it became evident to all, that James the Second wished to establish the papacy in Great Britain by violent means; courtiers openly abjured protestantism; the Jesuits built colleges in the provinces, bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel, in accordance with the ritual of the Roman church, and styled themselves apostolic vicars; from all quarters legions of priests and monks came in, and to see their audacity, it would really appear as if they came to take possession of England as of a conquered country. Before the danger to which the political and religious liberties of Great Britain were exposed, all parties ceased their quarrels and united against the common enemy; Whigs and Tories, Presbyterians and churchmen, concentrated all their hatred on the person of the king, and fomented a revolution, which led to the expulsion of the fanatical James the Second, and to the elevation of William of Orange, the stadtholder of the United Provinces, to the throne, by the name of William the Third.

This news affected the old pope very slightly; besides, his holiness not having any religious belief, it mattered little to him whether the Jesuits or the church of England men triumphed, since in no case would bring any profit to the Holy See, the one not being more disposed than the other to divide the treasures of Great Britain with him.

We should say, however, as an excuse for the indifference of Innocent the Eleventh, on the subject of the affairs of the church, that he was very much occupied in publishing sumptuary laws at Rome, and that all his attention was absorbed by the struggle in which he was engaged with a new sect of heretics, who threatened to pervert all Italy. The principal supporter of the heresy was a Spanish priest, named Michael Molinos, who had published several works, amongst others the *Spiritual Guide*, in which the maxims of the ancient and modern mystics were openly extolled, in order to lead the faithful into "the inner way," that is to say, into a state which consisted in thinking no longer of the material part of his being, so as to identify himself with God. According to the Spanish priest, when

one wished to enter into communion with God, he must abandon himself entirely to the Holy Spirit, annihilate himself before it, and not operate actively, neither in thought nor actions. He maintained that this annihilation of the moral faculties, was the return of the human soul toward its source, and the only means of communicating with the All Powerful; he affirmed that as soon as one was enabled to lose himself in the Divinity, he was really in "the inner way."

Molinos prohibited those who had attained to this state of quietude, from thinking either of future penalties or recompenses, of paradise or hell, of death or eternity; he was unwilling that the soul should preserve the recollection either of itself or of God. He added, that contemplation, consisting in remaining in one faith and a general adoration, it mattered little whether impure ideas were presented to the mind, that we should neither nourish nor reject them, but tolerate them with patience, so as not to depart from the state of quietude, which is nothing else than the most absolute resignation to the divine will; that if God permitted that the devil should use their bodies, in order to accomplish carnal actions with persons of the same sex, or of a different sex, they should be careful how they opposed Satan.

These singular doctrines concerning quietism were propagated rapidly, and found numerous adepts in France; Father Guilloiré wrote, amongst other extravagancies, "That blindness, the most profound and deep, insensibility, the hardest and most remote from all consolation, was the most holy situation in which the soul could be."

In another passage of his works he said, "That if God permitted the devil to seize on the body as well as on the imagination and the mind, we should permit him to lead us into all kinds of abominations; that the more horrible and confounding the temptation was, the more sublime was the abandonment; that the more impossible it was to save the purity of the soul and the chastity of the body, the more should we sink into prostration."

Innocent the Eleventh fulminated bulls of anathema against the Italian and French Quietists; he declared their doctrines to be heretical, suspicious, erroneous, outrageous, rash, blasphemous, tending to the entire relaxation and overthrow of the ecclesiastical discipline. But neither could the censures of the pontiff, nor the severities he displayed against Molinos and his adherents, arrest the progress of quietism, which gradually invaded the convents of men and women, and counted among its partizans a great number of abbots and the noblest ladies of the court, its doctrines favouring their tastes for debauchery.

His holiness did not otherwise disturb himself about quietism, and gave his attention to a subject to which he attached great importance, the abolition of the franchises of the ambassadors. The pope took advantage of the death of Marshal d'Estrées, the minister plenipotentiary of Louis the Fourteenth, at his

court, to seize on the palace of the embassy, and to decree that there no longer existed a French quarter in Rome. This step, to which most of the powers submitted, exasperated the imperious Louis the Fourteenth, who thought he saw in it an attempt on his dignity; he wrote at once to the holy father, that he demanded that things should be replaced on their former footing. Innocent was unwilling to revise his decision, and maintained, with reason, that the ambassadors abused their privileges in introducing merchandise and defrauding the apostolic treasury of its dues, and in giving an asylum to criminals in their palaces, and in bargaining with them for their protection.

Notwithstanding the wise representations of the pope, Louis the Fourteenth continued to demand the maintenance of the privileges which his ambassadors had enjoyed, and immediately sent the marquis Lavardin to take the post of the marshal d'Estrées at Rome, being careful to have him accompanied by eight hundred armed men. The latter presented himself at the gates of the holy city, accompanied by his formidable escort and his baggage, which was borne by fifty mules. On the remark of the officers of the customs that he could not enter until he had submitted to an examination, he replied insolently, that he would cut off the ears of the first man who was bold enough to lay hands upon the baggage which belonged to the ambassador of the king of France, and he made his entrance so well sustained by his cavalry, that it became impossible for the soldiers of the pope to dispute the right of asylum with him, not only for the palace of the embassy, but also for the adjacent streets. He placed guards at all the avenues of the quarter, with orders to fire on the troops of the Holy See, if they dared to approach his palace; on the next day he sent, by way of derision, to demand an audience of his holiness. Instead of admitting him into his presence, Innocent the Eleventh fulminated a terrible anathema against him; the marquis of Lavardin, as if to brave him, immediately went to the church of St. Louis, caused divine service to be celebrated in his presence, and solemnly communed.

Louis the Fourteenth did not content himself with approving of the conduct of his ambassador, he wished then to attack the pope in the exercise of his spiritual power. He declared, by an edict, that the bulls published in France by the court of Rome, concerning the franchises, were null and abusive; he caused the parliament of Paris to decree that a general council should be convened to judge Innocent the Eleventh; and the advocate general Talon, before the assembled great chamber and criminal court, in the name of all the subjects of the king, accused the pope of troubling Christendom, and declared that, Innocent not putting the concordat into execution, they were no longer obliged to conform to it in France.

"And, oh, strange thing," added the advocate general, "the head of the church, whose

chief care it should be to preserve the integrity of the faith, has not ceased, since he has been seated on the chair of St. Peter, to carry on intercourse with dangerous men, who have declared themselves the disciples of Jansenius, and whose doctrines his predecessors have condemned; he loads them with favours, he has openly praised them, he has declared himself their protector, even against kings; and this faction, which is subversive of all political and religious authority, which has not forgotten how, during thirty years, to sap slyly all spiritual and temporal powers which were not favourable to it, which wishes to substitute a republic for the throne, freedom of thought for the Christian faith, erect altars to the pope, because he sustains and foment the cabals. What would have become of the peace of the church, if the foresight and indefatigable cares of the great king, to whom he even gave birth, to be the defender and buckler of religion, had not stricken the heretics with the sword of his justice? A singular spectacle, given to the world by a prince whose piety, intelligence, and faith render him infallible, when the pontiff of Rome, the successor of the apostle, precipitates himself into the abyss of error. Thus, France, Europe, the Christian world, beseech by my mouth, the oldest son of the church, the descendant of St. Louis, to save the belief of our fathers, by using his power, not only to maintain the franchises in their full extent, but

also to put an end to the disorders which the vacancy of the bishoprics in the kingdom produces, to prohibit his subjects from sending any money to the court of Rome, and to overthrow the unworthy priest who soils the pontifical throne by his abominations." Louis the Fourteenth, who had thus decreed himself to be the supreme arbiter in his difference with Innocent the Eleventh, did not hesitate to follow the injunctions of the advocate general; he first seized on Avignon, confined the cardinal Ranucci, the apostolic nuncio at St. Oleron, and announced that he was about to appoint Monseigneur de Harley, archbishop of Paris, patriarch of France.

Although these threats were of a nature to inspire serious fears in the sovereign pontiff, he still persisted in his resistance, and was unwilling to listen to any arrangement, or any concession. If we should seek on what assistance he relied in daring to enter upon a strife with the most powerful monarch of Christendom, we will find that it was not on the hope of producing a reaction by his censures, nor on the authority of his apostolic power, nor on the zeal of Catholic princes for the interest of religion, but upon that general hatred which was beginning to be felt towards Louis the Fourteenth, and which was to be so fatal to France. Still, Innocent the Eleventh had not the satisfaction of seeing the defeat of his enemy; he died on the 12th of August, 1689, broken down by old age, and worn out by sickness.

ALEXANDER THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH POPE.

[A. D. 1689.]

Louis the Fourteenth purchases the suffrages of the cardinals, and causes the Venetian Peter Ottoboni, to be chosen pope—Indolence of the sovereign pontiff—His prodigality to the members of his family—Bull of the pope against the philosophical sin—Restitution of Avignon—Death of Alexander the Eighth.

AFTER the death of Innocent the Eleventh, the duke de Chaulnes, the French ambassador, who had been sent by Louis the Fourteenth to replace the marquis Lavardin, distributed more than three millions among the cardinal electors, and induced them to choose as pope, the Venetian Peter Ottoboni, one of the creatures of the monarch.

The new pontiff took the name of Alexander the Eighth; the authors of his time agree in saying that he was of an easy character, that he had agreeable manners, and that his only fault consisted in loving the table too much; rigourists reproach him with passing his nights in drinking, singing love songs of his own composition, and discoursing upon the excellence of atheism.

The first use which he made of his omnipotence, was to appoint his great nephew Ottoboni, cardinal padrone, who, it is main-

tained, was his bastard and minion; he gave him also the superintendence of the affairs of the church, the dignity of grand chancellor, and legate of Avignon, and conferred on him benefices which produced an annual revenue of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

After having enriched his grand nephew, the pope thought of the other members of his family, and distributed among them several millions which remained in the apostolic treasury on the death of Innocent the Eleventh. Antonio Ottoboni, his nephew, received for his share five hundred thousand crowns and the post of generalissimo of the troops of the church; he gave to his other nephew, Don Marco, a like sum, with the title of general of the galleys and duke of Fiano, which enabled him to marry a rich heiress of the Colonna family. Finally, he behaved so generously to the children of his brothers and

sisters, that in less than three weeks, he had emptied the treasury, exhausted the list of benefices, and loaded the Holy See with enormous engagements. A cardinal wished to remonstrate with him on the subject of his prodigalities, and to induce him to set bounds to his nepotism; but Alexander imposed silence on him and replied, alluding to his great age, "I have no time to lose; only twenty-three hours and a half remain for me."

During all his reign the holy father was occupied exclusively with enriching his family, and heaping honours on the cardinal padrone, his favourite. He showed the most perfect indifference for the affairs of the church, and the only acts which marked his passage across the chair of the apostle, were, first, a constitution against Jansenism, and the partizans of that doctrine, in which, according to Ligny, he gave an evident mark of his fallibility, by condemning the five propositions in the sense of Jansenius, for he attacked St. Augustine himself, and proved that the theories of that father concerning grace were the same as those of Port Royal. Doctor Gilbert also wrote on this subject: "We must separate the evangelical doctrine concerning the grace of Christ from the opinions of the head of the church, since Alexander the Eighth, by his constitution, has inflicted a wound on himself, of which the sore can never perhaps be cicatrized." He then published two bulls, the one concerning "Philosophical Sin," which was a thesis taught by the Jesuits, and which consisted in maintaining, "that man can commit condemnable actions without offending God, if he has no knowledge of the Divinity, or if he did not think of God whilst he was doing them." The second decretal of his holiness was in regard to the famous protest of Innocent the Eleventh on the regale. It was as follows:

"Wishing to walk in the footsteps of Innocent the Eleventh, our predecessor of bless-

ed memory, who disapproved of, annulled, and erased all that had been done in the matter of the regale, with all its consequences; wishing, moreover, to regard as well specified here the acts emanating from the assembly of 1682, as well in all that concerns the extension of the right of regale, as in that which touches the declaration concerning ecclesiastical power and the mandates, arrests, decrees, edicts, and ordinances of the clergy, the parliament and the king of France, we declare, after mature deliberation, and by virtue of the plenitude of our apostolic power, that all those things, and each of them, which have been done touching the extension of the right of regale, the declaration concerning the ecclesiastical power and four propositions that it contains, have been, are, and shall be of full right null, invalid, illusory, fully and entirely destitute of force and effect; that no one is bound to observe them, even though he may have taken an oath to do so; finally, we declare that they should be regarded as not in being, as never having existed, and we protest before God, against them of their nullity."

Alexander the Eighth dared not, however, promulgate this bull of anathema against the four propositions of the French clergy; he imitated the prudent reserve of one of his predecessors, shut up his protest in the archives of the Vatican, and put off the publication of it to a more favourable time. His hypocrisy succeeded admirably. The great king attributed the moderation of the pontiff to his gratitude, and to give him a brilliant proof of his satisfaction, restored to him Avignon and the Venaissin county.

Louis the Fourteenth was not long in repenting that he had made this restitution, for a few days afterwards he learned that the pope, on his death bed, had lanced a terrible bull against the regale. His holiness, Alexander the Eighth, died on the 30th of January, 1691.

INNOCENT THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1691.]

Vacancy in the Holy See—Election of Innocent the Twelfth—He publishes a bull against nepotism—Policy of the new pontiff—His holiness wishes to humble the pride of Louis the Fourteenth—The devout monarch submits to the Holy See—Cowardice of Louis the Fourteenth—Quarrel about quietism between Fenelon and Bossuet—History of Madame de la Mothe Guyon—Her singular doctrines—Her mystic loves—Bossuet causes this singular woman to be condemned—Bull against the book of "The Maxims of the Saints"—Fenelon is declared a heretic—Partiality of Louis the Fourteenth in the quarrel between Bossuet and Fenelon—The secular jubilee—Death of the pontiff—Reflections on the history of the church during the seventeenth century.

SUCH a division was manifested among the cardinals who were called upon to give a successor to the pontiff Alexander the Eighth, that for six entire months it was impossible

for one of the competitors for the chair of St. Peter to obtain a majority; at last, thanks to the millions of France, Antonio Pignatelli carried it over his rivals. Louis the Four-

teenth, notwithstanding the deception he had experienced in the case of Alexander the Eighth, persisted in his plan of wishing for a pontiff devoted to his interests, and spent as much as fifteen millions in purchasing the votes of the cardinals, and in inducing them to choose as pope, by the name of Innocent the Twelfth, Antonio Pignatelli, a wary, supple, and persevering old man, who had promised the French ambassador to approve of the regale without restrictions.

The holy father was originally from Naples, and sprung from an ancient family in farther Calabria; he had been successively vice legate of the duchy of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, governor of Viterba, nuncio at Florence, in Poland, and at Vienna, secretary to the congregation of bishops, master of the household to Clement the Tenth, bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna, metropolitan of Naples, and cardinal.

In the exercise of these different offices he had acquired a great experience in the government of the church, and had discovered that by abandoning the interests of the Holy See, to occupy themselves only with those of their families, the pontiffs had themselves sapped the bases on which the edifice of the papacy rested. He then determined to follow an entirely different system of conduct; he declared that he would extirpate the frightful nepotism which had outraged the people, and ruined the church for more than two centuries; he made all the members of the sacred college subscribe to a bull which took away all extraordinary distinctions from the nephews of popes, making it obligatory on cardinals, present and future, to confirm it by an oath at each new conclave, and on all the pontiffs to do the same.

In order to fortify, by example, the rule which he had prescribed, he gave neither benefice nor dignity to his relatives, who were numerous, and even prohibited them from coming to Rome. He made ordinances to reform the expenses of the apostolic chamber, and pushed his domestic economy so far as to prohibit his steward from spending more than a tester at his repast. He suppressed useless offices, as well as the pensions with which his predecessors had loaded the treasury, and which amounted to the enormous sum of two hundred millions of crowns.

After having introduced order into the civil administration, Innocent the Twelfth wished to make reforms in the organization of the regular and secular clergy; but there he met with such resistance, that he dared not touch the ancient order of things, and was constrained to leave his work of political and religious regeneration incomplete. All his efforts, all his perseverance, were foiled by the obstinacy of the religious congregations, and he was obliged to tolerate, as of old, the irregularities of monks and nuns, and the shameful disorders of the princes of the church and the Roman ecclesiastics.

In his political controversies with foreign powers, he was more successful than in his endeavours with the monks; notwithstanding

the promises which he had made to Louis the Fourteenth concerning the regale, he knew how to induce that proud monarch to restore to him his promise, and to submit to his wishes. The skilful pontiff used, to secure his ends, Father la Chaise, the confessor of the king, and Maintenon, who was united by a secret marriage to Louis the Fourteenth. Both inspired the royal devotee with religious terrors on the subject of the regale, and obtained from him an edict, which enjoined on the ecclesiastics of the kingdom to send to the court of Rome a retraction of the decisions which they had made by his order, and induced them to declare, in testimony of their repentance, that they regarded their own decrees as null and culpable, and that they swore a passive and absolute obedience to the Holy See. As his share, the cowardly despot wrote the following letter:

"Most holy father, I experience a great joy, in seeing all that your holiness has accomplished for the good of the church, and the advancement of our most holy religion, which redoubles my filial respect for your person; thus I seek to inform you, by the strongest proofs I can give, how sincere is my submission to the Holy See. I have published the necessary decrees, to prevent the things contained in my edict of 1682, touching the declaration made by the clergy of France, from being observed for the future. I desire, that not only may your holiness be informed of my docility to your orders, but that all Europe may know, by this brilliant mark of my submission, how much I venerate your great qualities. I do not doubt that your beatitude responds to the affection I bear to you, by every demonstration of your paternal pity; and that God may preserve your holiness many happy years, is the wish, most holy father, of your most devoted son, Louis, fourteenth of the name, king of France and Navarre."

If this letter were not entirely from the hand of Louis the Fourteenth, we might think that it was written by Tartufo, under the dictation of Escobar, so shamelessly does the great king sport with truth, good faith, and reason.

Thus terminated the affair of the regale, for which France had been in incessant hostilities with the Holy See for eleven years.

As soon as Innocent the Twelfth had obtained this triumph, he detached himself at once from the league formed against France, and broke abruptly with the empire and Spain; he even protested against the investitures of some fiefs comprised in the states of the church, which had been conferred by Leopold, and published through the camerlingue* a decree, in which he declared, by virtue of the plenitude of his power, that the revenues of the fiefs included in the provinces of the Holy See, should be reunited to the apostolic treasury. The ambassadors, Martinitz and Lambez, protested in vain against

* A high officer of the Roman court.

this abuse of power; the pope persisted in his pretensions, and separated violently from his old ally, leading into his defection some princes of Italy and the duke of Savoy.

Some historians give it as an opinion, that the sovereign pontiff, in joining the party of France, did not follow his own judgment, but that of the Jesuits; that he yielded in this to the fears which the good fathers inspired in him concerning his existence. They produce, in support of this assertion, the bulls which the holy father fulminated against Jansenism, and especially against the disciples of Anthony Arnaud.

This celebrated doctor, after having for a long time combatted the despotism of kings, the absolutism of popes, and the corrupting morality of the Jesuits, had taken refuge in the Low Countries, to escape from the tyranny of Louis the Fourteenth; and he, whose nephew had been a minister of state, and who had himself refused to be a cardinal, lived in an obscure retreat, without fortune and without servants. He had to console him in his exile only Nicholas, one of his old companions at Port Royal, to whom he made this beautiful reply, when the latter was discouraged, and sought to persuade him that it was time for them to take some repose. "We repose! when mankind is suffering! and shall we not have all eternity in which to repose?" This formidable adversary of the oppressors of the people remained in the breach until the last. His great soul sustained him in the midst of trials and adversities, gave an extraordinary vigour to a body apparently weak and delicate, and permitted him to continue his admirable labours unto extreme old age.

"Finally, after a career so stormy and unfortunate," says Voltaire, "according to the ideas of those who place misfortune in exile and poverty, without considering the glory, the friends, and the active old age, which were the lot of this famous man," Arnaud saw death approaching without alarm and weakness, and he expired in the arms of Father Quesnel, at Brussels, on the 8th of August, 1694, aged eighty-three years. He was buried in the sanctuary of the church of St. Catherine.

As nothing about so extraordinary a man can be matter of indifference, we transcribe a portrait which one of his disciples has left us of him. "The exterior of Arnaud," says he, "was not prepossessing; he was short, and his head was of a disproportionate size; his countenance would even have announced stupidity, had it not been for the brightness of his eyes, which revealed the fire of his genius. This doctor, so terrible with his pen in his hand, was the best of men among his intimates and in the world, whither he carried simple and mild manners. His conversation was grave and reflective, without excluding a proper gaiety; his memory was prodigious, and furnished him always, at the proper moment, with the most striking passages that authors had used on the subject of the conversation. He thoroughly under-

stood the Latin poets; he was not only profound in theology, in the knowledge of scripture, in ecclesiastical science, but he was also versed in dialectics, geometry, grammar, and rhetoric. He wrote about one hundred volumes in different forms, of which several were done in connection with Pascal, Nicholas, and Lamy, besides the correspondence which he carried on all his life with the learned in Italy, Germany, and France. The place of his burial was for a long time unknown, but his heart was carried to Port Royal, and from thence to Palaiseau. The most illustrious poets made epitaphs on him; and Boileau was not afraid to displease Louis the Fourteenth, by consecrating verses to the memory of the great Arnaud. His death took from the partizans of Jansenius the most skilful defender they ever had, and the Jesuits were freed from the most formidable of their adversaries.

The bulls of Innocent the Twelfth came in very good season to revive the old quarrels of the Molinists and Jansenists, and to assure the triumph of the Jesuits. Very fortunately the censures did not produce a great effect upon the minds of men, the attention being then captivated by the reappearance of quietism, and the discussions between the celebrated Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, and the illustrious Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who had declared themselves to be, the one the defender, the other the persecutor of, the new doctrines concerning pure love.

Among its most ardent propagators, this sect counted a Barnabite monk, called Father Lacombe and a young woman, his penitent, named Jeanne Bouvier de la Mothe Guyon. This woman, who has become celebrated as much for the singularity of her life, as for the strangeness of her doctrines, was the daughter of Claude Bouvier, the lord of la Mothe-Vergonville, the master of requests. Her parents placed her, when very young, in a convent of Montargis to be educated, and took her from it when twelve years old. Having become a young girl, Jeanne showed an irresistible desire for an ascetic life, and was desirous of becoming a nun of the Visitation. Her father strongly opposed this plan, and seeing no other means of combatting the exaltation of his daughter but marriage, he married her to a rich inhabitant of the province named Jacques Guyon.

From this union five children were born in twelve years. Jeanne Guyon was about to give birth to a daughter, who was afterwards duchess of Sully, when her husband died. She was then twenty-eight years old, beautiful, rich, full of grace, and spirit. It was then that she entered, by letter, into intercourse with Father Lacombe, the Barnabite monk, whose convent was situated near to Thonon, in the Chablais, and whom she had before seen at Paris. She confided to him her most secret thoughts, and asked his advice for the direction of her conscience. Two days afterwards the Barnabite replied to her, that he had prayed to obtain from God a perfect know-

ledge of the mysteries of her ardent soul. That Jesus Christ had appeared to him, and revealed to him that he destined her for an extraordinary ministry.

Jeanne Guyon wished to place herself at once in a condition to fulfil this holy mission to which God called her. She chose preceptors for her children; abandoned her guardianship, which was of great consequence; only reserved a moderate pension from her own property, and came to place her heart and her existence at the disposal of Father Lacombe, to be used by him according to the designs of Providence. This monk professed the most subtle and most refined mysticism, and, say the antagonists of quietism, he governed his devotees absolutely, by abusing the system of spirituality, which caused external acts to be regarded as indifferent, and sins as salutary proofs to tame our pride, and acquire for us inward perfection. It is even pretended that he attached his penitents doubly to him, by the charms of his doctrine, and the enjoyments without remorse which he permitted them.

Father Lacombe left his convent and accompanied the beautiful Jeanne into the diocese of Geneva, where they taught; but the bishop, scandalised by the strangeness of their doctrines, interdicted Father Lacombe, and drove him and his penitent from his diocese. They then retired to the city of Grenoble, where Jeanne Guyon published, with the approval of the clergy of the province, "The Short and Easy Way to Pray," and the Barnabite his "Analysis of Mental Prayer."

In these works the two Quietists developed their principles of the necessity of self-annihilation, even to complete inaction, in order to allow God to operate alone; they explained that the inner way admits of neither light, nor love, nor desire; they maintained that in prayer the faithful could pass even from the knowledge of God; that they ought never to think of chastisement, nor recompense, nor death, nor life, nor of eternity, nor of the saints, nor of the Virgin, nor of the humanity of Christ, nor of the attributes of God.

Besides her work on "The Short and Easy Way to Pray," Jeanne Guyon published "The Canticle of Canticles, explained according to the true, mystic sense;" and a third work, called "The Rule of the Associates of the Infancy of Jesus and the Torrents."

This last publication is unquestionably the most remarkable, on account of the singularity of the doctrines, and the extravagance of the opinions contained in it. Among other things, she explains, "that God sometimes hates a soul perfect in every gift, in every grace, in every virtue, and that for ever; that the fidelity of this soul then consists in allowing itself to be buried and crushed, in suffering its stench, and permitting itself to grow putrid in the full extent of the will of God, without even seeking to shun the corruption; that it ought to have no more consciousness, to confess without repentance, and to commune as if going to dinner; that it should be happy in finding itself a cause of horror to

others, and forgotten by God, who leaves it to be spoiled in its rottenness. She affirmed that this absolute abandonment was the most sublime state into which grace could elevate the soul; that the Quietists then experienced infinite joys, and had visions which could not be recounted to the profane, from fear of soiling the imagination, though they left the mind pure, and entirely occupied with mystic thoughts."

Jeanne Guyon maintained that she had reached a point of perfection so sublime, that she saw clearly into the depths of souls, and exercised over them, as well as over the body, a miraculous authority. In her extacies, she said, she was filled with graces for herself and others; that she ran a danger of suffocating, and ordered them to relieve her by unlacing her stays. Sometimes she made the assistants merely seat themselves, in silence, by her side, and she affirmed, that from the divine reservoir of her heart there was an overflowing which mildly relieved her; and that her acolytes, children of wisdom, received from their mother the measure of aliment which was necessary for each of them.

Finally, after five years of career and adventures, of success and reverses, Father Lacombe and his beautiful penitent finished what they called their mission, and returned to Paris, where the archbishop, thinking that he found a conformity between their doctrines and the errors of Molinos, which were condemned by the Holy See, wished to put an end to their preaching, and sent Father Lacombe to the bastille and confined Jeanne Guyon in the convent of the Daughters of Visitation, in the faubourg St. Antoine, to do penance there. But it turned out, that instead of being converted, and yielding to the pious exhortations of the nuns of the Visitation, it was the new recluse who led all her companions into the doctrines of pure disinterested love.

The cousin of Jeanne Guyon, Madame de la Maisonfort, who had been placed by la Maintenon at St. Cyr, to finish the education of the young boarders there, became enthusiastic in the cause of her relative, and spoke of her at court as of a persecuted saint. The dutchesses of Bethune, Beauvilices, Chevreuse, and Mortemart, became ardent Quietists, and Jeanne Guyon was soon the fashion.

Through the interference of her new protectresses, the beautiful Jeanne was set at liberty, and even obtained the distinguished favour of being presented to Madame de Maintenon. Her misfortunes, her resignation, her enchanting eloquence when she spoke of God, her remarkable beauty, rendered her interesting in the eyes of the favourite, and procured for her her friendship. She was admitted to the intimacy of the king, and soon counted among her spiritual daughters all the noble pupils at St. Cyr.

It was in this house that she met Fenelon, and that the liaison between the ardent Quietist and the tender abbot commenced. "The latter, for a long time addicted to a refined spiritualism," says St. Simon, "tasted the doc-

trines of Jeanne, and affirmed to la Maintenon, that the Quietist was the most sublime of saints. It was thus that he became the director of the distinguished sheep of the small flock which Jeanne Guyon had collected; affecting, however, not to conduct them but under the direction of that prophetess who was introduced into the conscience of these gentle maids. She also made constant visits to Paris, to the house of Monseigneur the duke of Burgundy himself, where she gave instructions to her faithful companions Madame de Morstein, the countess de Guiche, and other noble dames who left the court to come to profit by the manna which she spread in the desert of their souls."

An event was about to trouble the little flock; Fenelon was appointed to the archbishopric of Cambray. All the Quietists exclaimed, for it was the see of Paris they wanted for their director, and not that of Cambray, which they regarded with contempt as a country diocese. The archbishopric of Paris would have placed Fenelon at the head of the clergy, in a place of immediate and durable confidence, would have obliged every one to account to him, and would have placed him in a situation to dare every thing for Jeanne Guyon and her doctrine, which was propagating with extreme rapidity. Mysterious, however, as were the meetings of the adepts, the Jesuits were enabled to penetrate the secret of them; they were alarmed by the number and quality of the disciples of the Quietist; they attacked her works, and sought to raise scruples in the conscience of Louis the Fourteenth; they succeeded. The great king, fearful of having yielded to culpable suggestions, in protecting a woman accused of quietism, desired Father Bourdaloue to examine her doctrines; and in accordance with the opinions of the preacher, informed her that she must put an end to her visits to St. Cyr.

Madame de Maintenon wrote to Jeanne Guyon, that she had better, for her own safety, quit Paris and retire to some village, taking care not to discover the place of her retreat to any one; the poor persecuted obeyed, and sought to hide herself from attention and be forgotten; but it was too late. Public attention was awakened by the Jesuits, and they, holding it a point of honour to show their power over the mind of the king, resolved to destroy her. They first circulated a kind of confession, attributed to Father Lacombe, and in which the Barnabite asked pardon of God and men, for having fallen with his beautiful penitent into the excesses and misery of a frightful immorality; for having been precipitated by an impulse of madness and fury into disorders which the law prohibits, without, however, having had any intention of doing evil, and only because he persuaded himself that God exacted from him to accomplish all these abominations, although he had foreseen the terrible consequences of them. The good fathers then adroitly spread the most calumnious allegations concerning Jeanne, gave credit to suspicions the most derogatory to her

honour, and sought to create the impression, that she concealed herself from fear of being unmasked before all.

Jeanne Guyon, advised by Fenelon of the outrageous accusations brought against her, determined to leave her retreat and demanded to be judged, herself and her writings, by a commission composed of an equal number of ecclesiastics and laymen. Her request was granted; the king appointed a commission composed of three ecclesiastical judges, Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, Monseigneur de Noailles, bishop of Chalons, and Tronson, the superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice; but he refused to join three laymen to them. Jeanne only obtained, through the influence of Madame de Maintenon, that Fenelon, who was not yet installed in the archbishopric of Cambray, should be admitted into the commission.

The four prelates held their meetings in the village of Issy, from which they were called the conferences of Issy." At the first meeting, Bossuet avowed that he understood very imperfectly the mystic works of the accused, and asked Fenelon to make extracts from them. The latter complied with the invitation, in the hope of being useful to his friend, and of making her innocence triumph.

Unfortunately, to prevent the judgment which might be rendered, the metropolitan of Paris, at the instigation of the Jesuits, claimed the right of deciding alone on a cause which was tried in his diocese; and before the prelates had had time to form an opinion on the doctrines of Jeanne Guyon, he published a mandement, in which he condemned the celebrated Quietist, as teaching false propositions, tending to heresy, contrary to the word of God, capable of scandalising the faithful, and of offending pious ears. What is the most remarkable in this censure is, that it was pronounced by a prelate who knew nothing of the books which he anathematised, nor of any of the works on piety which appeared.

The commissioners of Issy being unable to give the cause to Jeanne Guyon, against the archbishop, also condemned her; they proceeded, however, with more circumspection, and instead of censuring the books which were submitted to their examination, they composed thirty-four articles, diametrically opposed to the opinions taught by the Quietists, presented them to Jeanne, and induced her to subscribe to them. She signed, moreover, the pastoral instructions, which were published in support of the anti-mystic articles, and made an authentic abjuration of her pretended apostleship.

This submission procured for her a favourable certificate from Bossuet, attesting her innocence and her orthodoxy. But she soon allowed herself to be drawn on by her inspirations, and recommenced propagating the doctrines of quietism. The Jesuits immediately demanded a letter de cachet from the king, and she was conducted to Vincennes and thence to the bastille.

Bossuet then produced a book, called

"States of Prayer," in which he censured severely the celebrated Quietist. He wanted Fenelon to approve of it, which he refused to do, under the very honourable excuse, that he had promised to condemn the errors of Jeanne Guyon, and not her person. The archbishop of Cambray even announced to his colleague, that he should have no scruples, on every occasion, of testifying his esteem for this woman; that he would never denounce to the church as worthy of fire, her, who had committed no other wrong in his eyes, than that of not having explained herself in a sufficiently lucid manner, and whose religious sentiments he well knew. The virtuous prelate did not confine himself to this protest in favour of his old friend; he resolved to operate actively with Monseigneur de Noailles, who had been recently promoted to the archbishopric of Paris; he paid him several visits, and obtained from him an order for the release of Jeanne from the bastille, and her admission into a religious house of Vaurigard. He did still more, he undertook a justification of the doctrines of the poor recluse, and published the remarkable book, called "An Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints on the Inward Life."

Bossuet replied to him, attacked his work without circumspection, denounced it to public opinion as a concealed apology for quietism, a repetition of the writings of Jeanne Guyon, and called the archbishop of Cambray the new Montan of a second Priscilla.

Fenelon answered his adversary, complained bitterly that the bishop of Meaux had made him dream with his eyes open, and had lent him reasons which he had never held. The theological discussions soon degenerated into true disputes, and both prelates calumniated each other. To stop the scandal, Father la Chaise interfered, sided with the archbishop of Cambray, and declared that his antagonist had passed the bounds of propriety, and showed an irritation which was entirely contrary to the precepts of apostolical charity.

Bossuet, furious at the triumph of Fenelon, cast himself at the feet of the king, asked his pardon for not having sooner denounced the abominable doctrines of the new Molinists, and accused the archbishop of Cambray of favouring the heresy of the Quietists. This time the bishop of Meaux prevailed over his adversary, thanks to the support of Maitenon, who would not pardon Fenelon for his opposition to the publication of her secret marriage with Louis the Fourteenth. His majesty, after having listened favourably to Bossuet, wrote to the court of Rome to procure the condemnation of the book of "The Maxims of the Saints."

Notwithstanding the urgency of the monarch, his holiness manifested a great repugnance to persecuting a bishop, who had always proved himself to be one of the most zealous defenders of pontifical infallibility and omnipotence; and whilst yielding to the wishes of Louis the Fourteenth, he proceeded with extreme mildness, in hopes that the king, who was already sixty years old, and who was

worn out by debauchery, would die in the mean time. He appointed to examine the work two commissions, which held, the one twelve conferences, and the second twenty-one, without deciding upon any thing; a third commission employed fifty-two sessions in determining on the censurable propositions in "The Maxims of the Saints," and thirty-seven in deliberating on the mode in which his holiness should censure them.

Whilst this affair was occupying the Roman theologians, they were proceeding in France to an information against Father Lacombe, who was detained in the castle of Vincennes, and whom they constrained by torture to sign a writing, in which he exhorted Jeanne Guyon to repent of her guilty intimacy with him and the archbishop of Cambray.

This confession, wrested from the poor monk, who had already become crazy from the bad treatment to which he had been submitted, was scandalously circulated in Paris, in order to cast infamy on Fenelon and the unfortunate Jeanne. It was in vain that the prelate protested against such an act, and demanded justice on his calumniators, in a letter which he sent by another prelate to Louis the Fourteenth. His majesty, instead of giving the slightest satisfaction to the archbishop of Cambray, broke out against the ambassador, called Fenelon a fanatical protector of vice, and Jeanne a corrupt extravagant, and announced that he was about to punish the two culprits. In fact, on the next day, the archbishop received an order of exile from the gracious monarch, and Madame de la Mothe Guyon was again plunged into the dungeons of the bastille. This celebrated woman remained there a whole year, and only left them to be exiled to one of the estates of her eldest son, where she lived for fifteen years in the practice of the most edifying virtues. Father Lacombe was transferred from Vincennes to Charenton, where he died a lunatic.

The bull of the holy father finally arrived from Rome, in which were condemned twenty-three propositions from the book of "The Maxims of the Saints." The archbishop of Cambray, who was already confined to his diocese, and did not wish to make his position worse, submitted to the ecclesiastical censures. Thus terminated the quarrel between the two most illustrious prelates of the seventeenth century, Fenelon and Bossuet.

The secular jubilee then opened, and the gold of the people was engulfed in the apostolic treasury; but Innocent the Twelfth had not the joy of contemplating the wealth which accumulated in the cellars of the Vatican; a slow fever, which weakened him for several months, carried him off on the 18th of September, 1700.

During the seventeenth century we have seen the pontiffs of Rome consume themselves in powerless efforts to dispute with kings, the prerogatives of their omnipotence, and become reduced, in order to escape from their nothingness, to excite theological quarrels, in order to give birth to heresies, and

even to encourage direct attacks against religion, thus preferring sarcasm and strife to the indifference and forgetfulness of men. In the eighteenth century we will see the proud successors of the apostle crushed by a legion of

sublime genuisses, and France finally break the double chains of superstition and despotism, sap the foundations of the papal colossus, break the sceptres of kings, and make a giant stride towards the conquest of liberty.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CLEMENT THE ELEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST POPE.

State of the church in the eighteenth century—Election of Clement the Eleventh—The history of the pope before his exaltation—He recognises the son of James the Second as king of England—He foments the divisions caused by the succession of Spain—He wishes to seize the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily—Death of the abbe de Rancé, the reformer of the Trappists—Quarrels between the Jansenists and Molinists on cases of conscience—Inundation and earthquake at Rome—The pope extorts money from France—Crusade against the Quesnellists—The Chinese worship is condemned at Rome—Death of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux—Bull Viream Domini—Universal jubilee—The pope, after having declared for France in the war of the succession, joins the Empire—Knavery of Clement the Eleventh—Destruction of Port Royal des Champs—Assassination of the cardinal de Tournon by the Jesuits—Bull Unigenitus—Cabals of Father Tellier to have the bull received in the kingdom—Protest of the cardinal de Noailles and the French bishops against the constitution Unigenitus—Fenelon adheres to the bull—His death—Singular discovery of the antichristian belief of Fenelon—The Jesuit Tellier is driven from court by the duke of Orleans, the regent of France—Dispute between the Holy See and Savoy concerning the monarchy of Sicily—The abbe Alberoni and the Duke de Vendome—Alberoni becomes the minister of Philip the Fifth, king of Spain—Quarrel between Clement the Eleventh and Alberoni—The latter extorts from the pope the hat of a cardinal—The abbe Dubois, the confidant and minister of the regent of France, endeavours to have bull "Unigenitus" received, in order to obtain the Roman purple—Letter of his holiness to the duke of Orleans—Bull "Pastoralis Officii"—The tribunal of the inquisition at Rome condemns the pastoral instruction of the archbishop of Paris—New disputes between Clement the Eleventh and Cardinal Alberoni—The pope causes the minister to be exiled from the Spanish dominions—His holiness makes efforts to unite the Russian to the Roman church—The Czar Peter the Great makes his buffoon pope, and marries him in public with grotesque ceremonies—Death of Clement the Eleventh.

WE are entering upon the eighteenth century, that is to say, on a period in which we shall see the sacerdotal influence annihilated, and the reason of mankind develop itself in a prodigious manner. Until now, man was wandering in the midst of thick darkness, the truth appeared to him but as a doubtful light in a morbid atmosphere; in the eighteenth century philosophy enlightens the minds of all, and mankind reconquers its rights.

How can the vessel of St. Peter, accustomed to sail in a dark and muddy sea, float in the ocean of light which covered the world? How can the papacy resist the formidable attacks of adversaries sworn to annihilate it, those terrible encyclopedists, those fathers of modern philosophy? The explanation of it is simple; the popes, finding themselves outflanked by the progress of the age, formed a connection with kings, made common cause with them, sought more than ever to prop the spiritual authority by material power, and marched to a sacrilegious crusade against the nations, sustained by the despots, and a cohort of Jesuits, priests, monks, nobles, and all that infernal brood which devours the substance

of the people, and consumes the fruits of the earth in shameful idleness.

In the conclave which, as usual, was held at Rome, after the obsequies of Innocent the Twelfth, to proceed to the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals chose, as the most capable of steering the ship of St. Peter in the stormy times in which the church was, the cardinal John Francis Albani, aged only fifty years, and one of the youngest members of the sacred college, and proclaimed him pope by the name of Clement the Eleventh.

The new head of the church was descended from a noble family of Urbino; he had before filled the post of referendary, counsellor of the consistory, governor of Rieti, Civita Vecchia, and Sabino, and had, finally, been raised to the cardinalate by his predecessor. Having but just seated himself on the pontifical throne, he was employed with the ceremonies which take place at the close of each jubilee, and which are called "shutting the holy door;" he then took the reins of government in hand and placed himself as the arbiter of the destinies of Europe.

He addressed a brief to James the Second,

the dethroned king of Great Britain, who had come to France to hide his shame, to console him in his exile, and to announce to him in the name of God, that he would return in triumph to London with an escort of Jesuits; a prediction which, most happily for England, was not realised. Some months afterwards, the infamous James the Second surrendered his soul to the devil in the castle of St. Germain en Laye, and made this singular exhortation to the prince of Wales his son, whose legitimacy was more than suspected: "Remember, my son, that if you ever remount the throne, we owe all to the pope and the Jesuits; spare no means to re-establish the Catholic religion in your kingdom; burn, sack, murder, and remember that is better to gain heaven than to merit the blessings of the people." The young prince promised to follow these instructions faithfully; immediately after the death of his father, he took the name of James the Third, and styled himself king of Great Britain, a title by which two or three valets, attached to his person, and the apostolic nuncio, saluted him.

The solicitude of Clement the Eleventh for the Stuarts, had only regard to the interests of the Holy See; for the pontiff did not believe they could ever be reinstated on the throne of Great Britain, and he appeared so ardent in maintaining their interests only to excite disturbances in the three kingdoms, and call off the attention of the powers to that quarter, whilst he was preparing to seize Sicily, or the Milanese, or even the kingdom of Naples, which excited his covetousness.

These reasons of high policy determined him to pronounce secretly in favour of France, which had accepted the succession of Spain for Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, whilst remaining ostensibly a careless spectator of the long and bloody wars which the houses of Austria and Bourbon were waging. It was the intention of his holiness to preserve, as far as he could, an absolute neutrality, and not to recognise either Philip the Fifth or the archduke Charles as the lawful king of Spain, until the fate of arms had made the balance incline to one side or the other. But circumstances forced him, almost from the commencement of hostilities, to abandon the prudent line of conduct he had marked out. Alarmed by the rapidity of the march of the French armies, which had already invaded the Milanese, he thought that victory would remain constant to the generals of Louis the Fourteenth, and he hastened to declare that he regarded the wishes of the dead king of Spain as obligatory, and informed the belligerent powers that he would employ all the force of his authority to protect its execution in all that concerned the states of the Spanish peninsula.

He then put his frontier places in a state of defence, and levied an army to protect the ecclesiastical states, in case that through a reverse of fortune he should have to dread the vengeance of Austria. He sent a brief to the emperor to induce him not to choose Italy as

the theatre of the war, or at least to spare the patrimony of St. Peter. But all his exhortations produced no effect; Prince Eugene entered the Milanese, restored the affairs of the archduke, made the pope tremble even in Rome, and compelled him to return to his former declarations.

If the sovereign pontiff appeared to be undecided in the political questions which were agitated around him, by way of compensation, he decided boldly in the theological quarrels, which had sprung up anew between the Molinists and Jansenists, on the occasion of a letter published by the abbe de Rancé, the reformer of the abbey of la Trappe, a fanatical debauchee, who, in despair at having lost the dutchess of Montbazou, his mistress, had renounced the world and retired to a solitude, to practise there the austerities of the first anchorites of the Thebaide. Before his retreat Rancé had entertained the ideas of the Jansenists, and following their example had condemned the pontifical omnipotence, the institution of the Jesuits, and the tyranny of kings: he had even declared himself a partizan of republican doctrines as being the application of the doctrine of fraternity preached by Christ. As soon as the cowl had re-covered his head, he prostrated himself before the papal infallibility, and on the death of Arnaud, the illustrious leader of the Jansenists, dared to write to the abbot Nicaise: "The great Arnaud is dead at last; after having pushed his career as far as he could, it has terminated. However they may talk, the question is settled; his condition and his authority were a great weight for his party. Blessed is he who has no other than Jesus . . ."

This reflection, which appeared to be a blame cast on the Jesuits, induced an energetic reply on the part of Father Quesnel, who was considered by his party as the successor of Arnaud, and who continued the work of propagation, although forced to conceal himself, and remain hidden in the environs of Brussels. Rancé replied, that he had not wished to condemn his old friends, that his intentions had been misinterpreted. The Jansenists were not satisfied, and demanded a formal retraction. The reformer of la Trappe answered as tartly, and the dispute became daily more embittered up to the time of his death.

As soon as Rancé had closed his eyes, the Molinists published an apocryphal letter attributed to the Trappists, which was extremely violent against the followers of the bishop of Ypres, and renewed their attacks against the five propositions. Father Quesnel, instead of replying, made use of the trick of a priest to surprise and conquer his adversaries; he imagined this case of conscience. He supposed the case of a provincial confessor, who, undecided as to the manner of behaving toward an ecclesiastic whose orthodoxy he suspected, had interrogated him on several points of doctrine; and in his pamphlet the skilful theologian asked the doctors to give him their opinion on the different replies the

priest made to the confessor. The following are some of the controverted points:

"I condemn the five propositions attributed to Jansenius in the sense in which the church has condemned them; but on the question of fact, I think it is enough for me to maintain a silent and respectful submission, and as long as I shall not have been judicially convicted of having maintained any of these propositions, my belief cannot be suspected. In order, however, to reassure alarmed consciences, I will add this profession of faith: 'I believe that being obliged to love God as the end towards which we tend, all actions which do not refer to him, and which are not induced by some motive of charity or love, are so many sins. I affirm that it is a great sin to assist at divine service without any feeling of repentance, and with the wish to persevere in the irregularities of a condemnable life; I do not believe that devotion to the saints and the Virgin consists principally in the vain forms and ridiculous practices which certain rituals teach us; finally, I declare that in reading the Letters of St. Cyran, the Hours of Dumont, the conferences of Lucon, the Morality of Grenoble, I am acting in conformity with the rules of the church, which recommend the reading of religious books which are duly approved of.'" Forty doctors united to reply to this consultation. They declared that the sentiments of the ecclesiastic were not culpable, and that absolution might be granted him without exacting any retraction.

This decision was printed at Paris, and a large number of copies struck off. The Molinists were embittered at the forty doctors who had approved of the case of conscience, and the fiery Bossuet pursued them with extreme violence. The bishop of Chartres imitated his example, as did the archbishop of Paris, the cardinal de Noailles. This prelate declared that the case of conscience was contrary to the pontifical constitutions, tended to perpetuate troubles in the church, to favour equivocations, mental restrictions, and perjuries; and he summoned the doctors, under penalty of exclusion from the Sorbonne, and even of exile, to revoke their first decision. All obeyed, excepting only the doctor Petit Pied, who was constrained to leave the kingdom.

Quésnel immediately addressed a vigorous letter to the cardinal de Noailles; he condemned, in energetic terms, the violence which had been employed towards the doctors, to constrain them to a forced submission, which he called a public and outrageous falsehood, false testimony drawn forth by terror, shameful prevarication, unworthy cowardice. He followed up this new epistle by a small work in the form of a dialogue between two bishops. Among other stinging criticisms, one of these persons introduced on the scene, says to the other:

"We do not flatter, my dear lord; in a matter of reason, the mitre, the tiara, and the cross go for nothing; a crossed and mitred reason is still a human reason; we are the more liable to be deceived, since the episco-

pal functions engage us in a great number of puerile occupations, which we have not time to study and explore. To impose then on the faithful the decisions of a man, subject like all other men, as articles of faith, is to wish to degrade mankind."

This attack was too openly directed against pontifical infallibility for Clement the Eleventh not to hasten to fulminate his anathemas against the author of the case of conscience. His holiness excommunicated him, and sent to the king of France and the archbishop of Paris two terrible briefs against the Jansenists. "They are minds sprung from darkness to trouble the peace of kingdoms and the church," said the holy father, in his epistles; "they are audacious demons, who wish to overthrow the papacy and royalty; they are heretical republicans; agitators of the people, who must be silenced; finally, they are rebels, who must be repressed, tamed, even cut down by the edge of the sword, before they have undermined the foundations of the altar and the throne."

Louis the Fourteenth, who had all Europe against him, thought it imprudent to execute the orders of his holiness in all their force; he contented himself with banishing some refractory Jansenists, and with imposing silence on both parties. His majesty was not, besides, favourably disposed towards the holy father, on account of his refusal to give the investiture of Naples to Philip the Fifth; and his discontent was even increased by a matter of arbitration which had been carried to the tribunal of Clement the Eleventh, on the subject of a contest between the dutchess of Orleans and the elector Palatine.

This prince, the head of the Palatine branch of Neubourg, and the brother of the empress, had succeeded a brother of Madam^e, who died childless. The dutchess had presented herself as the heiress of the personal property, which was large, and of the female fiefs pertaining to the electorate, which had brought on very grave discussions. The two parties appealed, the one to the emperor, the other to the king of France, and obtained from them judgments dictated by the interests of their dynasties, which satisfied no one. As a last resort, the two families had referred it to the pope. It was at the time when the victories of Prince Eugene made the balance incline in favour of the emperor. His holiness ranged himself as usual on the side of the conqueror, confirmed the sentence pronounced by Leopold the First, declared the pretensions of Madame badly founded, and condemned the elector Palatine to pay her only three hundred thousand Roman crowns. The court of France maintained that the pope had surpassed his powers, and instructed the abbot of Thesac solemnly to protest, in the name of Madame, against this judgment.

His holiness was not disturbed by the anger of Louis the Fourteenth, being assured that he was under the protection of the emperor, who was then victorious; but as it was the destiny of Clement the Eleventh only to es-

cape from one danger to fall into another, his apprehensions of war were scarcely quieted, when two terrible events plunged Rome into consternation. In consequence of heavy rains, the Tiber rose above its banks, buried all the country under water, and destroyed the crops; then an earthquake, which lasted almost fifteen minutes, threw down whole streets, and buried very many inhabitants beneath the ruins of their houses. Thus on the one side the inundation of the Tiber, and on the other the earthquake, contributed to render the position of the pope extremely critical. Within the holy city, as without, the exhalations which escaped from the slime the river had left in retiring, had corrupted the atmosphere and engendered pestilential fevers, which daily carried off thousands of victims. The misery had become so universal, so profound, that two thirds of the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of living on herbs, and those who wished to obtain a little bread or meat to sustain their miserable existence, were compelled to prostitute their wives or daughters to the ecclesiastics, who alone were rich enough to purchase this precious food. It was at once a curious and afflicting spectacle, to behold the dwellings of the priests transformed into so many seraglios, in which were to be found the youngest and handsomest girls of Rome. There was not the meanest clerk, who, under the pretext of charity, had not collected several of these unfortunates.

His holiness was alarmed by the consequences which might result from such licentiousness, and issued a bull enjoining on priests, prelates, and cardinals to maintain a conduct more in conformity with the priestly character, under penalty of being disgraced; he ordered them to restore at once to their families the women and young girls whom they had in their residences; he, moreover, expressly prohibited every ecclesiastic, under penalty of interdiction, from becoming intoxicated, gambling, or taking part in any orgies whilst Rome was in distress.

Other measures were then adopted to remedy the disasters which had fallen on the holy city. The council of the sovereign pontiff had the wisdom to decree, that the citizens, whose houses had been thrown down, should be exempted from imposts for several years; that poor young girls should be maintained at the expense of the city, and placed under the supervision of matrons, to prevent them from prostituting themselves for a livelihood, and, finally, that all public festivals and rejoicings should be suspended until a return of prosperity.

Admirable as were these ordinances, they were but a feeble solace for the evils of all kinds which burthened the population of Rome; that which starving people needed, was cargoes of corn; but the treasury of St. Peter was dry, and not in a condition to make extraordinary expenses. The cardinals had so well trafficked away their votes in the election of Clement the Eleventh, that all the wealth which was in the cellars of the Vati-

can, at the death of Innocent the Eleventh, as well as the enormous sums arising from the jubilee had passed into their hands. The holy father naturally turned towards France to repair the disorders which his simoniacal election had made in the finances; but like a skilful politician, he first restored the friendly intercourse between the court of Versailles and his see, which had for some time past received rude shocks. The occasion, moreover, suited admirably.

The archduke Charles had proclaimed himself, at Vienna, sovereign of Spain, by the name of Charles the Third, and had transmitted this information to the ambassadors of the empire at Rome, enjoining on them to celebrate this great event in the national church of the Germans, in order to force the pope, and engage him openly in their interests. His holiness did not fall into the snare; he sent for the representatives of Louis the Fourteenth and Philip the Fifth, to come to the Vatican, and declared to them that he did not approve of the demonstrations of the plenipotentiaries of the archduke; that if the law of nations prevented him from prohibiting the celebration of a religious festival, he should at least take measures to show to all Europe, that he did not recognise the son of the emperor as the lawful king of the Spaniards. In fact, the cardinal Carpegna informed the Austrian ambassadors, that the pope would prohibit them the use of the German church, if they exposed his portrait with that of the archduke, clothed in the insignia of Spanish royalty.

This conduct procured for Clement the Eleventh, a reconciliation with the great king, and a large sum of money for alms. Father la Chaise, as well as all the French Jesuits, hastened to take advantage of the circumstances, and proposed to his holiness to allow him new subsidies, if in return he would consent to pronounce against the Jansenists, and employ his influence over the king of Spain, to obtain the surrender of Father Quesnel, who, from his retreat, did not cease to carry on a rough war with them. Clement, the Eleventh agreed to the bargain, and induced Philip the Fifth to give an order to the marquis of Bedmar, who commanded for him in the Low Countries, to seize Quesnel and his disciples wherever they were.

The spies of the Jesuits had already discovered the retreat of their formidable adversary, and as soon as the Spanish governor received the instructions of his sovereign, it became easy for him to make the arrest. A troop of police agents, conducted by the Jesuits, went into a part of the country, called the Refuge de Forêt, where the venerable Jansenist dwelt, and led him away prisoner to the archbishop of Brussels. Fortunately, a French gentleman enabled him to escape, and furnished him with the means of getting to Holland. They, however, continued proceedings against the papers they had discovered in his retreat, and condemned him for contumacy to excommunication and confinement in a monastery, until the Holy See, or rather

the Jesuits were satisfied; prohibiting him from printing any thing, under penalty of perpetual imprisonment.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola immediately thundered forth songs of victory, and proclaimed every where that they were in favour with the pope. This success emboldened them to dare to ask Clement the Eleventh, to proceed to judgment on the affair of Chinese worship, which had been pending at the court of Rome for a great many years. It was as follows:—In 1645, during the pontificate of Innocent the Tenth, in accordance with the report of Father Morales, a Dominican, the society of the propaganda had provisionally prohibited the worship which the Jesuits rendered to Confucius in the Catholico-Chinese ceremonies, which these good fathers used to obtain the confidence of the emperor, the mandarins, and the people of the Celestial empire; Alexander the Seventh, on the other hand, had in 1656, on the remonstrances of Father Martini, a Jesuit, authorised, through the congregation of the inquisition, the exercise of the same ceremonies, and had declared that they were necessary for the maintenance of Catholicism in China. Notwithstanding this decision, the different religious orders, who disputed for the glory of establishing their sway in these provinces, continued to carry on a violent war against each other, which threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the Chinese empire, and drew on them a long persecution by the sovereign.

Up to 1684, the quarrels had lost neither their vivacity nor their animosity, when Father Gregory Lopez, a Dominican, who had gone over into the camp of the Jesuits, and had been made, through their influence, bishop of Basileum, apostolic vicar, and then titular metropolitan of the capital of China, wrote to the pontiff in the same year:—"Most holy father, I have learned, that my former brethren, the Dominicans, led away by a false zeal, have written to you that my defection was a dishonour to the order, and have sought to injure me in your opinion. I hasten then to explain my conduct to you. If I have joined the Jesuits, it is because I discovered that their methods of propagating Catholicism were preferable to those of the other orders; and I could the better judge of it, since I am a Chinese by birth, and consequently fitter than another to decide what suits the men of the country, being better learned in the language, and more skilful in reading Chinese books than any European."

These letters of Lopez provoked new decretals from Alexander the Seventh, which confirmed the former bulls concerning the Chinese rites, and authorised the worship rendered to Confucius, as well as the ceremonies celebrated in honour of the dead, though their worship constituted a true adoration, and these dead ceremonies were to be positively regarded as sacrilegious and idolatrous, according to the spirit of the Christian religion. These practices consisted, for the inhabitants of the Chinese empire, in prostrating themselves

until their forehead touched the ground, at the sacred name of the philosopher, written in large characters on a box exposed on a table, with incense pans and lighted candles. The mandarins rendered this adoration to him when they took possession of their governments, bachelors when they received their degree, governors of cities and men of letters renewed it twice a month. The ceremonies celebrated in honour of the dead were three in number, and were practised at different periods. That which took place before inhumation, consisted in placing the portrait of the deceased on a table before a coffin, and above it a box which bore the name of the dead. Flowers, perfumes and lighted candles, were arranged symmetrically on both sides, after which the relatives and friends came to take part in the grief, saluted the coffin, prostrated themselves, struck the earth with their foreheads, and deposited near the box, the perfumes, flowers, fruits, and candles they had brought.

The second commemorative ceremony took place twice a year; on those days every family spread a table on which was placed the portrait of their most illustrious ancestor. On the right and left, on tablets, were traced the names of the other dead of the family, with the quality, employment, age, and day of decease of each of them. All the relatives assembled in this saloon, and came to deposit on the table decanters of wine, plates of food, perfumes, and candles, without failing to make the usual genuflexions and salutes.

The third ceremony was practised but once a year, at the beginning of the month of May. The heads of families went with their wives and children into the cemeteries where their relatives were interred, tore away the thorns and plants which surrounded the tombs, reiterated the marks of grief and respect they had paid them at the time of their death, and placed on the tombstones food and wine, of which they made a sumptuous repast. Such was the national worship which the disciples of Ignatius Loyola were willing to retain, the better to assure their rule over the people.

A member of the society of the propaganda, named Maigrot, scandalized by the conduct of the Jesuits, undertook to put an end to such crying abuses; he made a terrible statement which he sent secretly to the commission of the holy office, beseeching it to order an inquiry, and have the truth of his charges verified. The matter was conducted with so much mystery, that the company of Jesus was not informed of what was going on against them for two years, and then by a writing called "Questions in regard to the Chinese ceremonies," which Pope Innocent the Twelfth communicated to them. This book excited a general reprobation against the good fathers throughout all Europe, whom it accused of being nothing less than favourers of idolatry, and corrupters of the Catholic religion. A letter of the minister Jurieu, the head of the foreign missions, gave them a still more terrible blow, and became the signal for a strife in which crowds of pamphleteers, of every be-

lief, took part. The children of Ignatius, however, made head against the storm, and obtained a delay of the judgment which the society of the propaganda was ordered to make. At last, in despite of their intrigues, the court of Rome sanctioned, by a decree of the 20th of November, 1704, the sentence which the society had already rendered against the Chinese worship, and ordered the cardinal de Tournon to go into the Celestial empire to abolish idolatry, and arrest the disorders of the missionaries.

Whilst the Society of Jesus was undergoing this check, to increase its misfortune, it lost one of its fiercest adepts. In his turn disappeared from the earth the famous Bossuet, that proud prelate, so terrible to the weak, so basely servile to the strong. This proud bishop who, during the whole course of his life, had shown himself to be the apologist of absolute monarchy, and of excessive Catholicism, the champion of authority under its most tyrannical forms, the apostle of the edifice which all minds were engaged in demolishing, the enemy of that liberty which his essentially despotic genius could not understand, and which France was preparing to salute with enthusiasm.

He died dressing himself in his shroud, boasting of the triumphs which he had gained, and enumerating, with a ferocious joy, the number of victims whom he had crushed—Arnaud, all the cohort of Port Royal, Fenelon, Jeanne Guyon, Father Lacombe, and so many others besides! And yet this insolent priest, so harsh, so implacable towards others, had not only trespassed several times in his life, but even, what will seem incredible, had urged his irreverence for the Catholic religion so far as to violate the sacred laws of the church. Bossuet the Jesuit, the bishop of Meaux, the excessive fanatic, was married. This fact is attested, in a formal manner, by Jean Denis, the secretary of the cardinal de Bissy, who has left us very interesting memoirs of the court and clergy of France.

Voltaire also declares, that several members of the family of Secousse, which was allied to that of Mademoiselle Desvieux, the wife of Bossuet, related to him the details of this affair. We will add, in corroboration of these proofs, that the archives of the city of Meaux show, that the bishop had acquired for one Mademoiselle Desvieux, the property de Maulên, of which she took the name; that it was publicly notorious that his eminence made large and frequent sacrifices of money for her; that he saw her frequently, familiarly, and lengthily, at her own house, at all hours of the day and night; that he was much in debt for her; that at his death, his heirs having refused to pay his debts, the creditors had commenced proceedings against the domains of the pretended lady of Maulên, and had probed judicially, that she was the lawful wife of the prelate; that the latter, to save her property, had threatened the relatives of Bossuet to make her marriage contract public; and that the family, to avoid dishonouring his memory, had deter-

mined to pay the debts. But though the proceedings were at once suspended, it remained none the less proved, for all those who had assisted in the controversy of this singular affair, that Madame de Maulên was well and duly the lawful wife of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.

This family quarrel excited at the time but little attention, the minds of men being strongly occupied by the wars of the succession, and the persecutions directed by the great king against the unfortunate Calvinists of Cevennes, the Vivarais, and Gevaudan. In these last provinces it arose from the vexatious proceedings of which the agents of the police and the officers of the despot were guilty. They drove the poor people who could not pay the capitation, from their huts; and some of them went so far as to sell, in the public place, the straw which served for their beds. Exasperated by such treatment, the Calvinists resolved to take vengeance on their oppressors. In several villages of the Cevennes they assembled in numerous bands, surrounded the houses of the receivers by night, seized the fiscal officers, and hung them to trees with their lists attached to their necks. To avoid being recognised, the executioners of this terrible justice had placed shirts over their clothes, which gave them the name of Camisards. The revolt soon extended through the whole chain of the Cevennes, and Louis the Fourteenth had no other mode of crushing the heresy, but to proceed to a general massacre of the Calvinists. Perhaps the great king would not have succeeded in taming this courageous population, if he had not been seconded by the Jesuits in the work of extermination.

Therefore when these latter, with their hands dripping in the blood of the Camisards, presented themselves before the king to claim his interference in their quarrels with the Jansenists, his majesty sent at once an ambassador to the court of Rome, to solicit from Clement the Eleventh a new bull of excommunication against the disciples of the great Arnaud. The pontiff conformed to the wishes of Louis the Fourteenth, and fulminated the terrible bull "Vineam Domini," in which his holiness attacked directly the respectful silence, under the pretext, that the subterfuge of the case of conscience prevented them from condemning internally the book of Jansenius as heretical, that it destroyed no error, and did not satisfy the obedience due to the apostolic constitutions. Thus, the Jansenists could neither speak nor keep silence without being declared guilty of heresy; and there remained no alternative for them but that of submitting to the Jesuits, their implacable enemies.

Louis the Fourteenth presented the bull of the pope to the parliament for registry, and to avoid all opposition on the part of the young counsellors, he joined to it a declaration, in which he announced his wish to dry up the source of a poisonous doctrine, to dissipate the miserable remains of an error which reappeared under a thousand forms, glided about in darkness, and even fortified itself by

silence. The bull was registered, and then sent to all the bishops of the kingdom.

It had been first submitted to an examination of an assembly of the clergy, presided over by the cardinal de Noailles; and the prelate, while accepting it, declared that the constitutions of the popes were not always infallible, even in the decision of facts of doctrine. Clement the Eleventh protested earnestly against the irreverence of such language, and obtained from Louis, that the archbishop of Paris should be compelled to retract what he had advanced in the meeting of the French bishops, and to recognise that the head of the church possessed the privilege of absolute infallibility in matters of faith.

His holiness was then engaged in remodeling his finances, and found no better means of making the gold of the simple flow into his coffers, than by publishing an extraordinary jubilee. But as it was scarcely six years since the secular jubilee had taken place, he took for his theme the necessity resting on the church to implore the Divinity to put an end to the wars. This move succeeded marvelously well; bands of imbecile pilgrims came from all parts, who gave their money in exchange for benedictions, indulgences, exemptions, absolutions, and other merchandise of the same kind.

Notwithstanding the prayers of the devout, the war still continued; and the troops of ~~France~~ Eugene invaded the dutchy of Ferrara, and seized on the strong places which were most convenient to enable them to ransack the people of the neighbouring provinces. The pontiff, seeing the indifference of celestial powers to succour him, tried terrestrial means to resist the arms of the emperor. He threw three thousand men into the city of Ferrara, to place it in a condition to sustain a siege, and gave the command of it to the cardinal Casoni; he then levied a corps of four thousand foot soldiers for the defence of the patrimony of St. Peter, appointed the count Marsigli generalissimo of his armies, and formed a defensive league with all the petty princes who had the same interest as himself in repulsing the arms of the house of Austria. These expenses having made a large hole in his purse, he was constrained to ask authority from the sacred college to draw upon the treasures of Sixtus the Fifth, which were deposited in the cellars of the castle of San Angelo, and which a law prohibited from touching, unless the existence of the Holy See were in danger.

These measures, though wisely combined, produced no favourable result; Prince Eugene led his victorious armies through all the provinces of Italy; Naples even fell beneath the sway of the archduke, through the treason of the cardinal Grimani, who was its viceroy—"a wretch of the first order," says St. Simon, "who took no pains to conceal his turpitudes; a violent and furious priest, who was the avowed enemy of Clement the Eleventh." Already had the dominions of the grand duke of Tuscany, the dukes of Parma and Pla-

cenza, the republic of Genoa, and a great number of cities been constrained to receive German garrisons, and to pay enormous contributions for the war.

In this extremity, the pope determined to open negotiations with the marquis de Prie, the plenipotentiary of the emperor. The latter made, as a first condition for the withdrawal of the troops from the states of the church, that Clement should make a promotion of a cardinal in the name of the archduke, and should give to that prince the title of king of Spain. His holiness made some difficulty in yielding to this demand, since he comprehended that such a manifestation would place him at enmity with the king of France, and compromise his temporal authority; but on the announcement that the prince of Darmstadt was quitting Naples to come to Rome with his army, and that the Anglo-Dutch fleet had appeared on the waters of Livourna, he declared that he was ready to do what the emperor required. The marquis de Prie having become more exacting, since he had perceived the alarm of the holy father, went to the pontifical palace, and announced to the cardinals assembled in consistory, that the ecclesiastical states would be placed in fire and blood, unless his holiness immediately subscribed to the following conditions: 1. "That he should disarm his strong places, dismiss all his troops, and retain neither Frenchmen nor Spaniards in his service; 2. That he should recognise the archduke as lawful sovereign of Spain, by the name of Charles the Third, and should grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; 3. That he should grant winter quarters to fifteen thousand imperialists in different places of the church; 4. That he should pay a contribution of a hundred thousand Roman crowns towards defraying the expenses of the war.

Clement asked for a respite of some days, to be enabled to implore the mercy of God, and to beseech him to soften the heart of the emperor, that he might obtain more favourable terms. He made, on this occasion, processions through all the streets of Rome, and traversed the holy city, followed by his clergy; but the marquis de Prie was not moved by the tears of the holy father, and abated none of his pretensions. His holiness, finding that he had neither peace nor truce to hope for from his enemy, determined to ask mercy, yielded to the demands of the Austrian ambassador, and solemnly recognised the archduke as lawful king of Spain, in the presence of the ambassadors of the courts of France and Madrid. The latter protested against such a violation of the oaths of his holiness; they declared this recognition null, since neither Clement the Eleventh nor his cardinals could revoke a preceding bull granted voluntarily, in which they recognised Philip the Fifth as the sole and lawful king of the Spanish peninsula; they then sallied forth from the Vatican, and quitted Rome.

On the same day, a treaty was signed between the church and the empire; hostili-

ties immediately ceased in the ecclesiastical states, the blockade of Ferrara was raised, and the hostile troops who were in the neighbourhood of Rome, immediately returned to join the army at Naples.

Scarcely had the imperialists quitted the territories of the church, when Clement the Eleventh, in contempt of the engagements which he had contracted with the emperor, proceeded publicly to bless the swaddling clothes of a child to which the wife of Philip the Fifth had given birth, and sent them to Madrid by an extraordinary nuncio, who had orders to assist at the oath which the deputies of Spain were to take to the young prince of the Asturias, in recognising him as the presumptive heir to the crown. He then convened the cardinals in convocation, to decide if he had a right to recognise the archduke as the heir of King Charles the Second. There, as was expected, the members of the sacred college, who were favourable to the house of Austria, decided in the affirmative; the Italians, who were the most numerous, protested that this recognition was null of itself, having been wrested by force of arms. The sovereign pontiff used this divergency of opinions as a pretext for not deciding between the two parties, and for maintaining his system of neutrality, whilst having recognised two kings of Spain.

From that time Clement the Eleventh did not appear to trouble himself any more about this political question, and gave all his attention to the new persecutions by the Jesuits against the Jansenists, on the occasion of a translation of the New Testament which Father Quesnel had published, with commentaries on each verse, or "moral reflections." This book was but a new edition of a work which Bishop Vialart had approved of in 1671, which the Doctors Hideux and du Pin had accepted in 1687, to which the cardinal de Noailles had given his approval in 1693, and of which he had said, among other things, "We find here all that is most beautiful and touching that the fathers have written concerning the gospel, and that the most sublime truths of religion were there treated with that force and mildness of the Holy Spirit which make them relished by the hardest hearts." It was, however, on its reappearance handed over by the Jesuits for the censure of the court of Rome, and the body charged to examine it declared that it was heretical in all its parts, that it was not susceptible of correction, and that the reading of it should be absolutely prohibited. In conformity with this decision, Clement the Eleventh proscribed this New Testament with the moral reflections, by a brief which prohibited the printing and reading of it; he, moreover, enjoined on the faithful who possessed copies of it, to carry them to the inquisitors of the faith, that they might be burned.

This last clause, which was contrary to the usages of France, in which temporal executions are reserved for the secular power, prevented the brief from being received in that kingdom. The Jesuits, however, cried out

victory, and Father Tellier, who had been appointed confessor to the king, solemnly announced that he was about to crush Jansenism which he called a hydra with a thousand heads. He began by attacking Port Royal des Champs, which he regarded as the hearthstone of the evil, and which, however, was but a poor monastery, inhabited by some old nuns. Father la Chaise had already induced Louis the Fourteenth to make an edict prohibiting the nuns from admitting any girl to make a profession, for which cause the community insensibly dwindled away; but Father Tellier did not think the remedy sufficient, he wished to finish it at a blow, so that if any of these poor women survived the great king, they might not be able to ask from his successor for authority to receive novices.

A pretext was not wanting for him to attain his ends; the venerable Jesuit revived the bull "Veniam Domini," which had proscribed respectful silence, and under pretext that the nuns of Port Royal des Champs were guilty of keeping silence, he caused the cardinal de Noailles to enjoin on them, in the name of the king, to sign the bull without restriction. The holy girls refused to do as they were bid, and appealed to the pope. His holiness decided that it was unnecessary to constrain the nuns to sign the bull without restriction; it was enough for them to have approved of it under the benefit of the peace of Clement the Ninth. This result was not what Father Tellier had expected, and the reply of the pontiff appeared to him to be a Gordian knot, easier to cut than to untie; he then resolved to change his batteries to obtain the suppression of the monastery. He availed himself of the division of the nuns of Port Royal into two houses; that of Paris, which was placed under the direction of the company of Jesus, and that of des Champs, to represent to his royal penitent that the latter of these communities had been maintained through toleration; that it was best for the interests of religion to unite all the nuns of that abbey, in order to place things on their former footing, and he proposed to preserve the convent of Paris, which was very important, in preference to that of des Champs, which had scarcely the means of subsistence, and which contained only some obstinate old women, whom it was impossible to bring to reason on questions of doctrine.

His majesty, never refusing the good father any thing, issued a decree in council, by virtue of which Port Royal des Champs was invested during the night by detachments of French and Swiss guards, under the orders of d'Argenson, the lieutenant of police, the doors were broken in by squads of the guard, the nuns dragged from their cells in their night dresses, and conducted to the chapter to listen to a letter de cachet, which suppressed the community, and condemned them to seclusion in other monasteries. In consequence of this order the poor nuns were immediately put into carriages, and conducted separately to different convents, situated at twenty, thirty, and even fifty leagues from Paris. To heighten

the ignominy, each carriage was escorted by horse archers, as was done when public women were removed. When the house was empty, d'Argenson had it rummaged by his police blood hounds from the eaves to the cellar, seized all the papers, and carried them to Father Tellier, rendering to him an account of the expedition. The good father, encouraged by his success, wished to render his victory complete by annihilating even the buildings of this celebrated community. He solicited and obtained an order from the great king, which enjoined on the families of those whose ancestors were interred in Port Royal des Champs, to have them exhumed and taken elsewhere, in a month's time; then, and still by a royal ordinance, he caused the church and abbey to be razed, as was the custom with the houses of regicides, without leaving one stone on another; only, it was not sown with salt, thanks to the interference of the archbishop of Paris, who interfered to prevent this last profanation.

Thus Father Tellier attained the end he had proposed, and the Society of Jesus could add this triumph to that which they obtained in China over the cardinal de Tournon. This venerable prelate had been sent, about the year 1704, with the title of patriarch of Antioch, and apostolic vicar, to verify the exactness of the accusations brought against the Jesuits, and to interdict the idolatrous ceremonies which those religious had practised, contrary to the rules of the church. On his arrival in the Celestial empire, the patriarch had satisfied himself of the fidelity of the reports which had been made to the sovereign pontiff, and, in conformity with his instructions, had assembled at Canton the heads of the different missions, on whom he had enjoined, in the name of the Holy See, to take from their churches the signs and emblems which pertained to the worship of Confucius, of heaven, and of ancestors.

The Jesuits dared not resist him openly; but they acted in the dark, and used their influence over the emperor Khang-li, to indispose him towards the legate, and represented the patriarch as a dangerous fanatic, who had come to China to subvert religion and reduce the people of Asia beneath the sway of the Roman pontiff. The monarch, who was excessively jealous of his absolute authority, saw an enemy in the patriarch; when the latter came to Peking to be admitted to his presence, he gave him an ungracious reception, and on the next day sent him an order to quit his capital immediately. The prelate obeyed, quitted the court of the Celestial empire, went to Nankin and published the famous edict in which he interdicted the Christians of China from the idolatrous practices authorised by the Jesuits, and enjoined on the missionaries to conform to his instructions under penalty of ecclesiastical censures.

This command excited the anger of the Jesuits very much; without losing time they solicited and obtained an order from the emperor to arrest the patriarch and conduct him

to Macao, where he was thrown into a dungeon, ironed hand and foot, and submitted to frightful treatment. At the same time, the society wrote to the court of Rome against the apostolic vicar, and demanded his recall. But Clement the Eleventh, notwithstanding his attachment to this company, dared not affront the judgment of men, and instead of approving of the conduct of the Jesuits, declared that the patriarch had deserved well of the Holy See, and sent to him, in his prison at Macao, the insignia of the dignity of cardinal. The unfortunate man did not long enjoy his new title, for, a few days afterwards, his enemies poisoned him.

All these victories exalted the Jesuits, and pushed them on to show themselves more enterprising than ever; in France, sustained as they were by Maintenon and Louis the Fourteenth their audacity appeared openly, and they did not fear to attack persons most eminent for their functions or their learning. Thus, they made a kind of levy of bucklers against the cardinal de Noailles, to punish him for having approved of the moral reflections of Quesnel, and for having condemned the violence exercised towards the nuns of Port Royal des Champs; they endeavored to injure him with the bishops of his party, and with the doctors, who had, until now, remained indifferent, neutral, or strangers to all the religious quarrels. It is supposed that it was at this time that Tellier enrolled the great king among the Jesuits, from the ardour which the monarch evinced in the new theological war. Thanks to his powerful interference, the moral reflections of Quesnel were again brought forward, and the pope was so urgently solicited to condemn them by a special bull that he could not avoid obeying, and determined to lanch the celebrated bull "Unigenitus," which declared one hundred and one propositions of that remarkable book to be attached of heresy.

We may relate on this subject, that the ambassador of France, Amelot, having asked Clement the Eleventh, why he had said that this celebrated work contained one hundred and one erroneous propositions, without specifying any of them, his holiness replied with artlessness, "What do you want me to do? I find nothing to blame in this book; but Father Tellier having said to the king that it contained more than one hundred censurable propositions, d'Aubenton and Cardinal Fabroni, who are both Jesuits, have compelled me to exceed this number; I have made but one more."

This bull condemned the propositions of Quesnel as false, captious, of evil tendency, pernicious, rash, injurious, not only to the church, but also to the secular power; as seditious, infamous, blasphemous, favouring heresies and schism; as heretical, as renewing the errors of Luther and Calvin, and especially those of Jansenius. It moreover declared to the faithful of both sexes, that whosoever should teach, sustain, or put forth these propositions, whether jointly or separately, or

who should even talk about them, in public or private, except to condemn them, incurred by this act alone, without need of ulterior decisions, the ecclesiastical censures and secular penalties pronounced against heretics.

His holiness, by virtue of his apostolic omnipotence, declared the work of Quesnel to be proscribed under every name, and in every language in which it had been or might hereafter ever be printed, as being fit to capture and seduce innocent souls by words filled with mildness, and the false appearances of the most pious instruction; he also anathematized all books and pamphlets, in manuscript or printed, which might be published in the defence of this dangerous work, and he prohibited all Catholics from reading, copying, retaining in their memory, or using them, unless they desired to be pronounced guilty and punishable with spiritual and temporal penalties inflicted on heretics. "Such was that abominable constitution 'Unigenitus,'" says St. Simon, "so fatal to the state, so advantageous to the Jesuits, to the ultra montanes, ignorant priests, swindling monks, and all the wretches of the regular and secular orders, and of which the consequences were to engender disorders, perfidy, violence, and persecutions, under which the kingdom groaned for more than thirty years; it was that constitution whose appearance produced effects so extended, so frightful, that morality, customs, the laws themselves have been overturned by it, and which has replaced the ordinary tribunals by military commissions which have unceasingly inundated France with letters de cachet, and which have completely annihilated justice."

D'Aubenton and Fabroni, the true authors of the bull, the tools of the Society of Jesus, had pushed their audacity so far as to condemn the formal texts of St. Paul, which all ages and all heresies had respected as the oracles of the Holy Spirit; they had not even respected the doctrines of St. Augustine and the fathers, which had, however, been approved by general councils.

According to Bruys, one of the historians who have written on the pontificate of Clement the Eleventh, the two Jesuits, to have this work of infamy passed, acted like robbers, keeping the printers in confinement lest their plan should be noised abroad, and having the number of copies they judged necessary, clandestinely struck off; the author adds, that they then went to communicate their labour to Clement the Eleventh, enjoining on him to affix his signature to the bull; that his holiness having protested against their condemnation of the texts of St. Paul and St. Augustine, and having expressed a doubt whether the sacred college would consent to approve of such impieties, Fabroni replied that he would not suffer his work to be submitted to revisers; that the right of condemnation belonged to the vicar of God alone, in his capacity of infallible pontiff; that it was to him, Clement the Eleventh, he addressed himself, and not to his cardinals; finally, Bruys

affirms, that the latter objecting, that he had solemnly promised the members of the sacred college to promulgate no bull without having consulted them, that Fabroni approached the holy father, his face livid, his hand clenched, and spoke to him in a low voice, at which Clement the Eleventh, trembling and alarmed, immediately took up a pen and signed the constitution. All writers agree, that one morning, after a conference with the pope, the cardinal de Fabroni set up the bull "Unigenitus" in the Champ de Flora, and placarded it on the doors of St. Peter, as well as those of the principal churches of the city.

When the news of this act of compliance with the desires of the Jesuits was spread through Rome, a universal cry of reprobation arose against Clement the Eleventh; the cardinals, the bishops, the heads of the orders protested against the terms of the bull, and addressed energetic remonstrances to the sovereign pontiff, in which they said, that he was the first of the successors of the apostles who had dared to raise his hand against the sacred texts of the holy books, and to censure the most sublime propositions of St. Paul. His holiness replied to these representations by subterfuges; and when the sacred college came in a body to summon him to retract this bull of scandal, he shed tears, but steadily refused to review his decision.

Fabroni, and Father Aubenton were not content with promulgating this bull at Rome; in the intoxication of their success, they despatched a large number of copies to the members of their society, and more especially to Father Tellier, and the apostolic nuncio at the court of Louis the Fourteenth, that they might consult about the publication of it in France. The great king, in his capacity as a Jesuit, applauded the victory which the members of his company had gained, and immediately signified to the regular and secular clergy to receive the new constitution with blind submission. But in France, as at Rome, it excited a general indignation; the cardinal de Rohan declared that it was heretical; the cardinal de Noailles protested against its tenour, and accused the pope of an attempt on the liberties of the Gallican church; Bissy, bishop of Meaux, though the intimate friend of de Maintenon, pronounced against its adoption; the courts of justice, the chapters, the ministers, the courts, the capital, the provinces, equally protested against it. Father Tellier was firm; he reprimanded Bissy, and knowing the ambition of that prelate, warned him that he would not obtain the hat of a cardinal but as the price of submission to the king; he strongly rebuked Rohan, and represented to him that he incurred great danger in not keeping the promises which had procured for him the post of grand almoner; as for the cardinal de Noailles, he suffered him to manifest his opposition, in hopes of destroying him in the opinion of the monarch.

He then thought of having the bull approved by the clergy, which was an enterprise of the more difficulty as the majority of the bishops

was opposed to him. The following was the mode adopted by this new Escobar to filch the adhesion which was necessary for him. He commanded the bishops who were devoted to him, to assist at an ecclesiastical meeting convened in the capital, and under divers pretexts dismissed to their dioceses those whom he feared; he "then thrust into the assembly," to use his own expression, the bishops in partibus of his coterie, and those of recent formation, who had not yet received bulls of installation. To the observation made to him, that these ecclesiastics had no right to vote, "What matters it whether it is regular or not, provided the council accepts the constitution 'Unigenitus'!" With this shoe-horn we will see who will dare resist the pope, the king, and myself."

Forty prelates then assembled in the hotel Soissons, under the presidency of the cardinal de Noailles, to deliberate on the acceptance of the constitution. The assembly commenced by an examination of the propositions about grace; which was only done for form, for none of the commissioners dared to explain himself on this dangerous subject, from fear of being reported to the terrible Father Tellier. The cardinal de Rohan and the bishop of Bissy, who had given in their submission, were commissioned to defend the bull, and to defend its articles in the terms employed for the palliation of this abominable work. Thus the bishop of Blois having remarked, that a great number of the censured propositions were not textually extracted from the book of Quesnel; Bissy exclaimed, "Silence to all the defenders of the infamous Oratorian. We are assembled to condemn, not to justify him. Whatever he may have written, he is guilty; for the truth itself becomes a falsehood in passing through the mouth of a follower of Jansenius."

These deliberations were, however, much protracted; for the cardinal de Noailles, and the prelates who shared his apprehensions, dared not pronounce too openly against the acceptance, and desired to paralyse the effect of an acceptance, by considerations placed at the beginning of their decree. But Father Tellier had unveiled their plan, and to prevent its execution, caused it to be proclaimed by the king, that they must accept it purely and simply, or not at all. At last, after three months of intrigue, the assembly decreed that it recognised, with a holy joy, that the bull "Unigenitus" contained the true doctrine of the church, and that it accepted it with the submission and respect which the clergy owed to their head, the Roman pontiff; that it should consequently be translated into French, and be rendered obligatory in all the dioceses of the kingdom.

The bishops who were submissive to Father Tellier hastened to address their flocks, vaunting the excellence of this constitution; and among them was distinguished the archbishop of Cambrai, the obsequious Fenelon, who sought to obtain his recall to court, and the termination of the exile to which he had been

condemned since the affair of quietism. His mandamus commences thus, "Oh, Roman church! oh, holy city! oh, dear and common country of all true Christians! There is not in Jesus Christ, neither Greek, nor Scythian, nor barbarian, nor Jew, nor Gentile! all men form but one people in your bosom; all are fellow citizens of Rome, all are Roman Catholics. Oh, church, from whence St. Peter will confirm his brethren for ever! Oh, if I ever forget you, may my right hand forget itself, and my tongue wither in my palate, if you are not to my last sight the object of my songs." He did not receive the reward of eloquence. Tellier constantly opposed any relaxation of rigour by the king, and maintained the order of exile which prohibited him from leaving his diocese.

Notwithstanding the approval of some bishops sold to the Jesuits, the appearance of the bull "Unigenitus" excited violent agitations in different parts of the kingdom. All the civil and religious orders, without distinction of state or character, protested against it; the cardinal d'Estrées called it the work of the spirit of darkness; the cardinal de Polignac, who did not know of the affiliation of the great king with the Society of Jesus, dared to name it in a mandamus, an abominable work, which a Jesuit alone could conceive. He was punished for this by exile, and a prohibition to appear at court.

Some counsellors of parliament wished also to resist the encroachments of Jesuitism, but the dungeons of Vincennes and the bastille did good and prompt justice to them. France was divided into two parties, the opponents and the acceptants of it. Still, in the faction of the acceptants, composed of the creatures of Father Tellier, there were such divisions, that it was easy to perceive that without a resort to the intimidation employed by the royal disciple of Ignatius Loyola to have the bull accepted, it would have been rejected almost unanimously by the French ecclesiastics.

In the midst of these idle discussions between the opponents and the acceptants, died the celebrated Fenelon, the archbishop of Cambrai, the courtier prelate, whom the priests persist in showing to us as the model of every virtue. We think it useful to show how the chancellor d'Aguesseau expresses himself concerning him:—"He is a gossip," says he in his memoirs, "simple and artful, open and deceitful, modest and ambitious, sensitive and indifferent, capable of desiring every thing, and of despising every thing; always agitated, always tranquil; mixing in nothing, taking part in every thing; a Sulpician, a missionary, even a Jesuit and a courtier, all at once; fit to play the most brilliant parts, fit to live in obscurity; competent for all things, and yet still more competent for himself; a versatile genius, who knows how to assume all characters, without ever losing his own, and the bottom of which is a fruitful and graceful imagination."

D'Aguesseau forgot in his portrait some

strokes of the pencil, which would have painted this bishop as he was, cowardly, hypocritical, and persecuting; such as he proved himself in a denunciatory memoir addressed to Clement the Eleventh, with the recommendation "to be read privately." He wrote to his holiness:—"Experience has for a long time proved to demonstration, most holy father, that there remains no hope of reducing the Jansenist faction by moderate and mild means. Whilst paternal indulgence suspends the employment of violent remedies, the contagion is propagated without obstacles and with impunity. Belgium is infested by Jansenists, as well as Holland; the elector of Cologne favours the heresy; the court of Vienna is more than suspected of not being opposed to it. This detestable doctrine has insinuated itself every where, in Spain, at Naples, even at Rome; but it is in France that the evil has penetrated the deepest, and that it reigns without an obstacle; the greater part of the bishops and of the religious orders, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustines, Genovefains, Benedictines, Premonstrés, Oratorians, Capuchins, Lazarists, are Jansenists, as well as the colleges, schools, the preceptors of the young princes, the princesses, the parliaments, the magistracy, and a great number of prelates. The cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, is tainted with this error, as are all those who surround him. We must then hasten to find a remedy for so terrible an evil; the time is propitious, we must impose formularies, exact oaths, deprive the refractory of their posts and benefices, excommunicate them, and apply to them all the canonical and temporal penalties to constrain them to abjure. . . ."

This odious information contains not less than twelve pages, and the informer, whilst asking secrecy, takes great pains to designate his enemies by their names; and if he sometimes affects not to name them, he gives such minute indications, that it is impossible not to recognise them.

Whilst the pious Fenelon was carrying on this bitter war against the Jansenists in the dark, he was writing to the ambassador of France at Rome, that he felt neither hatred nor love for either of the two theological parties which were rending the kingdom; which did not prevent him from addressing a memoir a few days afterwards to the duke de Chevreuse, in which he informed him, still under the seal of secrecy, "That he wished to be rid of the theologians of Louvain, who occupied ecclesiastical dignities in his diocese; that he dared not send them away of his own authority, because they were cherished by the faithful, and that in persecuting them he would incur the risk of being stoned; but that he asked it as a favour from the king to order the expulsion of all the priests of Louvain, without even excepting the non-Jansenists, so as to cut short the possibility of employing suspicious persons. He, moreover, besought his majesty to compel the professors of the university of Douay to hand in their resigna-

tions, that their employments might be conferred on Jesuits."

A very strange intercourse was established between the archbishop of Cambray and him who was to be his successor, the too famous Abbe Dubois, as appears by a voluminous correspondence, in which Fenelon enters at length upon their agreement in character, a sentiment of profound esteem, and mutual services of high importance which united him to Dubois. It is even supposed that he helped the abbe in his clandestine marriage, from the terms of a letter which he wrote to Madame Rougault, the wife of the intendant of Poitiers, an old associate in Guyonism:—"I recommend to you strongly, madam, the grave and difficult affair which Dubois has in your province, and in which your husband can serve very efficiently this abbe, my best friend for many years, a man who has given me solid and touching marks of attachment, and whose interests are so dear to me, that I shall regard the favours you shall grant him as done to myself."

What will appear still more extraordinary than the intimate friendship, between the archbishop of Cambray and the abbe Dubois, is his affiliation with the Templars. All historians agree in saying that Fenelon was received as a knight of the Temple in 1699, a period at which he was already in possession of his see, and that on the day of his joining the order, he pronounced the usual oath, which contains a full and entire adhesion to the doctrine of pantheism; it is this:—"God is all which exists; each part of that which exists is a part of God, but is not God. Immutable in his essence, God is mutable in his parts, which, after having existed under the laws of certain combinations, more or less complicated, revive under the laws of new combinations. All is uncreated. . . ." Thus, then, Fenelon, that devoted servant of the Holy See, that intrepid defender of pontifical authority, that fierce apostle of Jesuitism, that bitter Catholic, was not even a Christian!

He died at the age of sixty-four years, on the 7th of January, 1715, at the time when Louis the Fourteenth, to assure the triumph of the Society of Jesus, was preparing to force parliament to register the edicts which assimilated the refusal to accept the bull "Unigenitus" to heresy, and rendered the guilty liable to be burned. He was also preparing to restore the heated chambers, which, under his predecessors, had put to death so many victims, and he would certainly have executed this criminal design, if death had not delivered France of him.

Under the successor of Louis the Fourteenth, ecclesiastical matters wore an entirely different face; the duke of Orleans, the regent of the kingdom during the minority of the young Louis the Fifteenth, possessed a cynical materialism, and instead of showing the regard for the Jesuits to which the old king had accustomed them, he sought out every opportunity of humbling them. Thus, as soon as he had the exercise of the sovereign au-

thority in his hands, he exiled the most influential members of the society, amongst others, Fathers Tellier and Doucin, who were constantly manoeuvring to have the bull "Unigenitus" received.

As the persecutions against the Jansenists had entirely ceased, the ambassador Amelot, who was charged to solicit secretly, at Rome, briefs useful to the Jesuits, finding himself without an official mission, quitted Italy and returned to France, with letters from his holiness for the archbishop of Paris, whom he had restored to favour, and in which the pontiff announced that he was ready, if not to revoke, at least to modify the constitution which had troubled the kingdom. This singular declaration of the holy father surprised the cardinal de Noailles so much, that he could not avoid showing his astonishment to the ambassador. "What!" replied Amelot, "do you know our pope, and yet find his conduct extraordinary? Do you not know that Clement the Eleventh himself avowed to me, that he was never bound by what he had promised, even in writing, since he was frequently obliged to say one thing and do another; and that the truth never escaped his lips."

The prelate was not long in verifying the exactness of the allegations of the ambassador; for at the very time his holiness was giving him assurances of attachment to his person, he was addressing to the regent, in ~~re-plate~~ official letters which he had received from him, a brief in which he spoke of the cardinal de Noailles in terms so harsh, that the prince complained of them to the nuncio. As his whole reply, the legate showed him the secret instructions he had received by the same courier, and in which he protested his affection and esteem for the same cardinal, ordered him to seek out his friendship, and to induce him by all possible means to enter into the secrets and plans of the court of Rome. The holy father was then solely occupied with establishing as a principle, his infallibility in matters of religious doctrine, and on political questions, in order to be enabled to contest the monarchy of Sicily with the duke Victor Amadeus, which had fallen to him by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, concluded during the preceding years among the princes who had taken part in the war of the Spanish succession.

Since the peace, Clement the Eleventh had not ceased to lanch warnings, excommunications, and interdicts against Amadeus. But the new king of Sicily, without allowing himself to be disturbed by these hostile manifestations, had prohibited his subjects from publishing any writing from the court of Rome which had not first been examined by competent authority, and had not received the approval necessary for its promulgation. He had, moreover, declared the pontifical interdict abusive, and had rejected the bull fulminated by the pope to reject the old constitution of Urban the Second, which, since the eleventh century, had recognised the kings and queens of Sicily as born legates of the Holy See, and

authorised them to regulate, themselves, all the ecclesiastical, spiritual, and temporal affairs, with the assistance of a special tribunal, called the tribunal of monarchy. The royal advocate did not fail to protest against this decree, and to appeal from a pope badly informed, to his successor better informed. The thing was in this condition when the duke of Savoy, tired of his strife with the court of Rome, thought of bargaining his island of Sicily with Austria for other possessions.

The king of Spain, whom these dispositions thwarted very much, interfered in the matter through his minister Alberoni, who then played the first part in the Spanish monarchy. That extraordinary man, who had so many points of resemblance to Cardinal Richelieu, was merely the son of a gardener, of Fiorenzuola, a village of Parmesan. His first employment had been that of bell-ringer in the cathedral of Placenza; his fine figure and sprightliness were remarked by the count of Roncioveri, bishop of St. Donnin, who took him into his service, made him his Ganymede, and then gave him the rank of canon and chaplain. The same compliances had afterwards procured him the favour of the duke of Parma; and as the prince found ability in his minion, he did not disdain to talk with him sometimes of the important affairs of his duchy, which was the cause of the fortune of Alberoni.

One day the prince having to treat with the duke de Vendome, who commanded the armies of Italy, and not knowing to whom to confide his mission, offered it to the young abbe. The latter accepted it, went to the French camp as the commissary of the duke of Parma, and asked to be admitted to an audience of the general. The duke was so delighted with the new ambassador, that the latter was enabled to gain the cause he came to plead; The duke of Parma was, however, compelled to part with him, and he entered into the service of the French general, whose secretary and favourite he became. From that time he never left his new protector, and accompanied him to Spain when he went to take command of the army sent by Louis the Fourteenth to the aid of Philip the Fifth. On the death of the duke de Vendome, who was poisoned at Vignarez, in the kingdom of Valencia, Alberoni returned to Paris, from whence the duke of Parma sent him, shortly after, on a secret mission to the court of Madrid.

The princess des Ursini, the favourite of Philip the Fifth, then governed the kingdom, and made her authority to be felt so severely, that all the grandes, and even the monarch, were tired of her. Thus it was not difficult for Alberoni to negotiate the marriage of Philip the Fifth with Elizabeth Farnese, the heiress of the dutchees of Parma. The young princess came to Madrid, married the king, and exiled the favourite; and as a recompense to the skilful negotiator of her marriage, she surrendered herself to the former minion of her father, and raised him to the rank of first minister. Alberoni, invested with the confi-

dence of the sovereign, and in possession of the most elevated post in the kingdom, was not yet satisfied; he wished to govern alone. He used the ascendancy which he exercised over the new queen, insinuated to her that she ought to aspire to replace the princess des Ursini, and to seize on the royal authority in an absolute manner; that to attain this end, she should enervate her husband by voluptuousness, remain constantly with him, prevent even his valets from approaching him, except for indispensable services, and that, above all, she should accustom him never to give audience to any minister but in her presence.

Elizabeth executed the instructions of her lover with the most scrupulous exactitude, and entirely controlled the mind of the stupid Philip the Fifth. But as the young queen was incapable of governing a kingdom, it turned out that it was Alberoni who had in his hands the exercise of the supreme authority. It was not yet enough to have reached the power—he must maintain himself there. The minister was occupied in consolidating his position, and proceeded as Cardinal Richelieu had done, by removing from the court the *grandees* of the state, and particularly the ecclesiastics, whose perfidious spirit he well knew. He first exiled the bishop Tabarada, the governor of the council of Castile, and prepared his batteries to overthrow the grand inquisitor, the cardinal del Giudice, and Father d'Aubenton, one of the framers of the famous bull "Unigenitus," who was then the confessor of Philip the Fifth; his efforts, however, for the destruction of this Jesuit only served to excite the whole order against him, and to cause the hat of a cardinal, which he solicited, to be refused him.

The prudent Alberoni then changed his tactics; as he regarded it as essential for him to be admitted into the sacred college, as well to strengthen his title as first minister, as to obtain a guarantee of inviolability in case of disgrace, he became reconciled to d'Aubenton, engaged to maintain him in his post of confessor to the king, to abandon to him the whole control of affairs with the Holy See, and not to grant any benefice in Spain without his approval. On his side, the Jesuit promised to serve the minister, to smooth down the obstacles which opposed his elevation to the cardinalate, and to bring the Holy See into his interests. He also engaged to obtain for him the aid of the cardinal Aldovrandi, who had great influence in the sacred college, provided he should ask that he should be appointed nuncio in Spain.

Several favourable circumstances then came to aid the minister, and concurred in assuring his promotion. The Turks, after having conquered the Morea, and gained several victories over the Venetians, threatened Italy with an invasion, which alarmed the pope very much. On the other hand, the emperor of Germany, who still preserved his pretensions to the Spanish peninsula, also announced his intention to establish himself in Italy, to resume with more advantage hostilities against the house of

Bourbon. Thus Clement found himself in a most embarrassing position, as he was exposed to the attacks of the Musselmen, or to the evil designs of the imperialists, without being able to claim the aid of any power, Charles the Sixth having signified to him that he was unwilling that a single French or Spanish battalion should pass the Alps, and if they did, he would seize on the states of the church. It only remained for him to solicit vessels and galleys to combat the Turks by sea, whilst the Venetians, united with the Germans, would endeavour to repel them on land. He addressed himself to Spain, whose marine was flourishing, and besought Philip the Fifth to arm a fleet in his defence. Alberoni appeared to listen favourably to the demand of the holy father, and made great preparations to assemble an imposing squadron; at the same time he renewed his request to the court of Rome for the hat of a cardinal. As he was in no hurry to send his fleet to sea, Clement the Eleventh wished to seek other allies, and to form a powerful league against the infidels, of which the emperor of Germany and the czar were to be the heads. He immediately ordered his nuncio Bentivoglio, who resided in Paris, to labour secretly for the realization of this plan; and he himself even addressed a brief to Peter the Great, who was then in the capital of France. His holiness had a double purpose in writing to the autocrat of the north; that of interesting him in the success of a league that he thought necessary for the safety of Rome, and that of leading him to permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion through the whole extent of his dominions. The better to have his desires complied with, Clement had been careful to repeat in his letter all the emphatic titles which the czar took, although the pontiffs, his predecessors, had always refused to give the title of majesty to the dukes of Muscovy. Peter the Great, however, did not appear to attach much importance to this mark of deference by the holy father, for he contented himself with replying, that he would examine into the religious question on his return to St. Petersburg, and that, as to the affair of the league, he could not think of it until he had finished his war with Sweden.

Such promises were of no account to the sovereign pontiff, who wished to obtain prompt and immediate aid; he then turned to Spain, which had armed a formidable fleet, and reopened negotiations with Alberoni. The latter demanded the hat of a cardinal, and announced that the fleet would not sail until the pope had consented to his admission into the sacred college. The holy father, pressed by circumstances, solicited by the cardinal Aldovrandi, Father d'Aubenton, and other Jesuits whom he feared to discontent, opposed only a mild resistance. But events suddenly occurred to overthrow the plans of the minister. The emperor having been informed that the grand inquisitor of Spain had gone to Milan to take part in some political machinations, had him arrested and kept prisoner. Alberoni

used this pretended violation of the law of nations, as a pretext to declare war on the empire, and the Spanish squadron sailed at once from the ports of the Mediterranean. Clement the Eleventh suspected then that the minister had taken him for his dupe, and that the fleet had been destined for a long time to attack Naples or Sicily, and swore on the consecrated host that he would never make Alberoni a cardinal.—The oath of a priest! Some days afterwards the nuncio Aldovrandi had so well demonstrated to the pope, that the expedition had sailed to chastise the barbarian pirates, and not to attack Sardinia, nor make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, that he reviewed his former decision, and in full consistory, conferred the title of cardinal on Alberoni, on the 12th of July, 1717. At almost the same moment, the Spaniards, commanded by the marquis of Leda, approached the coast of Sardinia, seized upon Cagliari, and after having left a garrison there, returned to their vessels, and went against Sicily. His holiness, twice tricked by Alberoni, exclaimed treason, and exhausted himself in powerless threats against the Spanish minister. Afterwards, however, the latter was to experience the effects of the hatred of the pontiff.

The approach of a war which threatened to embrace anew all Europe, did not prevent the Jesuits from continuing their intrigues for the acceptance of the constitution "Unigenitus." In France they ruled, thanks to the abbe Dubois, who laboured to merit his hat of cardinal, and who used his influence over the regent to obtain the pure and simple acceptance of the bull. Finally, the infamous abbe, seconded by the nuncio Bentivoglio, extorted from the duke of Orleans a consent, which rendered the constitution obligatory on all the faithful, and enabled the execrable disciples of Loyola to gain their cause over the prelates who wished to defend the liberties of the Gallican church. The Sorbonne, which had recently decreed that the acceptance wrested from the dead king was not obligatory, received orders to stop its session, and saw this decision ratified by a bull of the pope, which declared the doctors stripped of every dignity, until they amended their lives; deprived them of all the privileges which had been delegated to them by his predecessors, and prohibited them from admitting any clerk to the grade of doctor in theology.

Clement then renewed his attacks against the cardinal de Noailles, the head of the council of conscience, and held a general congregation of cardinals to judge the prelate. He pronounced the following discourse on this subject:—"My brethren, we are occupied about a great culprit, the archbishop of Paris, formerly the son of our joy, now the son of our grief. If, however, this child of our predilection had ignorance as an excuse, we would be disposed to pardon him; but no, the servant knew the will of his master and refused to perform it. We have seen him unsubdued in a criminal letter which he signed with his own hand. Thus, he has condemned

himself, and we would be culpable if our love prevented us from punishing him; we are then determined to take the hat of a cardinal from him, for we must reject from the synagogue and the sanhedrim, him who has stood up against the success of the apostle." At the close of the consistory, he published extremely violent briefs against the opposing bishops, in which he declared, "that to seek to interpret the bull 'Unigenitus,' was to desire the fruit of the forbidden tree, and that curiosity should yield to faith."

So much audacity alarmed the regent himself, and induced him to make the parliaments of the kingdom interfere in the quarrel to prevent the Roman rescripts from being admitted into France, unless they were accompanied by letters patent. He moreover encouraged the faculties of theology of Rheims, Nantz, and Caen, to follow the example of that of Paris, to erase the decrees of acceptance, and to appeal from the constitution to a future council, not to interpret it, but to condemn it as bad and contrary to the truth, as overthrowing the faith, destructive to morality, ruinous to ecclesiastical discipline, violating the sacred rights of the episcopate, and annihilating the authority of sovereigns.

This levy of bucklers plunged Clement the Eleventh into an abyss of perplexities. On the one hand he saw from the boldness of his opponents, that all orders in the kingdom sustained them, that the parliaments and the faculties waited but the opportunity to declare against the bull, all the inferior clergy and the people applauded the opposition; on the other side, he perceived that the bishops of his party, and the regent himself, would approve of the act of appeal as soon as they saw that it was universally demanded by the provinces.

To allay the storm and save the pontifical infallibility, Clement wished to temporise; he sent the Jesuit Lafitteau to the cardinal de la Tremouille, who was commissioned by the regent to settle with the court of Rome all questions regarding the bull "Unigenitus," and instructed him to solicit from the duke of Orleans, a declaration by which it should be enjoined on the French bishops neither to speak nor write against the constitution, offering, on these terms, to take no new determinations against its opponents. At the same time, he wrote the following letter to the archbishop of Paris to endeavour to gain him over to his cause, or at least to weaken his resentment:

"To our very dear son Louis Anthony, of the order of St. Marie sur la Minerve, priest of the holy Roman church, Cardinal de Noailles, Clement the Eleventh:

"My dear son, health and the apostolical blessing:

"The sharp thorns which have so long pierced our heart, on account of the resistance of a small number of French bishops to our constitution "Unigenitus," causes us to feel most sensibly, when we reflect on the words of our divine master, which recommend fra-

ternal union to his disciples. Jesus Christ was unwilling that his seamless robe, which, in its allegorical sense, signifies the church, should be divided by those who crucified him; he did no more permit, whatever desire he had to suffer for us, that his bones should be broken on the cross, so as to teach us, that every division, light as it might be, which the mystical bones of his body suffered, which is the clergy, should be sharper for him than the flagellation and punishment of the cross; from which we must infer how much he must condemn that baneful dissension which troubles France, to the contempt of Catholic authority, and to the danger of the destruction of the Christian religion. God knows how often we would have offered to him the sacrifice of our life to appease this horrible tempest, and how often we have carried our prayers to the foot of his throne, to ask that you, our most dear son, would be at length enlightened by his divine light, and that you would recognise that it is time to heal the evils which bad men do in your name, and hinder those with which they still menace the church.

"We conjure you with all possible earnestness, by the holy mysteries instituted on that day of which we celebrate the memory, to be willing to listen to our voice, or rather to the word of Christ himself, who speaks to you by our mouth, and exhorts you paternally to distrust your reason in a matter of so grave importance, to make a generous sacrifice of your own sentiments, to prefer the tranquillity of the church to worldly considerations, to give the example of submission to our constitution, to cover with shame the wicked and heretics who rejoice in our discords. May it please the divine clemency to give a triumphant force to our words, that it may dispose your lordship to diffuse them, and that it may pour into the great church of the flourishing kingdom of France, the treasures of blessings which we desire for it in our apostolical meekness. Given at Rome, in our palace of St. Peter, on Holy Thursday, in the year 1717, and in the seventeenth year of our pontificate."

This letter was handed to the archbishop of Paris by the nuncio, and immediately communicated by the prelate to the council of the regency. It was generally approved of. The duke of Orleans, who hoped that it announced the termination of the theological quarrels, induced the cardinal to raise no obstacle to the peace, and to propose to the holy father an arrangement which should lead the two parties to a reconciliation by means of mutual concessions, promising to act for this purpose on the court of Rome. The archbishop immediately wrote a profoundly respectful letter to Clement, in which, without giving an explicit or implied adhesion to the constitution "Unigenitus," he enumerated at length all the evils which it had produced, and besought him to seek a remedy which should put an end to them. This epistle was presented to his holiness by the cardinal de la Tremouille.

When Clement the Eleventh had read it, he crushed it with rage in his hands, blas-

phemed, and turning towards the plenipotentiary of the regent, said to him with concentrated rage, "that it was unnecessary to send so large a volume to announce to him that his bull was rejected." The cardinal replied, that the acceptance by Monseigneur de Noailles, whom he supposed to be the leader of the appellants, would not annihilate an opposition which counted almost all Frenchmen in its ranks; that times had changed since the death of Louis the Fourteenth; that it was imprudent in the holy father to show so much obstinacy in the maintenance of a bull which he well knew to be filled with vicious and erroneous propositions; that the regent would not send its opponents to the bastille, and persecute the clergy, the theologians, and the magistracy, to please the Jesuits; that, finally, it was time to put an end to ridiculous quarrels which endangered the throne. The pope exclaimed against the audacity of the cardinal, declared that he would abate nothing from his pretensions, that he was infallible, and that it was his will that the bull should be received as an article of faith.

His eminence hastened to transmit the result of his negotiations to the regent, who, seeing the impossibility of obtaining the slightest concession from the obstinate pontiff, published a declaration which imposed silence about the constitution on all parties, and caused the court of Rome to be informed of it. Clement the Eleventh at first pronounced it outrageous, raged against the duke of Orleans, threatened France with his thunders, and called down all the curses of heaven upon the nation. Then, after some remarks of the cardinal de la Tremouille, he softened down, wonderfully, and discovering that he had to fear lest the regent should exact forcibly what was refused to his diplomatic agents, he announced that he consented to enter into arrangements.

When the conditions of the treaty were discussed, the pope avowed that he had yielded only to the solicitations of the Jesuits, and had granted the bull "Unigenitus," but at the pressing solicitations of the dead king, and on the payment to him of some millions; he only asked them to double the sum for its revocation. The exactions of the sovereign pontiff not having been admitted, all agreement was broken off, and things remained on their former footing. Clement immediately seized skilfully on the pretext of a publication of an appeal, fabricated in the name of the cardinal de Noailles, by the Jesuits, to assemble a congregation, and to have the apocryphal act condemned at the same time, with the act of appeal before drawn up by the French bishops. In his new bull, "Pastoralis officii," he was not content with fulminating his anathemas against the clergy and laity, who refused to adhere to the constitution "Unigenitus," he even enjoined on the faithful to have no communication with the rebels, who disguised their heresy and their sophism under the name of opponents, and declared as separate from the communion of the Catholic and Roman church, those who contravened his orders.

On the appearance of this bull, the nation was moved, the universities assembled, and protested energetically against the pretensions of the Holy See; the parliament did not remain behind the schools, and published a decree against it. The cardinal de Noailles, supported by the chapter of Notre Dame at Paris, launched a new appeal against this second bull, and the constitution "Unigenitus," declaring that Clement the Eleventh violated the most essential rights of the episcopate, destroyed the fundamental maxims of the Gallican liberties, attacked the laws of discipline, and sowed the seeds of trouble in church and state.

Though beaten down by this explosion of hatred, the Jesuits were not conquered; the imminence of the common danger brought them closer together, and they appeared to be more formidable than ever. They drew into their party the infamous Abbe Dubois, the purveyor of the regent, who aspired to play in the state the part of Richelieu or of Mazarin, and who wished, after their example, to obtain the hat of cardinal. This venerable personage offered to the duke of Orleans his mediation in the matter, and engaged to terminate the discussions to his entire satisfaction. The end of the abbe was to use the Jesuit Lafitteau, the secret agent of the Holy See, to bring about an arrangement between the court of Rome and the regent, reserving for himself, as his reward, his entrance into the sacred college. But the end proved that he had counted too much on the influence Father Lafitteau had over Clement; notwithstanding the entreaties and the pressing messages of the Jesuit, his holiness refused to relax from his rigour, and even caused a pastoral instruction of the cardinal de Noailles, to be condemned by the inquisition at Rome, which embittered the opponents very much.

Clement the Eleventh preserved no more restraint in his intercourse with Spain than with France; the disgust which he felt at having had the hat of a cardinal extorted from him by the minister of Philip the Fifth, led him from his habitual policy, and induced him to thwart the political plans of Alberoni. The end of the latter, in his war with the empire, was to assure the sovereignty of Naples, Sicily, and the ports of Tuscany, to the king of Spain, and the consent of the other powers, that the estates of the grand duke and of the dutchy of Parma, should go as a heritage to one of the sons of Philip the Fifth, in case these princes died without heirs. He proposed as a recompense to divide the territory of Mantua; to give one part to the duke of Guastalla and the other to the Venetians; he offered to grant the Milanese and Montserrat whole to the emperor, to yield Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, for Sicily, preserving to him the title of king; finally, to restore Commachio to the court of Rome.

Not content with refusing his consent to these arrangements, the holy father sought to excite France, Holland and England against Spain, and caused it to be signified to Philip

the Fifth, in the name of these three powers, that they would invade his kingdom if the queen persisted in maintaining the cardinal Alberoni in power. This threat had no influence on the king of Spain; the cardinal minister preserved the supreme authority, and regulated as before the destinies of Europe. Alberoni had even the impudence to solicit from the court of Rome, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred between him and Clement the Eleventh, bulls of investiture for the bishopric of Malaga, and the archbishopric of Seville, which had been given him by his Catholic majesty. On the refusal of the sovereign pontiff to acquiesce in his request, he referred it to the council of Castile, which was entirely composed of his creatures, and obtained an order enjoining on the pope to send the bulls of investiture speedily, if he did not wish to be constrained to do so by force of arms.

Clement made no reply, and maintained his first refusal; the minister, rendered furious by the silence of the court of Rome, determined to strike a great blow, in order to give a lesson to the pope, he said; and to teach him not to forget the respect which was due to a cardinal, he sent an order to the apostolic nuncio to leave Madrid. Before obeying, the cardinal Aldovrandi asked, and obtained permission to communicate with the Holy See, to make a last effort in favour of peace; the legate, who was strongly attached to his nunciship, on account of the great profits he derived from it, sent a message to the pope, and pointed out to him, in his correspondence, all the motives which should induce him to desire peace with Spain; he even insinuated to him, that if he persisted in refusing to grant the bulls asked by the council of Castile, he might fear lest the Spanish troops, who were in Italy, might make an advance towards Rome. None of these considerations could change the determination of Clement. He wrote to the cardinal Aldovrandi not to quit the capital, and he would charge himself with the rest; and the same courier who had borne the despatches from the legate, brought back to Alberoni, who was then at Balsain with the court, a brief from his holiness relating the order enjoined on the cardinal Aldovrandi to remain in Spain. The minister seeing his authority openly braved, resolved to act with vigour; he started immediately to Madrid, went to the palace of the nuncio, closed it, set guards on the legate to prevent him from leaving it, and sent an order to the cardinal Aquaviva, the ambassador of his Catholic majesty to Clement the Eleventh, to leave the states of the church, and inform his holiness that an army would enter Italy to attack Rome, if he did not immediately apologise.

Nothing could move the pontiff; he replied to the Spanish cardinal that he was about to disgrace Alberoni from his dignity of prince of the church, as guilty of rebellion towards the Holy See, and without troubling himself, he allowed the ambassador to depart for Spain. The great confidence of the pope arose from

his having been informed by Father d'Aubenton, who had a short time before rejoined his party, that the credit of the minister was daily diminishing, and that the queen, lanced into new intrigues, paid scarcely any attention to her old lover, who was in some sort under the control of Laura, her nurse, and the go-between in her debauchery. His holiness had arranged his plans accordingly; thanks to a large sum of money, he had bought the nurse into his interests, and counted on the disgrace of the favourite before he could put his plans in execution. It so turned out; Queen Elizabeth, overreached by her confidant, determined to rid herself of a lover who had become importunate, and one morning the first minister received orders to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in fifteen days. Alberoni, driven from Spain, was obliged to wander about, under a feigned name, to avoid the poinards of the satellites of the Holy See; at length, tired of his wandering life, he determined to fix his residence at Sestri di Levante, in the territory of Genoa, where he underwent new persecutions from Clement the Eleventh, and even from Philip the Fifth.

This success emboldened the pope, and

gave him such confidence in his political skill, that he supposed no one could resist him; he even dared to make an effort with the emperor of Russia, to bring about the reunion of the Greek and Roman churches. But the czar Peter, who did not think of bowing his head beneath the yoke of a priest, drove off the legates he sent to him, and to take away from the pontiffs all hopes of extending their influence into Russia, he determined to give the people of his capital the spectacle of the enthronement of a pope; he chose one of his buffoons, named Joseph, to play this part, and had him promenaded through the streets of St. Petersburg with a fool, who represented a popess, in the midst of the most burlesque ceremonies.

Clement the Eleventh perceived that he had presumed too much on his influence; he abandoned his plans of converting Russia, and fell back on France, which he continued to trouble with new claims until the time of his death, which took place on the 19th of March, 1721. Pasquin made his funeral eulogy in two lines: "Rome rejoice, thou art delivered from that pope who promised much, performed but little, and wept all the time."

INNOCENT THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1721.]

Funeral of Clement the Eleventh—Alberoni comes to Rome to concur in the election—Intrigue of Michael Angelo Conti—He signs a promise to give the hat to the abbé Dubois—His exaltation—Dubois, the first minister of the regent, purchases the hat of a cardinal—Nepotism of Innocent the Thirteenth—Tergiversation of the pope in the affair of the Quesnellists—The abbe Tencin and the holy father—Sickness of the sovereign pontiff—He sells permission to Louis the Fifteenth to breakfast before communion—Quarrel between the Holy See and the empire—Alberoni is absolved from all the accusations brought against him during the preceeding pontificate—Persecutions by the Jesuits in China of the legate Mezzabarba—Innocent the Thirteenth announces that he is about to reform the Society of Jesus—He dies poisoned.

As soon as Clement the Eleventh had closed his eyes, the cardinal camerlingue discharged the functions of his office; he called the dead pope three times, according to usage, and receiving no reply, he approached the body with the cardinal grand master of the chamber, took the ring of the fisherman, and then ordered all the bells of the city to be rung, to announce to the faithful that the pope had finished his reign. On the next day the mortal remains of Clement the Eleventh were borne to the Quirinal palace in the Vatican, and from thence to the church of St. Peter, where, for nine days, solemn offices were celebrated for the repose of his soul.

Whilst the funeral ceremonies were proceeding, the cardinals who aspired to the papacy set to work to secure votes. As at this time no voice was to be disdained, several competitors recollected that Alberoni dwelt in the territory of Genoa, and wrote to him to

come and take part in the conclave, although judicial proceedings had been then commenced to deprive him of the purple. He yielded to the urgency of his colleagues, went to Rome without show or noise, in his own carriage, and was received in the conclave with the honours usually rendered to the princes of the church.

All the cardinals being seated, according to their rank, in the Sixtine chapel, the bulls which regulated the order of the elections were read in a loud voice, then each swore to observe the constitutions which rendered the property of the Holy See inalienable. After this ceremony the ballot was opened, and the intrigues commenced among the different competitors.

For a month the balance was suspended between the three principal factions, the French, the Italian, and the Spaniard; finally, it inclined to the side of Cardinal Michael

Angelo Conti, who had brought Alberoni into his party, by promising him to put an end to the persecutions against him, and who had also attached the cardinal de Rohan to his cause, by engaging in writing to give the hat to Dubois, the prime minister of France. There were still struggles and skirmishes for ten or eleven days, but the money of France rendered the most obstinate docile, and on the 8th of May, 1721, the cardinal Michael Angelo Conti, was proclaimed sovereign pontiff.

After the ceremonies of the exaltation, the abbe Tencin, who was the creature of Dubois and the secret agent of the regent at the court of Rome, summoned the new pope to keep the promise he had made to the cardinal de Rohan, and to elevate the favourite of Philip of Orleans to the rank of a prince of the church.

His holiness, who justly feared to excite a general discontent by appointing as cardinal a man so infamous as Dubois, wished to review his promise, and argued from the necessity in which he was placed of retarding the promotion. The abbe Tencin who had received orders to hasten the conclusion of this affair, threatened to publish the secret engagement given to the cardinal de Rohan, and which invalidated the election of the pope as simoniacal; he besides offered to the holy father eight millions of francs, in exchange for a simple act of compliance. Innocent yielded to such powerful reasoning and signed the promotion of Dubois.

The panegyrist of the holy father seek to excuse this guilty action, by representing it as a weakness, by showing that he distributed the money among his two brothers, the duke de Poli and Monsignor Conti, Benedictine monks, his two sisters, the one the widow of the duke of Aquasparta, the other the wife of the prince Ruspoli, and his five nephews or nieces.

It was supposed that in his conduct, he would be a faithful continuer of the policy of his predecessors, and that he would maintain the bull "Unigenitus;" but it turned out the reverse, as he showed himself favourable to the appellants, either from a secret engagement with the cardinal de Rohan, who was hostile to its supporters, or from his hatred to the Jesuits, who were becoming daily more formidable. His holiness entered into communication with the cardinal de Noailles, and addressed a brief to him to engage him to turn his attention to devising means which should put an end to the troubles which the Jesuits, Louis the Fourteenth, and Clement the Eleventh, had excited and sustained for so many years in the kingdom.

Unfortunately, this first step failed in its effect, in consequence of the precipitation of the opponents themselves. Seven bishops of the party, finding themselves sustained by the head of the church, thought that victory was assured to them; they preserved no restraint in the manifestations of their joy, and wrote a letter in which they attacked violently the bull "Unigenitus" in its fundamentals and form, laid it down as a principle, that

a pope had no right to promulgate a constitution without the consent of the cardinals, and blamed the dead pontiff sharply, for having proceeded to the condemnation of Father Quesnel, without the approval of the archbishop of Paris.

This imprudent letter, which was printed and distributed, made so much noise, that the pope found himself constrained to hand it over to the congregation of the holy office, if he did not wish to be regarded as a Quesnellist. It was condemned by a decree, as containing several propositions injurious to the Catholic prelates of France, to the memory of Clement the Eleventh, and the Holy Apostolic See.

The abbe Tencin, the secret agent of the regent, continued to dwell at Rome, and to give cause for scandal, by the most shameful excesses, when he took the singular fancy to be made a cardinal. As he had not surrendered to the holy father, the promise written, when in the conclave, with his own hand, to promote Dubois, he impudently offered to the pope to traffic it against a hat. At such an overture Innocent could not restrain a movement of indignation; he replied to the diplomatic spy, that he could not accede to his demand; that the nomination of the favourite of the regent had already made him enough enemies; that he could, however, excuse himself for that fault, by the pressing solicitations of the French government, and the recommendation of the emperor; but that he had no reason to allege for the promotion of an abbe who had no dignities, titles, nor avowed functions; who was only known at Rome for his excessive immorality, and in France for his incests with his sister, and the renown of an infamous trial.

Tencin retired covered with confusion, without, however, having renounced his plan; he returned to the charge some days afterwards, insisted, threatened, and so beset the holy father, that the latter, tormented by the idea that in a moment all Europe, informed of his shameful bargain with the cardinal de Rohan, would withdraw from their obedience to him, and on the other side, recoiling before the accomplishment of a fresh outrage, fell into a kind of black melancholy, which was very injurious to his health.

These grave subjects of contrarieties did not, however, prevent Innocent from attending to the temporal affairs of the church. The movement of the imperial armies in Italy, and the disembarkation of some Spanish troops, appeared to announce that hostilities were about to recommence between the two parties. The pope did not allow himself to be governed by appearances; he perceived that this display of forces was only to compel him to decide in the affair of the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. To prevent a disagreement, he was beforehand with them, and announced that he was willing to give entire satisfaction to the court of Vienna, and that he was ready to receive the white hackney and the purse of five thousand ducats of gold, which composed the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the

Holy See. He also took care to press the ceremony of the investiture, that the emperor Charles the Sixth, might send a fleet to sea, and attend to the defence of the island of Malta, which was threatened by the Turks. The pope also wished to interest the other Catholic princes in a kind of crusade against the Sublime Porte, and addressed briefs to all the courts of Europe, to obtain contributions in troops, vessels, and especially money.

France was then engaged in preparations for the coronation of Louis the Fifteenth, and the minister Dubois had asked from the court of Rome for authority for the young monarch to breakfast before communing, that he might be the better enabled to support the fatigue of this long ceremony. His holiness took advantage of the circumstance, and sold this ridiculous dispensation for several millions. The attention which Innocent showed not to confide the conduct of the war against the Turks exclusively to Charles the Sixth, showed that he was endowed with a rare sagacity, and had foreseen what was about to happen; for scarcely had the emperor received the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, than he wished to put himself in the stead and place of the sovereign pontiff, and gave the investiture of Parma and Placenza to the infant Don Carlos, under the pretext that these provinces were mere fiefs of the empire. The court of Rome loudly demanded the rights it claimed over these states; but neither sovereign troubled himself about their claims, and the threats as well as the prudence of the holy father were insufficient to prevent this usurpation of power.

Alberoni then occupied the attention of Europe by his quarrels with the court of Spain; tired of being the object of the persecutions of his old master, the deceitful Philip the Fifth, he himself demanded that the pope should try

him; he appeared before the assembly of cardinals, defended himself from all the accusations brought against him, and obtained a brief of absolution.

This bull contained, in substance, that Alberoni was not guilty of any of the accusations brought before the cardinals by the Spanish monarch and Clement the Eleventh; that in consequence his holiness imposed perpetual silence on those who had taken steps against him, abolished all the censures inflicted on him, washed him from the spots cast upon his purple without its being necessary for him to justify himself farther from the accusations and proceedings brought against him, and willed that he should in future enjoy all his prerogatives and dignities as a prince of the church.

Some days afterwards another event, whose result was to be fatal to the sovereign pontiff, occurred to distract men's minds. The legate Mezzabarba, sent into China to abolish the worship of Confucius, returned to Rome and rendered an account to the society of the propaganda of the persecutions to which he had been subjected by the Jesuits. He related in full detail the abominations of which the Jesuits were guilty, and the idolatries which they authorised. He formally accused them of the death of the unfortunate Cardinal de Tournon, and of their efforts to corrupt and intimidate him. All these things appeared so serious to Innocent, that notwithstanding his fear of discontenting the Jesuits, he announced his intention to issue edicts for the reform of the society, and as a first step prohibited them from receiving adepts. The good fathers apparently submitted, and laboured in the dark to rid themselves of the pontiff. The work was finally accomplished. Innocent the Thirteenth died in the midst of frightful convulsions, which detached his intestines, and caused them to fall into the scrotum.

BENEDICT THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD POPE.

[A. D. 1724.]

Election of Benedict the Thirteenth—Origin of the holy father—Nicholas Coscia, one of his domestics, governs the church in his name—Attempt to reform the clergy and the religious orders—The pope reigns but does not govern—He shows himself favourable to the appellants—Correspondence between the pope and the cardinal de Noailles—The Jesuits become more formidable than ever—Intrigues of Fleury, the bishop of Frejus and instructor of Louis the Fifteenth, to obtain the hat of a cardinal—The duke de Bourbon the minister, and his mistress, the marchioness de Prie, become the instruments of the Jesuits—Quarrels about the twelve articles—Council of the Lateran—Plan of the pope to reunite the four Christian communions—The pope in tutelage—Fleury prime minister of France—Condemnation of an octogenarian prelate—The inhabitants of the canton of Luzerne drive the Jesuits from their territory—Journey of the holy father to Beneventum—He puts forth a bull in favour of the Dominicans, and condemns the constitution "Unigenitus"—Intrigues of the Jesuits—Peace between the courts of Rome and Turin—Divisions between the Holy See and the king of Portugal—Consultation of fifty French advocates—Remorse and death of the cardinal de Noailles—The bull "Unigenitus" is definitely accepted in France—Triumph of the Jesuits—Legend concerning Gregory the Seventh—Death of Benedict the Thirteenth.

WHEN the funeral of Innocent the Thirteenth was over, the cardinals entered into conclave and formed several factions to elevate a new pontiff to the throne of the apostle.

The cardinal Olivieri, one of the gentlemen ushers, intrigued with so much address in behalf of Peter Francis Orsini, the candidate of the Italian party, that he gained a majority of the votes for him, and he was proclaimed pope by the name of Benedict the Thirteenth. He was a monk of the order of St. Dominic, of a character so detestable, that, according to the report of Father Cloche, the general of the order, he resembled a club of acacia, pointed, hard, and crooked. He was, moreover, regarded as the most stupid of the members of the sacred college. But he had the merit in the eyes of the ambitious, who desired to supplant him, of being more than seventy-five years old, and of feeble health.

Historians who have written about this pontiff say, that he embraced the monastic life in his earliest youth, and was not long in making a brilliant fortune in the ecclesiastical career, through the influence of his father, the duke of Bassiano, of the family of the Ursini; that he successively obtained the sees of Manfredonia, Cesena, the archbishopric of Benevento, and, finally, the title of cardinal. What most distinguished Benedict the Thirteenth, was an absolute incapacity for business, so that on the very day of his exaltation, he announced to the sacred college, that he would discharge the government of the church through one of his old domestics, Nicholas Coscia, whom he had made his major domo, and whom he afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal, and the archbishopric of Benevento.

From the very commencement of his reign he was animated by the most laudable intentions. He announced that he was desirous of introducing salutary reforms among the clergy, as well as among Christian societies; and to put his plans in execution, he instituted a congregation, which held several sessions under his presidency. Unfortunately, the cardinals, who made a part of the assembly, and who were interested in the maintenance of abuses, adroitly thrust aside all the propositions which were submitted to them, and employed the sessions in the discussion of very insignificant decrees, one of which prohibited the clergy from wearing wigs, and another condemned public girls, who were enjoined to confine their residence without the gates of the holy city. Coscia, whom these reforms threatened in his dearest interests, in the sale of employments, benefices, annates, indulgences, and absolutions, and who dreaded to see the source of his disgraceful profits dried up, took care to dissuade the pope from changing any thing.

His holiness, for a long time habituated to see only with the eyes of his minister, and to follow his counsels, abandoned his generous intentions, and threw himself into theological questions. It is maintained that the high favour which Coscia enjoyed with his master, arose from a pleasant farce which the latter had played off in the beginning of the reign of Benedict. The good pope had several times been informed of his licentious conduct, his intrigues with courtezans, and had threatened

him with disgrace if he were assured of it. One morning the minister had the holy father warned, that he was shut up in a secret chamber of the palace with one of his mistresses. Benedict was immediately conducted to the designated apartment, to surprise the culprit, and to drive him off. Having arrived at the threshold of the door and hearing no noise, he stopped, looked through the key-hole, and saw his secretary on his knees before a crucifix; he then saw him rise, take a discipline, and strike himself heavy blows with it. The pope, duped by this jugglery, would never afterwards listen to any accusation against the pious Coscia. The latter greatly abused his simplicity; he placed no bound to the excesses of his private life, controlled the mind of the pontiff entirely, and remained absolute master, to govern at his will the spiritual and temporal affairs of the church.

Benedict the Thirteenth reigned but in name; his old valet became the true depository of the spiritual and temporal authority; and if he sometimes permitted him to play his part of pope, it was but in questions of theology, which he regarded as too absurd, and altogether unworthy of him. Thus he submitted to him the letter which the cardinal de Noailles wrote to his holiness congratulating him on his exaltation, and expressing the hope he entertained, in regard to the cessation of the quarrels excited by the constitution "Unigenitus."

The pope received the message of the archbishop of Paris favourably, and replied to him in ambiguous terms, which made him hope he would take the part of the appellants against the Jesuits, if the clergy of France consented to make some concession. In this supposition Monseigneur de Noailles drew up, with the approval of the opposing bishops, a memoir which contained twelve propositions on doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline; he immediately sent it to the court of Rome, to have it approved by the sacred college, promising, in exchange, to cause the bull "Unigenitus" to be received in the kingdom. Benedict appointed a committee to examine the twelve propositions and make a report to him. After a conference of three months, the committee reported to him, that the articles proposed for his verification had no need of approval, since they were the expression of evangelical doctrines and were not contested by any one; that the cardinal de Noailles ought to accept the bull "Unigenitus" purely and simply, revoke his appeal, and disavow generally all that he had written and done against the constitution, and expressly to condemn his pastoral instruction. This decision, which placed the friends of the constitution and its opponents on their former ground, without giving the slightest satisfaction to the latter, showed plainly that the Jesuits had resumed their empire at the court of Rome. Moreover, there could no longer be a doubt about it, when Benedict the Thirteenth, or rather his infamous minister, suspended the inquires of the society of the propaganda into

the affair of the Chinese worship, and exiled the legate Mezzabarba, the same whom his predecessor wished to appoint a prince of the church, as a recompense for the courage which he had shown in his dangerous mission. The cause of this change arose from the Jesuits having brought the cardinal Coscia into their interests, by opening to him their treasury, and permitting him to draw his hands full out of it.

In France, especially since the death of the regent, their credit had revived, and they were more powerful than ever. The duke of Bourbon, then prime minister, his mistress, the marchioness de Prie, as well as Monseigneur de Fleury, bishop of Frejus, and preceptor to the king, were all entirely devoted to them, and did their best to aid them to triumph. The stupid duke of Bourbon, who was called monsieur the duke, pushed his fanaticism so far as to lanch against the protestants a decree, which prohibited the most secret exercise of the reformed religion under penalty of death, and which declared the memory of those who expired without receiving the sacraments, infamous.

The parliaments were cowardly enough to register this tyrannical edict, whose clauses, in some particulars, excelled the odious ordinances of Louis the Fourteenth; and the attacks against the Quesnellists resumed a new intensity. The opposing bishops defended themselves vigorously, accused the Holy See of bad faith, and furnished, as a proof of it, the refusal to approve of the twelve propositions, which the pope himself had indicated in his correspondence with the archbishop of Paris, as a sufficient modification of the bull "Unigenitus;" they even published the secret letters of the pope, with commentaries on the twelve articles, which overthrew all the doctrines of the constitution "Unigenitus." Fleury obtained a decree of the council of state against the work, providing that it should be suppressed, and that the copies already distributed, should be handed in and torn up by the public executioner.

The excess of rigour which was employed towards the twelve propositions, was the more incomprehensible, since a committee of cardinals had declared them to be holy and orthodox; but the better to cause the conduct of the supporters of Jesuitism to be appreciated, we give the text of these remarkable articles:

1st. Since the sin of Adam no one can acquire true justice or eternal safety, without faith in the Redeemer, more or less developed and distinct, according to the difference in times and persons.

2d. The law of Moses did not give by its own virtue, the grace which is essentially necessary to accomplish the commands of God.

3d. No one resists the absolute will of God.

4th. In the state of fallen nature, in order that the free will of man be deemed to sin or to merit, it is not necessary that there should be an equal aptitude for good or evil, nor that one should find in his will equal force for these two desires.

5th. We may maintain, without error, that the blind and the hardened are sometimes deprived of all inward grace, as a punishment for preceding sins; but it would be condemnable to advance that a man deprived of all grace, can commit the most enormous sine, and the greatest impurities without being guilty before God.

6th. The capital and most essential point of the Christian religion is the divine commandment of the love of God; and this commandment is distinguished from others.

7th. The affinity of all our actions to God is from precept, and not alone from council, and it is not enough that our actions tend to him by implication.

8th. He who commits mortal sins offends God, though he is ignorant of the commands of God, or though he is not actually thinking of him, or though he does not do an express action through the malice of sin.

9th. Those do not follow the sure way of safety, who do not ask in the sacrament of penance, the same love of God, which the second council of Orange and the council of Trent demand from adults, in order to be justified in the sacrament of baptism.

10th. It is a conduct in conformity with the precept of the gospel, and the rules of the church to withhold the benefit of absolution from penitents who are charged with very great or public crimes; or from those who are in the habit, or even in the near occasion of mortal sins; from those who refuse to be reconciled sincerely with their enemies, to restore the property they have taken from their neighbour, either of honour or reputation, and to repair the scandal which they have voluntarily caused by their irregularities or their calumnies.

11th. Holy reading is, without doubt, useful in itself, it is not, however, absolutely necessary for all men without exception, and every one is not permitted to interpret according to his fancy, by following his own mind as his rule, nor to read without preserving the respect and obedience due to pastors, or without a sincere submission to the church, which alone is the judge of the true sense and proper interpretation of scripture.

12th. If any sentence of excommunication clearly prohibits the exercise of acts of true virtue, or diverts from a true precept, it ought at once to be regarded as null and unjust, and that in conformity with the most sacred decrees of the church.

The persecutions recommenced against the opponents of the bull, to force them to receive it without modification; Fleury, who aspired to the cardinalate, wished to prove his zeal, and persecuted the monks of the Chartreuse at Paris, who had been denounced to him as Quesnellists by the Sulpicians; twenty-six of these solitaires were obliged to burst the doors of their cells, and escape from their convent to shun the hatred of their enemies; they took refuge in Holland, from whence they protested against the execrable tyranny of the Holy See.

To render to each the justice which is his due, we will say that these rigorous acts were prescribed by cardinal Coccia, and not by Benedict the Thirteenth, who always showed a disposition to sustain the Jansenists rather than the Jesuits. The pontiff was only guilty in having placed his confidence in a minister who abused it to do evil. Still, we must give as an excuse for his negligence, that he was entirely absorbed in the approach of the jubilee of the first quarter of the century.

As usual pilgrims flocked to Rome, increased the treasures of the Vatican, and carried away, in exchange for their money, indulgences, absolutions, scapularies, rosaries, relics, consecrated rings, and all the trifles which are found in the shop of the pope.

During the following year, Benedict the Thirteenth opened, in the church of St. John of the Lateran, a council at which thirty-two cardinals and fifty-two prelates assisted. His holiness had convened this assembly to regulate some very important points of ecclesiastical discipline and of the liturgy; but the fathers, who were most of them affiliated with the Jesuits or sold to the society, instead of occupying themselves with the questions which were submitted to them, employed their sessions in haranguing about the bull "Unigenitus," and decided that it should be maintained complete. It was in vain that the pope wished to interpose his authority, and claim the benefits of pontifical infallibility; the prelates went on and caused him to affix his signature to the foot of their decrees, by abusing his good faith, and gliding in this important piece among other papers which the secretary of the synod was ordered to place before him each day for his signature.

A Dominican, who assisted at the conferences, wrote a very energetic letter to his superior, in which he thus expresses himself concerning the proceedings in the assembly of St. John of the Lateran:—"You will know, my venerable father, that acts have occurred at Rome which merit the just reprobation of the heretics. A pope, pious and full of good intentions, assembles his prelates to produce a reform in the morals of the clergy, and in the doctrines of a corrupt society; he has the authority in his hand; all who form the synod declare that he is the mouth of truth. What now happens? The Molinists have triumphed over St. Augustine, St. Thomas and grace; they reformed the length of wigs and the cut of clothes, without deciding any thing about the licentiousness of prelates, or still more about the ill regulated morals of the Italian clergy. What consequences can the heretics draw from this? That there is nothing to hope from councils, in which astuteness and fraud usually take the place of the Holy Spirit."

Benedict the Thirteenth was not discouraged by the ill success of the synod of the Lateran; he did not abandon his idea of pacifying the church, and meditated the idea of a universal council, in order to fuse together all the Christian communions by reuniting

the four principal sects of Christendom, the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Greek Christians. He proposed to put this magnificent plan into execution, by acting in concert with these four churches, and by indicating œcumenical assemblies, which were to be presided over by prelates of the different communions in the cities of Rome, Lubeck, London, and the capital of Livonia.

His holiness had drawn up a programme of the sessions, indicating the measures to be taken to annihilate the schisms; he wished the fathers to make, in common, a new translation of the Bible with explanatory notes, as well as a universal catechism; he consented that the mass should be transformed in the service of the liturgy, that convents should be changed into schools, that the marriage of priests should be permitted on certain conditions, that the worship of images should be entirely modified, and the ecclesiastical discipline established on a uniform basis for all the ministers of religion.

The sovereign pontiff justified this enterprise by saying, that in the temple at Jerusalem, which was the type of the heavenly Jerusalem, there were several approaches to the Holy of Holies, which, in his opinion, was an unanswerable proof that there were several ways to reach heaven. Unfortunately he could not realise this holy work; the Jesuits cried out scandal, made the cardinal Coscia interfere, and the poor pope, who had then attained his seventy-eighth year, was constrained to bind himself by an oath, and on his knees before his old valet, to abandon his pious design, and to promise on the spot not to abdicate the tiara. As a reward for his submission, the minister permitted him to go to Beneventum, whither he had long wished to go, to repose from the bustle of business.

The fatal influence of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola was felt in France as well as in Italy; the bishop of Frejus, Fleury, had supplanted the duke de Bourbon in the post of prime minister, and purchased the hat of a cardinal by the price of the most cowardly concessions. He even associated himself with Senein, become archbishop of Embrun in the persecutions which he carried on against the bishop of Senez, his suffragan, one of the appellant bishops, who was an octogenarian; this worthy ecclesiastic was accused of having published, in a mandamus, propositions analogous to those of the famous book of Queenei, and even to the works of Arnaud, Nicole and Pascal.

Fleury did not blush to persecute a venerable old man, who had passed his life in the exercise of the most sublime virtues, and to be anxious for his fall, in order to assure the triumph of the archbishop of Embrun, the worthy rival of Dubois, whose turpitudes were an object of scandal for the faithful. At the instigation of the Sulpicians, his ordinary counsellors in civil and religious affairs, the minister determined to give great lustre to the condemnation of the bishop of Senez. As the Jansenists continued to demand a synod, he

thought of offering to them the phantom of an ecclesiastical assembly, and convened in a provincial council, by a letter de cachet, the most ardent supporters of the bull.

The assembly held its sessions in the palace of the archbishop of Embrun, and under his presidency; therefore, the appellants designated this meeting by the name of the "Bri-gandage of Embrun." These wretched supporters of Satan were unwilling even to hear the justification of the venerable prelate; they declared him guilty of outrage, sedition and heresy; they interdicted him from his episcopal functions, and exiled him to the mountains of Auvergne, where he died shortly after of chagrin, misery, and some historians say, of poison. This brilliant victory procured for the archbishop of Embrun the hat of a cardinal, that emblem of infamy, and the constant object of his ambition.

Whilst the members of the clergy, the doctors of the Sorbonne, and the counsellors of parliament were submitting disgracefully to the yoke of the Jesuits, the magistrates of the small canton of Luzerne had the courage to expel them from their territory, and to brave the formidable society.

Benedict the Thirteenth remained an entire stranger to these quarrels, and contented himself with making excursions into the province of Beneventum. It is related that he was met in his walk one day by a woman who passed for a prophetess in the country, and who made this singular address to him, "Holy father, I come in the name of God to announce that Rome is thy true church, thy city, the place of thy canonical residence, and not Beneventum. Return then to the Vatican, and remember that thou shouldst obey neither the Jesuits, nor the infamous cardinal Coscia."

The sovereign pontiff listened graciously to the prophetess, promised to follow her advice rigorously, and gave her his blessing. He, however, remained several months longer at Beneventum, and occupied himself with consecrating churches and performing miracles.

Quirini, archbishop of Corfu, maintains that he did three very remarkable things; that he restored sight to a young girl of twelve years of age; that he delivered a woman who was horribly possessed by a devil, and that he cured an infant of five years old, which was lame and dumb from his birth.

He then made preparations to return to Rome, and announced that he was about to publish two bulls, the one on free predestination and efficacious grace, the other upon the constitution "Unigenitus." As he distrusted his natural weakness, he wished to finish these two matters, before setting foot in the holy city, and stopped at the monastery of Monte Cassino, where Monsignor Accoramboni and Father Mola, attorney general of the Dominicans, drew up the bulls. The pope was so satisfied with the labour of these two theologians, that he made them a rich present on his departure for Sezza, and during the journey he caused the two pieces to be read over

to him several times by Bishop Fini, who accompanied him in his carriage.

This prelate, who was connected with the society of the Jesuits, was thunderstruck by this discovery, but concealed his astonishment. That same evening he sent a courier to Father Corradini, a Jesuit, and the brother of a cardinal, to inform him of what was going on. The news was immediately transmitted to the general. The most active members of the order were hurried off, some to the cardinals of their party, others to the ministers of the different powers, in order to embitter all the sacred college and the ambassadors against the holy father.

The cardinals Lezcarri, Polignac, and Bentivoglio, went immediately to his holiness to prevent the publication of his bulls. The pope stood firm, and would make no concession. Nicholas Coscia came in his turn, sought to change his resolution, prayed and threatened, and, notwithstanding his urgency, gained only half a victory. Benedict consented to modify the bull concerning the constitution "Unigenitus;" but in that which consecrated the theory of the Dominicans concerning "efficacious grace," he would change nothing, and caused it to be set up in the place of Flora. It was as follows:

"We condemn, repulse, and reject, by virtue of our authority, the calumnies rashly advanced against the doctrines of the angelic doctor St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Augustine; and it is for the purpose of rendering a still more shining testimony to the morality taught by those fathers, and of animating still more and more the order of the Dominicans, and of all those who follow their doctrine, to make a sincere profession of it; that of our own knowledge we order the turbulent and obstinate disturbers of the repose of the Catholic church to cease their attacks against the orthodox works of St. Thomas. We enjoin on them not to turn aside the sublime meaning of those works by interpretations removed from the truth, by doing open violence as well to our own words as those of our predecessors. We prohibit them from expressing the lightest blame about our apostolical letters, and about the order of the Dominicans: and we condemn the letters, pamphlets, theses, and books which have attacked or may attack the followers of the Thomistic school."

This bull was a positive declaration of war against the Society of Jesus. Its children, however, were silent, from fear of reviving their old quarrel with the Dominicans, at a time when they already had the Queenellists upon their hands. They also feared, by raising the gauntlet which had been thrown down to them by the disciples of St. Dominic, to discontent the cardinal Coscia, who appeared to be already tired of these incessant disputes, and who was, besides, occupied with very serious difficulties which had broken out between the Holy See and the courts of Turin and Lisbon, in regard to the confirmation of the indulgt which Victor Amadeus claimed, that is to say, the right of nominating to the

vacant benefices in the island of Sardinia, which he had exchanged for Sicily; and in the matter of the king of Portugal, it was to obtain a hat, the hat of a cardinal, for the nuncio Bichi, an infamous prelate, for whom his majesty, John the Fifth, had taken a singular affection, and whom he wished to introduce by force into the sacred college.

The reverend fathers had foreseen that the discussions of the friends of the constitution, and the appellants of France, would absorb all the attention of Nicholas Coscia, and would not permit him to enter into fresh intrigues. Matters were indeed assuming a character of extreme gravity. At the close of the "Brigandage of Embrun," twelve opposing bishops had protested against the judgment, and with them fifty advocates of the bar of Paris, had drawn up an energetic document, tending to weaken the proceedings of the council, as departing even from the text of the ecclesiastical and civil laws.

The cardinal Fleury, exasperated by this manifestation, caused the work of the advocates to be seized, handed it over to a council of stipendiary bishops, and obtained a new condemnation. The prelates decreed that the doctors of law "had wandered out of the way on all points; blamed them for having raised themselves above the authority of the church, councils, popes, bishops, and the bull "Unigenitus," by maxims and propositions rash, false, tending to schism, destructive of all hierarchy, suspected of heresy, and even heretical; they added that these lawyers had attacked the council of Embrun to the prejudice of the royal authority, and the respect which was due to a considerable number of prelates, and to the pontiff himself.

By a decree of the council of state the consultation was suppressed, and the authors denounced to the vindictiveness of the devotees. The prelates who even wished to speak, were threatened with exile; the monastic orders who dared to make simple remarks were stricken with an interdict; the poor nuns who permitted themselves to compassionate the victims, were torn mercilessly from their holy retreats, and dispersed through other communities.

This revival of persecution, which it was announced would fall on all the appellants without exception, intimidated even the members of the high clergy. The cardinal de Noailles himself, that intrepid adversary of the Jesuits, who had to this time shown himself to be immovable, staggered in his sentiments, and offered to accept the bull "Unigenitus," on condition that his enemies would allow him to die in peace. He, however, protested against the condemnation of Soanen, bishop of Senez, and appealed to the king, as well as to a future general council from the "Brigandage of Embrun." His majesty, Louis the Fifteenth, condemned this step, and made such terrible threats against the old man, who was already on the edge of the grave, that he forced him to retract his opinions, and belie his character, by publishing a mandamus in which he de-

clared that he accepted the bull "Unigenitus" without modification.

This submission of the cardinal de Noailles was a true triumph for the constitutionalists, and consequently it inflicted a terrible blow on the appellants; for the adhesion of the metropolitan drew after it that of the chapters and canons of the first vicarates of the archbishopric. It is true that the manifestations of joy by the Jesuits opened the eyes of the venerable prelate, and showed him that he had committed an act of irreparable weakness. He himself said, weeping, to those who surrounded him, that he had, in a moment of culpable weakness, lowered himself in the eyes of men, and rendered himself unworthy to contemplate the face of Christ. The shame and despair which sprang from his acceptance hastened his end, and led him to the tomb in less than a month.

The new archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur de Vintimille, a violent man, and entirely devoted to the Holy See, undertook to subject the clergy of the second order; and by employing in turns, threats, violence, and corruption, succeeded to his entire satisfaction. He obtained a new royal ordinance which enjoined on the faculty of theology in Paris, to make a decree providing that it had accepted the constitution freely, respectfully, and without any restriction.

This great affair over, the Jesuits began to intrigue with the cardinal Coscia to have the famous monk Hildebrand, the poisoner of popes, the triumph over kings, him who, by the name of Gregory the Seventh, had exalted the religious power, and trampled under foot the sceptre and diadems of kings, canonized. This pontiff had already been beatified by Paul the Fifth; but this was not enough in the eyes of the good fathers; they wished so great a man to be raised to the rank of a saint, and to have a right to the worship of the stolid; it was to give a rich bishopric to a bishop in partibus; for the blessed, according to the Roman doctrine, is an inert personage in heaven, not enjoying any invocation, any worship, whilst the saint possesses both prerogatives.

The decree of canonization was obtained without difficulty from Benedict, who had almost fallen into second childhood; but it was not so easy to have it received in France; the parliament refused to register the legend of Gregory the Seventh; it did more, it condemned its tenor, as infringing on the rights of the crown. The parliaments of Metz, Rennes, and Bordeaux followed this example, as did several bishops, amongst others Caylus of Auxene, and Drosneil of Verdun.

The Jesuits, whose secret end was to force kings to bow their heads before the popes, and by ruling these latter, to command the whole world, regarded it as essential to have the legend of Gregory the Seventh accepted; and to conquer the repugnance of the magistrates, they essayed to present it in a bull, in which was decreed the canonization of Vincent de Paul, the fierce persecutor of the soli-

taires of Port Royal. It was, however, lost pains; the counsellors of the parliament declared that they professed a profound veneration for the sublime institution of the Sisters of Charity, but that they regarded the founder as sufficiently recompensed by his title of blessed.

An event which had been for some time foreseen, suspended the discussions about this ridiculous affair; Benedict the Thirteenth

died at Rome in his ninety-first year, on the 21st of February, 1730. This Dominican proved himself during his pontificate to be simple, ignorant, and superstitious, but austere in his morals, and pure in his intentions; and the only thing with which we can reproach him is, in having allowed the infamous Coscia, and the execrable Jesuits, to have too great an ascendancy over him.

CLEMENT THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH POPE.

[A. D. 1730.]

Election of a blind pope—He endeavours to arrest the progress of civilization—Quarrel between the parliament of Paris and the cardinal de Fleury—Appeal of the priests of Orleans—Protests of the advocates—Journey of the parliament to Versailles—Polemical Gazette, called the Ecclesiastical News—The cardinal Fleury has the abbe Pucelle, several counsellors of parliament, advocates, and even doctors of the Sorbonne, carried off—Exile of the parliament—History of the deacon Paris—Condemnation of the cardinal Coscia—Progress of philosophy in France—Bulls of Clement the Twelfth against the Free Masons—History of Masonry—The pope claims the dutchies of Parma and Placenza—State of Christianity in Asia—Canonization of Vincent de Paul—Fresh opposition of parliament to the bull of the pope—Church of Holland—Sickness of the holy father—He restores the infamous Coscia to the dignity of cardinal—His nephews pillage the treasury of the church—His death.

FIFTY-THREE cardinals entered the conclave after the funeral of Benedict the Thirteenth to give him a successor, and caballed for four whole months without being able to choose a pope; finally, battalions of bugs fell upon their eminences, and put an end to the intrigues. The members of the sacred college hastened to leave their cells, which were invaded by these disgusting insects, and gave their votes to the cardinal Lawrence Corsini, a peevish and gouty octogenarian, whom they proclaimed sovereign pontiff by the name of Clement the Twelfth.

A singular incident had almost annulled the election; the pope was affected, without its being known, with almost entire blindness, which was by the canons a cause for exclusion. When the deed of his appointment was presented to him to sign, he affixed his name across the writing; fortunately, his attendant in the conclave perceived it before giving it up, and designedly spilt the ink from his inkstand over the signature, who compelled the cardinals to remake a minute of the proceeding, and prevented them from suspecting the infirmity of the newly chosen. He was careful, in the second deed, to have his hand guided by his attendant, under the pretext that his paralysis prevented him from writing. Nine days afterwards his holiness was crowned at St. Peter's, and immediately left the Vatican to establish himself with all his court in the Quirinal palace.

Clement the Twelfth was sprung from the ancient family of the Corsini of Florence; he had come to Rome when young, and entered upon an ecclesiastical career. He had suc-

cessively obtained the place of prefect of the signature of livings, the dignity of archbishop of Nicomedia, of treasurer general of the apostolic chamber, and lastly the hat of a cardinal.

As soon as he was seated on the throne of the apostle, like his predecessor, he declared himself to be an enemy of the democratic ideas which were filtering through all classes of society, announced his pretensions to omnipotence, and set himself up as a pontiff of the middle age. He commenced by applauding the furious zeal of the cardinal Fleury, and encouraged that minister to use his influence to repress the liberal inclinations of parliament. That prelate had obtained from king Louis the Fifteenth, a declaration providing that the constitution "Unigenitus" should hereafter be regarded as one of the fundamental laws of the church of France, and had caused the bull to be registered in a bed of justice. As it was usual for the parliaments to make their protests against registrations on the succeeding day, the cardinal minister, who wished to shun all appearance of opposition, thought that he could not do better than prohibit the counsellors from assembling. This injunction, which was conveyed to them in the name of his majesty, at first alarmed them; they then resumed courage, and announced that they would go on and hold their sessions, notwithstanding the prohibition of an insolent priest. The counsellors were strongly urged to this resistance by an abbe named Pucelle, a member of their body, the nephew of Marshal Catinet, and one of the most determined adversaries of the Jesuits, and the

more formidable from his exercising an extraordinary influence over the minds of men. Already did this generous citizen, the precursor of the apostles of liberty, who were to render the close of the century illustrious, preach openly the emancipation of the people, and prepared the way for those energetic attacks before which the papacy and royalty were to fall. His ardent, cutting, and impassioned eloquence carried away all the magistrates, and on the very next day, from the bed of justice, they decreed the four following propositions:—

"The temporal power, established directly by God, is independent of every other, and no power can inflict the least blow on its authority.

"It does not belong to the ministers of the church to fix the bounds which God has placed between the two powers; the canons of the church do not become laws of the state, until they are clothed with authority by the sovereign.

"To the temporal power alone belongs the external power which has a right to constrain the subjects of the king.

"The ministers of the church are accountable to the king and the parliament, under his authority, for all which may hurt the laws of the state; ordinances, edicts, regulations, decrees of parliament, under the authority of the head of the government, are to be executed according to their form and tenor."

This edict was immediately erased by a decree of the council of state; and as the vacation was approaching, hostilities remained suspended. But on their return, they commenced with more vivacity than before.—Three priests of the diocese of Orleans having been interdicted by their bishop for protesting against the bull "Unigenitus," had referred it to parliament as an abuse of power, and the counsellors, notwithstanding the declarations of Louis the Fifteenth and the decrees of his counsel, admitted the appeal of the ecclesiastics, and ordered their reinstallation into the cures from which they had been expelled. The prelate informed against them at the officialty, and they were personally summoned. Immediately a new appeal was made by the priests, and there was another decree of parliament which ordered the proceedings to be brought before its tribunal. The bishop, in his turn, presented the order of the king, and demanded that the decree of parliament should be erased as striking a blow at the laws of the church. But all the bar, excited by the abbe Pucelle, took part in the dispute; the advocates of Paris entered the lists, and forty of the most renowned of them signed a consultation, in which the temporal and spiritual powers were openly attacked. They declared that the parliaments representing the nation, no man was permitted to oppose their decrees, not even the monarch, who, in his capacity as head of the government, should set an example of submission to the laws. It was the first time that republican ideas were so clearly promulgated in France; the king was alarmed

by them; the courtiers, the members of the clergy and the nobility, the princes, the cardinal minister, cried out anarchy, and demanded the punishment of the culprits. By order of his majesty, the council passed an ordinance concerning the consultation, declaring that it contained anarchical propositions, which were injurious to the royal authority, and called down all the wrath of the king upon its authors.

The archbishop of Paris raised his voice in his turn, and lanced a mandamus against the protest of the advocates; the latter appealed at once from this condemnation to the parliament, which took hold of the affair. The minister interfered and sent a sealed letter to the assembled chambers, which prohibited them in the name of the king from deliberating about ecclesiastical matters, under penalty of banishment. The magistrates, who suspected what the royal letter contained, refused to break the seal, and it was necessary for a new envoy to be sent to give a formal command to them to take cognizance of the letter, under the penalty of incurring the wrath of the king. These threats, expressed in offensive terms by the count de Maurepas, the messenger of Louis the Fifteenth, so irritated the counsellors, that they decided, with one consent, to go at once to the king, to inform him of the brutal manner in which his agents executed his orders. They first opened the letter and saw, with indignation, that the insolent monarch had exceeded the rudeness of his favourite; their first determination was, however, maintained, and the departure for Marly was immediately effected. When they arrived at this residence, as they were not preceded by any express, they found the court in the greatest disorder, and were obliged to traverse the galleries in the midst of a hedge of lords in dishabille and titled courtizans, who spared neither taunts nor raileries on them. It was in vain that the first president negotiated to obtain an audience of the monarch; his majesty refused to receive him. This scandalous scene was only terminated by the arrival of Fleury, who had hastened from Paris on the first news of what was passing. The cardinal minister presented himself before the bantered, degraded, and humbled magistrates, and informed them that they had better retire if they did not wish to be put out by the lackeys.

The counsellors retired with rage in their hearts, and determined to take vengeance for the outrages they had drunk. On the next day on the appeal of the advocates of the bar of Paris, they condemned the mandamus of the archbishop de Vintimille, and suppressed it as containing ultra montane doctrines, which were destructive of the rights of the nation. They, moreover, secretly encouraged the circulation of a host of pamphlets and songs directed against the cardinal de Fleury, Monseigneur de Vintimille, the Jesuits, and even the king.

Among all these publications, there was one which was remarkable for the violence

of its attacks and the power of its reasoning; it was an hebdomadal sheet, which had been issued for some years by the name of the "Ecclesiastical News." A priest named Fontaine de la Roche, who was its founder and principal conductor, flagellated unmercifully the Jesuits, the bishops, and the pope; he designated them in his articles by no other names than those of robbers and thieves; he accused them of thinking of nothing but speculating on the folly of men, so as to make the wealth of nations flow into their coffers, and supported his accusations by historical and irrefutable proofs.

The court was treated with no more respect in the "Ecclesiastical News" than the clergy. Fontaine de la Roche tore away, without pity, the veil which concealed the idol, and exhibited the infamous Louis the Fifteenth in all his hideous nudity. Monseigneur de Vintimille seeing the still increasing success of this gazette, endeavoured to have it seized; but the bloodhounds of the police failed in their search, and could not discover either the presses where it was printed, or the bookseller who published it; he then fulminated an excommunication against the unknown authors, and prohibited the priests of his diocese from reading it, under penalty of interdict. Several of them refused to submit, and as the prelate threatened to bring them before the official, they denounced the mandamus to parliament. Again the cardinal Fleury interfered in the strife, and prohibited the counsellors from deliberating on the matter. They deputed a commission to the monarch to address remonstrances to him; the envoys were badly received and their representations rejected. The parliament then announced that it was about to break off its judicial labours, and the court of requests immediately suspended its sessions.

The king, who feared lest this determination should produce serious troubles, immediately sent for the counsellors to Compiègne, where he was. They obeyed, and went in a body to the monarch; his majesty awaited them in the throne room, in order to intimidate them by the solemnity of their reception. When they were admitted into his presence, he ordered them to resume the exercise of their functions, and renewed his injunctions not to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. The first president wished to make some observations to him; but at the first word, Louis the Fifteenth interrupted him, and said in an imperious tone, "Be silent, for every reply will be punished as a crime against the state." The intrepid Abbe Pucelle then left the ranks of the counsellors and silently deposited a written protest at the feet of the monarch.

The crowd of titled slaves who surrounded their master, broke out into murmurs against the daring man; the count de Maurepas seized the protest and tore it up before the eyes of the downcast magistrates. They retired without uttering a complaint, but each one was well determined to persist in his opposition and to compel the despot to repent his un-

worthy conduct. To heighten the trouble, the cardinal de Fleury had the abbe Pucelle carried off by his guards, and conducted to his abbey of Corbigny; and to intimidate the refractory, he acted with the same rigour towards five counsellors, whose energy he most dreaded.

The parliament demanded the return of its members, the court affected not to pay any attention to its request; then the people interfered in the quarrel, and meetings took place in all parts of the capitol. The old cardinal became alarmed, and hastened to open negotiations for the return of the magistrates, awarding to parliament the right of remonstrance in ecclesiastical matters. All the chambers returned to Paris, and tranquillity was for some time restored.

We must also say that another cause contributed to moderate the attacks against the Jesuits; it was the discredit into which Jansenism had fallen among enlightened men, in consequence of the fanaticism of the ignorant of the sect. Some greedy priests who wished to speculate on the infatuation of the imbecile, got up a story, that several Jansenists, who had been dead some years, were performing miracles, and by the aid of this fraud extorted money from the devotees.—Among these holy persons was one named the deacon Paris, who had a colossal reputation. He was merely a priest, the son of a counsellor to the parliament, and one of the most determined appellants. At his death a great concourse of the poor, whom he had appointed his heirs, accompanied the funeral. After the burial, all these unfortunates, yielding to a sentiment of gratitude, had come to kiss the earth which covered his coffin. The priests of St. Medard, in which cemetery he had been interred, struck by this sentiment of profound veneration, determined to take advantage of it, reported skillfully that miracles were performed at the tomb of the deacon, and erected a magnificent marble mausoleum to him. Their trick succeeded, and an incredible number of the faithful soon flocked from all parts to the cemetery of St. Medard.

Prepossessed minds saw what they had promised themselves to see; the imbecility of the devotees seconded the gross charlatanism of the priests, and it became very easy to speculate on credulity by healing the pretended sores which swindlers exhibited before the eyes of the fanatical. In less than a month the number of visitors had so increased, that they had to open twelve entrances to the cemetery, that the crowd might walk round freely; it was still necessary for visitors to wait several hours before they could reach the tomb. This, moreover, did not purchase too dearly the pleasure of assisting at the singular spectacle which was given there.

In a reserved enclosure, into which visitors were only admitted for money, men and women, pell mell, and almost naked, were agitated—danced and gamboled in the midst of contortions so strange, and convulsions so

lively, that it was impossible to see how these unfortunates could stand such rough exercise. Sometimes more than a hundred persons were seen at once, rolling about, entwined together, and acting in the most indecent manner. Several persons of distinction took part in these extravagances, amongst others the chevalier Folard, celebrated for his "History of Polybius," and Louis Basil de Montgeron, counsellor to the parliament, and the author of several works on the deacon Paris and the Convulsionists.

The scenes became so scandalous that the authorities were obliged to put an end to them, and to close the cemetery of St. Medard. On the next day this epigram was found fastened to the gate :

"In the king's name—God is prohibited from performing miracles in this place."

This step did not, however, put a stop to the pernicious representations of the deacon Paris; the priests continued their culpable industry in private assemblies, and recruited adepts from among all classes of society. There were counted more than eight hundred thaumaturgs or demoniacs, who gave spectacles still more licentious from the profane being excluded from their meetings. Girls and women played the principal parts in these religious saturnalia; they excelled especially in forcible whirling, and games of suppleness; some, in imitation of the eastern dervishes, turned on their toes with extraordinary rapidity, so as to give a vertigo to those who looked at them; others reversed their positions like rope dancers, with their heads backwards, and then gave themselves up to puerile sports, playing with rattles, &c. Others performed various other contortions, and scenes of licentiousness were enacted unfit to be recorded.

In proportion as the Jansenists lost ground, the Jesuits appeared to become more formidable, more imperious, more insolent than ever in the provinces of France. But this triumph was but a feeble compensation to the Society of Jesus for the checks they experienced at Rome, where their protectors, and especially the cardinal Coscia, became the object of animadversion to the citizens and even to the old pope.

The palace of the former valet of Benedict the Thirteenth had been pillaged by the Romans, and the cardinal archbishop of Benevento, to insure his personal safety, had been constrained to leave the apostolical city and retire to Naples, which did not prevent the committee appointed to examine the acts of his government from placing him under an interdict, sequestering his property, and claiming his surrender. He was taken back to Rome to be there judged by a special commission, and after a minute examination he was condemned to excommunication, to lose his vote in the conclave, to restore the money he had stolen from the treasury, to pay a fine of a hundred thousand ducats, and to be confined for ten years in the castle of San Angelo. His brother, the bishop of Targa, who had been judged guilty of malversation, was al-

ready confined in the same fortress. The cardinal Fini, one of those who had been the highest in the favour of Coscia, was also pursued for the crime of concussion; but Victor Amadens, king of Sardinia, to whom he had rendered great services, having undertaken his defence, the sovereign pontiff stopped the proceedings, and even reinstated him in all his dignities.

Whilst the Jesuits and the chief of the church were struggling for the rule of the world, and were discussing the right to plunge nations into brutality from a speculative and egotistical interest, a war cry arose from the middle of France, which, repeated by a thousand voices, taught Rome and its black cohorts that God was watching over humanity. The Pleiad of philosophers, which had already ranged themselves around Voltaire, attacked the church, and inflicted on it rude blows, from which it has not since recovered. Voltaire, the leader of these lofty spirits, was then shining in all the aureole of his glory, and was battling in the breach against the civil and religious authority of popes, bishops, and priests, those implacable enemies of all advancement. Montesquieu combatted by his side in the cause of liberty, and published his famous Persian letters; Rousseau, Diderot, and d'Alembert, entered the lists and reinforced the battalion of the encyclopedists; Maupertuis, Clairault, Camus, Le Montais, &c. determined, geometrically, the figure of the earth, by measuring a degree from the meridian under the equator, and another under the poles.

All these great men impressed an irresistible influence on their cotemporaries, and forced the third estate, the nobility, and even a great part of the French clergy, to march in their train in their progressive route to the conquest of a new order of things. The political movement, though less apparent than the religious, was not the less real. Secret associations were every where organised to labour for the overthrow of kings and priests; the sacred love of liberty, that divine sentiment, the lightnings of which despots had restrained for so many years, was reanimating all hearts. Rome was moved by this revolutionary tendency of the mind, and to arrest it Clement the Twelfth declared war on secret societies, and fulminated a terrible bull against the Freemasons, who had established lodges in England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Italy.

His holiness prohibited his subjects, under penalty of death, from becoming affiliated with, or from assisting at an assembly of Freemasons, or even from inducing any one to enter the proscribed society, or only from rendering aid, succour, counsel, or a retreat to one of its members. He also enjoined on the faithful, under penalty of the most severe corporeal punishments, to denounce those whom they suspected of being connected with them, and to reveal all they could learn touching this heretical and seditious association. These proscriptions, instead of checking the advance of freemasonry, contributed to give it extraor-

dinary lustre, and Europe was soon covered by a prodigious number of lodges.

The initiated maintain that the institution of their order goes back to the most remote antiquity, and say, "that as soon there were sufferers, there were masons to solace them; that as soon as there were unjust men, there were masons to repair the injustice; that as soon as there were knaves and oppressors, there were masons to combat them."

Some commentators have placed the cradle of masonry in the country of the ancient Idumeans, under the reign of the third king of the Israelites, the great Solomon, and have supposed that after the construction of the famous temple of Jerusalem, the Jewish king had assembled all the workmen who had concurred in building the monument, into a society. Others place the commencement of the society in the time of the Pharaohs, at the period when Moses appeared. Some make it descend from the Templars, and others even declare that it owes its birth to the Vaudois, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, those protestant sects which have been so violently persecuted by the Catholics.

Among these different opinions, that put forth by the skilful antiquarian, Prestors, appears to be the most truthful. According to his opinion, a Roman general, named Carransius, charged with the conquest of Great Britain, towards the year 287 of our era, had caused himself to be recognised by his legions as emperor of the British isles, had formed an independent state, and protected the arts, and especially architecture, and had instituted solemn meetings of architects and workmen, who called themselves Freemasons, who from that time did not cease to form a society organised for the construction of the principal monuments of England.

He maintains that in 600 they constructed the cathedral of Canterbury, that of Rochester in 602, the famous church of St. Paul in 604, the church of St. Peter of Westminster in 605, and that towards the end of the ninth century, they were employed by Alfred the Great to reconstruct the castles which had been burned during the war with the Danes. Until the year 924, the society of architects and working masons continued their useful labours; it was still but an association of workmen. That year King Athlestan gave them a special protector in his brother Prince Edwin. Two years afterwards he permitted his brother to decorate himself with the title of Grand Master of the masonic brothers. The head quarters of the fraternity were established at York, which, on account of other associations of the same kind established in the different provinces of England, received the designation of the grand lodge.

From Great Britain, the society passed into Scotland about the year 1550, but it was not until two centuries afterwards, in 1717, that masonry assumed the character of a mysterious society. It owed it chiefly to its grand master, Christopher Wren, to whom succeeded Anthony Sayer and George Payne. The last

of these made regulations, subjected the society to fixed rules, and re-established the ceremonial, which had become much altered. Although there remains no trace of the passage of the corporation of architects and workmen into the institution of Freemasonry, it is probable that it took place at the close of the struggle between democracy and absolutism under the Stuarts.

From the British isles masonry passed into France, and an Anglo French lodge was installed in Paris in the beginning of the year 1725. A quarter of a century had not passed by, when the institution crossed the Alps and the Pyrenees, passed the Rhine, and planted itself through all Europe.

His holiness, obliged to renounce the hope of annihilating masonry, turned all his attention to his own affairs, and thought of increasing his treasures, to be the better enabled to corrupt, if not to combat his enemies. At the instigation of his nephews, he sold to Philip the Fifth of Spain, for his son Don Louis, who was scarcely eight years old, the briefs which raised a child in his jacket to the dignity of archbishop of Toledo and Seville, and which conferred on him the title of cardinal.

This sacrilegious appointment, and this act of cowardly compliance with the wishes of the king of Spain, did not, however, produce the consequences which the court of Rome expected from them. His Catholic majesty thought himself liberated from all obligations to the holy father, by the millions he had given to his family, and made no scruple in putting in execution, notwithstanding the pope's prohibition, the plan of invasion he had long meditated, in order to place the crowns of Naples and Sicily on the head of his second son.

A war broke out between the different powers of Europe, for the succession to the throne of Poland, become vacant by the death of Frederick Augustus. The father-in-law of Louis the Fifteenth, the old Stanislaus Leczinski, claimed the throne, from which he had been driven, as a property belonging to him, and was sustained in his pretensions by France, which naturally led Savoy and Spain into his party. The elector of Saxony, who had been proclaimed king of Poland by the states, sought on his side to maintain himself, and was supported by Russia and Austria. Holland and England remained tranquil spectators of the strife.

After a war of two years, Charles the Sixth was constrained to sign the treaty of Vienna, and to cede to the infant Don Carlos, the second son of Philip the Fifth, the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, the island of Elba, and the estates degli Presidi, in exchange for the duchies of Parma and Placenza, which the court of Rome claimed as dependencies of the Holy See. Clement the Twelfth protested against the treaty of Vienna, but the parties went on, took possession of the contested territories, and made the exchanges.

His holiness, unable to sustain his pretensions by an army, submitted to force, and to

console himself for this check, fell back upon ecclesiastical affairs. He sent several nuncios into the provinces of Italy, to superintend the conduct of the priests, and gave a mission to an ab-legate, to go into Syria and convene a provincial council, to reform the abuses which had been introduced into the convents.

He did not content himself with extending his solicitude over ignorant people; he endeavoured to rekindle the zeal of European nations, by promotions in the heavenly militia. He raised to the rank of saint the blessed Jesuit, John Francis Regis, the beatified Catherine Flisco, the beautiful Julianna Falconieri, the Capuchin Joseph de Leonissa, as well as the fanatical Vincent de Paul, whose canonization had been already rejected by the French during the last pontificate. The earnestness of the court of Rome to have the founder of the order of missions catalogued among the saints, became afterwards the cause of a very great disappointment, through a singular accident, of which Grimm speaks in his correspondence with Diderot. This was the fact; in 1659, Vincent de Paul, when dying, had confided a sealed package to one of his friends, the head of the family of d'Argenson, with an injunction that it was not to be opened until a hundred years after his death. When the term had expired, M. de Paulny, the great grandson of d'Argenson, broke the seals of the deposit, in the presence of Louis the Fifteenth, and found a letter from Vincent de Paul, in which the saint declared, that he had always lived and died in the opinions of Socinianism; that in the conviction this doctrine would be universally spread before a century had gone by, he wished his profession of faith to remain unknown until the time in which falsehood should have given place to truth.

Thus was it proved, that Vincent de Paul, the fierce enemy of the Jansenists, the corypheus of the Molinist party, persecuted his enemies for the pleasure alone of glutting his vengeance, without any religious conviction, without even having the excuse of fanaticism, since he neither believed in the divinity of the Catholic religion, nor the infallibility of the popes, nor even in the existence of Jesus Christ!

And yet the bull which conferred the honours of the apotheosis was granted to him for his orthodox zeal! "It is because Vincent de Paul never ceased to exhort the king, the queen, and their ministers, to persecute such of their subjects as were opposed to the Roman communion, that we grant him his commission of saint," said Clement the Twelfth in his bull; "it is to recompense him for having massacred those who were obstinate in the Jansenist error, that we rank him among the cohorts of the heavenly militia. . . . For if it is true that the church refuses to shed blood, we must, however, say that it draws great assistance from the secular power, and that it cannot too much encourage the ministers of the altars to claim the aid of kings, to force heretics to recur to spiritual remedies, through fear of punishment."

The parliament, which did not approve of

the sanguinary doctrines of the court of Rome, suppressed the bull canonizing Vincent de Paul, as tending to destroy the maxims of the Gallican church, and as surpassing the system of the partizans of papal omnipotence. The cardinal de Fleury, who had perhaps a secret hope of meriting the distinction of Vincent de Paul, took the side of the saint against the parliament, and reinstalled him in heaven by an edict of Louis the Fifteenth. The magistrates persisted in their former decision, and for the third time expelled Vincent from paradise. The quarrel warmed; the Jesuits took part in it, wrote volumes in defence of the saint, and seized on the occasion to attack the Jansenists, and even the university. The doctors of the Sorbonne replied with vigour, and raised the old discussion about the bull "Unigenitus." As always, the cardinal de Fleury interferred, gained their cause for the disciples of Ignatius, and exiled the members of the university by an ordinance of the king.

In the midst of all these disputes, ultra montanism became more and more discredited in the eyes of the nations. In Holland a church which has maintained itself to our own days, afforded at that period the singular sight of a community entirely Catholic in its doctrines, ritual and discipline, though entirely separated from the Holy See.

Codde, the apostolic vicar of that country, had been pursued by the pope, on account of his Jansenist opinions, and had been several times obliged to obtain the assistance of the states-general to maintain himself in his post, and to have the bulls of the court of Rome, which deprived him of his functions, erased. After his death, seven canons of Utrecht, also partizans of Jansenius, had persevered in the revolt against the Holy See, and had of their own authority proclaimed as archbishop, Steenhoven, to whom succeeded Burchman Wuytiers, a violent Jansenist, who set an example of every evangelical virtue, received with admirable charity all the French who were exiled for the cause of religion, and succoured them from his own purse, when the appellant party could not send them aid in money.

At every election of a new prelate to the see of Utrecht, the titular never failed to address synodical letters to the reigning pontiff, to inform him of his election. Burchman Wuytiers being dead, his successor, the prelate Meindartz, conformed to existing usages, and sent his letters to Clement the Twelfth. His holiness replied by a bull of anathemas, which did not prevent Meindartz from continuing his sacerdotal functions as before, and from re-establishing the bishopric of Harlem, which had been extinct for a hundred and fifty years.

Clement the Twelfth was so chagrined at seeing himself braved by a mere archbishop, that he became very sick. His nephews foresaw that his end was approaching; they hastened to use the time advantageously, stole all the treasures shut up in the Quirinal palace, and to assure themselves of impunity, they forced the dying pontiff to sign a bull of re-

installation in favour of Coscia, by annulling the condemnation pronounced against him, in order to deprive his successor of all desire of acting against them. The infamous Nicholas Coscia left the castle of San Angelo, was re-instated in his dignity of cardinal and archbishop, and in almost all his property. Some days after having accomplished this great iniquity, the old gouty and blind pope died, on the 6th of February, 1740.

BENEDICT THE FOURTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH POPE.

[A. D. 1740.]

Election of Cardinal Lambertini—The beginning of his reign—Ambition of the pontiff—His condescension towards kings—Voltaire and Benedict the Fourteenth—The pope secretly favours the Jesuits—Struggle between them and the philosophers—The publication of the Encyclopædia—Bull of the pope against Freemasons—Decretals concerning the property of the French clergy—Louis the Fifteenth and la Pompadour are threatened with ecclesiastical thunders—The Jesuits wish to restore the inquisition in France—Origin of the billets of confession—Parliament seizes on the temporalities of the archbishop of Paris—The counsellors are exiled to Pontoise—Protests of all the parliaments of France against the persecutions excited by the Jesuits—The edict of silence—The French priests refuse burial to the dead—Exile of the archbishop of Paris—Benedict the Fourteenth exhorts Louis the Fifteenth to protect the Jesuits, and persecute the philosophers—His majesty is constrained to revoke the law of silence—Quarrel between the court and parliament—Attempt to assassinate Louis the Fifteenth—Condemnation and punishment of Damiens—Death of Benedict the Fourteenth.

In consequence of the appointments to the cardinalate made during the last pontificates, of fifty-four members of the sacred college, who entered into conclave after the death of Clement the Twelfth, there were only four Spanish, three French, and one German cardinal; the Italian party was in a vast majority. Their eminences were divided into two coteries; that of the cardinals created by Clement the Eleventh, Innocent the Thirteenth, and Benedict the Thirteenth, who were called the old college, and that of the members of the new formation, which was called the new college. These two parties presented successively as candidates Rurro, Rezzonico, and Fiffao; one of them obtained even as many as thirty-three votes. There was wanting but one more vote to place a pontiff on the chair of the apostle, when Prosper Lambertini caused the election to fail by a pleasantry, in replying to one of his colleagues who claimed his vote, and showed that it depended on his will to make a pope, "that he would not usurp the functions of the Holy Spirit." The wary Lambertini had the more reason for not giving his vote to the candidate, since, under an appearance of indifference, he was himself intriguing for the papacy. The election having failed, the intrigues recommenced and prolonged the conclave until the month of August; then came the interference of the bugs, as in the last conclave, to bring their eminences to agreement.

Prosper Lambertini, thinking that his colleagues were tired of debating, made them a pleasant speech, and finished as follows:—"To terminate the matter, if you want a holy pontiff, take Gotti; if you desire a skilful politician take Aldovrandi; but, if you prefer

a good fellow take me." They laughed at the sortie, went to balloting, and thirty-four cardinals, who thought they were merely continuing a joke, gave him their votes. On counting the votes, they found, to their great astonishment, that they had made him a pope; but there was no time to look back upon an accomplished act, and on the 17th of August, 1740, Prosper Lambertini was proclaimed pontiff, by the name of Benedict the Fourteenth.

The new vicar of Jesus Christ was in his sixty-seventh year. He was born of an illustrious family in Bologna. It is said that, from his youth, he had fixed his ambitious hopes upon the apostolic throne, and that during his whole life he had not wandered for a single instant from the route he had traced out to reach it. Endowed with an active and acute mind, an extraordinary penetration, and an observant genius, he had discovered that to reach the high fortune to which he aspired, he must bridle his turbulent passions, and plunge into the depths of canonical jurisprudence, and the imaginary spaces of theological subtleties. His first labours had procured for him the services of the celebrated advocate Justinian, who took him in the capacity of a clerk; Lambertini himself afterwards obtained the title of consistorial advocate, and that of promoter of the faith. He triumphed over the disgusts which theological studies inspired in his mind, and composed sixteen folio volumes about ecclesiastical matters. All that this alarming delivery of grievous labour must have cost to the mind of Lambertini, proves how ardent was his thirst for greatness. An affectionate tone of voice, prepossessing manners, and an appearance of frankness, which no one could resist,

soon made him numerous partizans. He united himself with all men who, like himself, had a passion for the sciences, for historical inquiries, and for the arts. He professed the highest esteem for Father Montfaucon, a learned Benedictine, whom he knew at Rome, and who said of him, "that he had two souls, one for ecclesiastical science, and another for worldly knowledge." In fact, the theological studies of the young advocate of the consistorial court, did not prevent him from cultivating the good Italian authors, and adorning his memory with their most brilliant passages. "They growl at me," said he, "that I have had light intercourse with Tasso, Dante, and Ariosto; but do they not know that the reading of these is the delicious beverage which aids me in digesting the heavier substance of the stupid doctors of the church? Do they not know that these poets furnish me with the brilliant colours, by the assistance of which I am enabled to reconcile the incongruities of religion."

The gaiety of the young Lambertini, and his prodigious knowledge caused him to be distinguished at the court of Clement the Eleventh. His holiness made him a canon of St. Peter, then bishop, then counsellor to the holy office, associate of the congregation on the rituals, and canonist of the penitentiary. Innocent the Thirteenth elevated him to the dignity of archbishop of Theodosia in partibus; Benedict the Thirteenth made him titular prelate of Ancona, and introduced him into the sacred college; and finally, Clement the Twelfth, in 1732, had promoted him to the archbishopric of Bologna, his natal city, where he made himself numerous partizans. We must render him this justice, that he governed his diocese paternally, protected the weak, and was, in all things, of an amiable tolerance.

Having become the head of the church, Lambertini changed in nothing his affectionate manners; he preserved his cheerful faculties, his piquant mind, and did not depart from his habit of tolerance in religious matters. He was, however, pope, and as such was obliged to rule the nations. From the summit of the Vatican, his genius hovered over all the kingdoms of Christendom, to discover what it was useful to maintain, or what proper to abandon for the interests of Rome. He remarked the great change that had taken place, not only in Italy and southern Europe, but even in the general condition of political affairs in the north. He discovered that among the powers which governed the destinies of the Christian world Russia, Prussia, and England had raised themselves to the first rank, and preserved a marked superiority over the Catholic kingdoms; he observed that the practical good sense, mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial genius of England had conquered the monkish nonchalance of Spain and the political Jesuitism of France; that the energetic organization of Prussia had triumphed over the ultra montane monarchy of Austria, and that the sword of Russia threa-

tened to annihilate the fanatical aristocracy of Poland.

Benedict satisfied himself that this preponderance, though entirely material, would exercise a reaction on religious affairs; that Russia would not fail to establish Greek archbishops in the United Provinces of Poland; that Prussia would not be backward in preaching revolt among the German Lutherans; that England, extending its rule over the seas, would arrest the progress of the Catholic missions. He discovered what enormous faults his predecessors had committed in their attempts at religious reactions; he perceived that the persecutions committed by the execrable Jesuits had only succeeded in arresting for a moment the intellectual movement of the masses; he saw that in France the massacres commanded by Louis the Fourteenth, and the ridiculous quarrels excited by Cardinal Fleury, the minister of Louis the Fifteenth, had heaped up so much hatred, that it was to be feared, lest their explosion should overthrow both the altar and the throne; he calculated the results which a literature, hostile to despotic power, was to produce, by attracting to itself all minds, and enchaining them by the indissoluble bonds of truth. Though the different tendencies of the great men of this period accorded but little among themselves, he observed that all tended to the same centre of activity, the same end, the destruction of royalty and the papacy. In fact, notwithstanding the difference in their ideas and sentiments, the partizans of religious reform who were combatting the omnipotence of Rome, and the leaders of the philosophical party who placed themselves in formal opposition to the monarchy, combined their double movement, and impressed an extraordinary force on this single and multiple tendency.

His holiness, by studying these different symptoms, discovered that mankind was accomplishing a great work; that the people, tired of bending their heads, were preparing to claim their slighted rights, and that the time was not far distant in which kings and priests would have to account with the nations.

In this foresight, Benedict determined to save the vessel of St. Peter, by following an entirely different route from that of his predecessors, and by labouring to render religion venerable by reforming the abuses which existed among the clergy. He at first thought of submitting the Jesuits to ecclesiastical discipline and of restraining their privileges. He resumed the matter of the Chinese worship, and issued the bull "Ex quo Singulari," in which he reviewed all the phases of this long proceeding since the first decisions of the society of the propaganda. He annulled the concessions wrenched from the legate Mezzabarba, and prescribed the form of an oath to be taken by missionaries, in order that the good fathers should not again take a fancy to free themselves from the obedience which they owed to the Holy See. He acted with

the same rigour towards ecclesiastics, and undertook to reduce all the priests of Christendom beneath his authority, from the simple deacon to the proud bishop.

We must say that this despotism was in opposition to the doctrine of the apostles, and particularly to that of St. Paul, who recognised the right of absolute jurisdiction by prelates in their dioceses. Benedict, however, went on and, in opposition to this doctrine, prohibited them from performing their ministerial acts, without having referred them to him, and to sustain these encroachments, he composed a book called, "The Diocesan Synod," in which he exalted the papacy, and abased the episcopate. This conduct towards inoffensive prelates demonstrates that if circumstances had favoured him, he would have treated people and kings as he did the bishops. But he dared not expose the pontifical barque to perish in the bosom of the revolutionary tempest, which appeared to him to be so imminent, nor did he wish it to be dismasted by the sovereigns who appeared to be desirous to tow it.

Instead of being despotic towards the people, he affected to be opposed to the bull "Unigenitus." To gain the favour of the potentates, he appeared to place himself without the continental diplomatic circle, and flattered the pretensions of all the sovereigns. He was careful to observe a modest neutrality in the war of the Austrian succession, which broke out on the death of Charles the Sixth, and in which the different powers of Europe took a more or less active part. A pontiff less enlightened would have interfered in this bloody strife, and the thunders of the Vatican would have fallen on the head of the candidate rejected by the Holy See. Benedict the Fourteenth, a skilful politician, was content to be a spectator, without taking part either for Duke Charles Albert of Bavaria, whom the electors had proclaimed emperor by the name of Charles the Seventh, or for the young Maria Theresa, the daughter of the deceased monarch, who had been appointed by her father the heiress of his dominions. The pope acted like Moses on Mount Horeb, he raised his arms to heaven, whilst the armies were exterminating themselves in the Austrian provinces. He gave a free passage, without distinction, to the troops of Maria Theresa, the Spaniards, and the Neapolitans, and even permitted them to establish themselves on the territories of the states of the church. It is true, that after the war, his holiness did not forget to have large indemnities allowed him by the belligerent parties for their sojourn in his dominions.

Peace restored, he sought to obtain the good will of Maria Theresa; and to establish concord between the courts of Rome and Vienna, he suppressed the patriarchate of Aquila, which was asked by the empress queen, notwithstanding the active opposition of the Venetians, and permitted her, as she desired, to tolerate the protestant worship in her dominions. 'It is a great good,' he wrote on this

subject, to seek to bring back the Lutherans to the Catholic religion, not by employing the sword, as some of our predecessors practised, but by persuasion and mildness."

In his solicitude for conciliatory measures, Benedict sought the friendship of the Italian princes, and even purchased it by important concessions, against the opinion of the members of the sacred college. He thus consented to the ratification of the concordat, agreed upon during the pontificate of Benedict the Thirteenth, with Victor Emanuel, king of Sardinia, which Clement the Twelfth had annulled as contrary to the ecclesiastical immunities, and which conceded to the government of that prince, the right of not being restrained in his fiscal operations by a foreign ecclesiastical power, of submitting priests to the secular jurisdiction, of appointing to all the vacant bishoprics, and of prohibiting the publication of the decrees of the court of Rome, without their first receiving the sanction of the sovereign. His holiness also granted to Don Carlos, the new king of the two Sicilies, several privileges which he demanded, amongst others the abrogation of a great number of festivals which cramped commerce; this abrogation was afterwards extended to all the Catholic states. From gratitude Don Carlos, the son of Philip of Spain, the founder of the Bourbon race of Naples, which still reigns, unfortunately for the people, came in person to render homage to Benedict for his dominions and to kiss his sandals.

The pope also showed a very great deference for Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, that royal witling, who published the *ante-Machiavel*, at the very time he was putting in practice the despotical maxims of that book; he authorised him to fill the bishoprics of Silesia, a Catholic country which he had conquered from Austria, and when his Prussian majesty, not wishing to have too skilful priests in his dominions, presented as a successor to Cardinal Zinzendorf in the see of Breslau, a subject who was almost an idiot, Benedict shut his eyes upon it, and ratified the nomination of the imbecile prelate. This act of compliance procured for the head of the church a large sum of money and rich presents, which were offered him by the Margravine of Bareith, the sister of the king, who made a journey to Rome expressly for this purpose.

These tolerant and conciliatory tactics succeeded marvellously well, and procured for the sovereign pontiff the friendship of all the princes of Europe. Elizabeth, empress of Russia, styled him the sage; the king of Portugal wrote to him on a footing of the most intimate friendship; the sultan Mahmoud sent ambassadors to compliment him. It was a curious thing to hear a pope say to a cardinal, "This good Turk has said the most amiable things in the world to me, through the marquis de Maio." But of all the homages which his policy procured for him, that which flattered him most was unquestionably that of Voltaire.

This great writer had had his tragedy of *Fanaticism* refused by the censor; it appeared to him pleasant to procure the assistance of the pope for his piece, and to dedicate it to the successor of Boniface the Eighth, John the Twenty-second, and Pius the Fifth. Lambertini finding it to be piquant, and useful to sustain the tottering papacy, on the arm which had inflicted such terrible blows upon it, accepted the dedication. The philosopher then entered upon an exchange of courtesies with the head of the church, in order to enrage the faction of devotees which persecuted him; the holy father replied to his letters, in order to make an ally of a writer, who was regarded as the luminary of the age. They cajoled each other with all their might; Voltaire seasoned his eulogies with all the salt of his mind; Benedict placed in his all the unctious address of the vicar of God. But in this kind of fencing the priest had the advantage over the philosopher. In return for his gift of the manuscript of the tragedy of *Mohamet*, his holiness replied by sending an admirable medal struck with his likeness. Aroutet de Voltaire, the philosophical writer, the antagonist of the Roman church, was seduced by his vanity, and thundered forth an eulogy on the virtues and talents of the politic Lambertini, in odes which were repeated from pole to pole. As an act of reciprocity, the pontiff took the tragedy of *Fanaticism* under his protection, raised the interdict of censure, and obtained permission for it to be played at Paris. All Europe applauded the philosophy of a pope who appeared to establish a distinction between fanaticism and religion.

Did Benedict the Fourteenth really merit the respect and veneration with which his contemporaries surrounded him? No one should dare to affirm it. History should not stop at the surface of things; before rendering a judgment, its investigating looks should penetrate into the profoundest depths of the soul of him on whom it is called to pronounce. Then it would discover that beneath the mask of tolerance with which Lambertini covered himself, the priest could not always be discovered. There was seen at the court of Rome, the commissaries of protestant sovereigns, pressing with enthusiasm around a pontiff, who maintained in force the decrees and anathemas lanced by his predecessors against the dissenting communities. The English, especially, flowed into Italy, to admire with what exquisite urbanity the pope excommunicated them, and with what a charming grace he damned them; and these islanders, captivated by his address, were not sparing of eulogies upon his love for the fine arts, and the amenity of his manners.

It is not extraordinary that this concert of praise influenced the judgment of cotemporary authors, who have written about Benedict the Fourteenth. Almost all affirm, and very seriously, that the pope wished to conciliate that which is not reconcilable; to place in harmony Catholicism and philosophy; love for science and the doctrines which beatify igno-

rance; philanthropy and the cruel inquisition; but an evident proof that the sovereign pontiff was only submitting to the law of necessity, and that there was no good faith in his conduct, is the effort which he made at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, to maintain the pretensions of the Holy See to the duchies of Parma and Placenza, as well as to the island of Corsica.

As the political interests of the powers could not accommodate themselves to the claims of the court of Rome, the ambassadors of the pope were put off, and his holiness was constrained to conceal the grief which this check caused him. Benedict the Fourteenth was, besides, powerfully engaged to submission by events which tended to nothing less than the overthrow of Christianity; all minds were in a ferment in Europe, and particularly in France, where the struggle between the parliament and the clergy continued more violently than ever.

The holy father, in this emergency, thought he could not do better than connect himself with the society of the Jesuits, and use them as a bulwark to arrest the encroachments of the sovereigns, without, however, avowing himself to be the protector of an order which was held in execration every where, and whose digressions he himself had blamed. The disciples of Ignatius, satisfied with this concealed patronage, re-entered the lists and became so animated in their attacks against the parliament, that it was feared, for a short time, lest France should be divided into two parties, and afford the afflicting sight of a new religious war. At this time occurred a new rally among the philosophers of the school of Voltaire; and by the corruptions of the papacy religion suffered violence. The great text books of French infidelity received countenance in their attacks upon all revealed religion, from the evident justice of their charges against those who impiously professed to hold the keys of heaven. The policy of the Jesuits in the persecution of these men but aided the progress of their labours, for it made them popular, and gave them authority as martyrs.

Among the principles which the philosophers sought to establish, was one whose adoption became daily more imperious, on account of the wretched state of the finances; it was equal taxation among all citizens. Louis the Fifteenth, who hoped, by extending this measure to the members of the clergy, to bring enormous sums into his coffers, had the air of yielding to public opinion, and instructed the comptroller general Machant, to make arrangements to have all the privileged orders concur in the payment of taxes. The priests exclaimed scandal, sacrilege, and refused to restore the slightest part of the wealth they had extorted from the credulity of the people. To bring them to reason, a decree of the council prohibited any new establishment of chapters, colleges, or convents, without the express permission of the king, and prohibited to convents the right of acquiring, possessing, or receiving funds, houses, or rents, without

the permission of the governors of the provinces. The bishops assembled for the purpose of arresting the effects of a law which was to restore the virtues of the primitive church, protested against the royal decree, and addressed remonstrances to his majesty.

The king replied to the prelates by issuing an edict, which levied an impost of several millions on the property of the church, and which enjoined on the beneficiaries to render, as soon as possible, an account of their revenues. Before the imminence of the danger all the priests rallied around the Society of Jesus; they threatened to excite the fanaticism of the ignorant populace against Louis the Fifteenth and the favourite, and intimidated the court.

Christopher de Beaumont, the archbishop of Paris, one of the principal members of the company of the Jesuits, a haughty, obstinate, and implacable ecclesiastic, resolved to attach a religious persecution to his name, and in concert with the reverend disciples of Ignatius Loyola, formed a plan of establishing tribunals of the inquisition in France, on the same model as those of Spain. The good fathers were too skilful to proceed brutally, by exacting sudden conversions through fear of punishment, as was practised in the Spanish peninsula, under the successor of the odious Philip the Fifth. They thought of making an essay with their new code on the pretended Jansenist heretics, and submitted their plan of attack to Benedict the Fourteenth, who gave it his entire approval. The bishops, heads of orders, as well as most of the curates, feigned to believe that the Jansenists were on the eve of reappearing more terrible than ever, and claimed from the secular authority the means of crushing them. On the refusal of the government to enter upon vigorous measures, Christopher de Beaumont wished to perform justice, he discharged the superior of the general hospital of Paris, under the pretext of opposition to the bull "Unigenitus," and replaced her by a nun who passed for his mistress. The parliament accused the prelate of usurpation of the attributes of the administrative council of the city of Paris, and wished to replace the superior in her dignity. The Jesuits, in their turn, accused the magistrates of sustaining heresy, and signalled them out to the vindictiveness of the devotees. The king interfered in the quarrel but gently; he would not take either side, and allowed things to become more embittered. Christopher de Beaumont, satisfied with the result of his first effort, determined to strike a second blow, which should crush all the incredulous at once. He ordered all the curates of the capital to refuse the sacraments, and even burial in the holy ground, to those who could not produce a billet of confession from an orthodox priest.

The curate of St. Stephen of the Mount, an old renegade from Jansenism, Father Bouettin, was one of the fiercest satellites of the archbishop of Paris. One of the first victims of this fanatic was the celebrated professor Coffin, the rector of the university, who had illus-

trated his passage through this high dignity by the establishment of gratuitous instruction. This octogenarian, the old friend and disciple of the good Jansenist Rollin, having asked for the aid of the church on his death-bed, yielded to the entreaties of his relatives, and permitted Father Bouettin to be brought to him. The latter, instead of discharging the duties of his ministry, declared to the dying man that he would not administer the sacraments to him, until he had retracted his alleged errors; Coffin, indignant at the infamy of the priest, drove him from his house, and prohibited any other ecclesiastic from being sent for. When he died Bouettin refused to bury him. A nephew of the rector, who was a counsellor to the chatelet, succeeded, with the assistance of the parliament, in having the body of his uncle received in the church, notwithstanding the prohibition of the curate. He paid dear for his triumph; eight days afterwards he was attacked with a terrible sickness to which the Jesuits were no strangers. The curate of St. Stephen of the Mount, charmed at having his vengeance to his hand, went to his enemy without being sent for, and informed him that he should not be interred in holy ground. This odious scene hastened the end of the sick man. On the next day the parliament, being advised of this act of cruelty, laid an information against Father Bouettin, and ordered him to be seized. The curate protested against the violence which was used towards him, maintained that the inviolability of the altar was attacked in his person, and alleged in his exculpation the orders of his superiors. The archbishop of Paris interfered; the magistrates, none the less, persisted in condemning the curate of St. Stephen; but, as the marchioness de Pompadour was then under the impression of fear of the clergy, the council of state erased the decree, and appeared to legitimatise the persecutions ordered by Christopher de Beaumont.

In the intoxication of the success of their policy, the Jesuits determined to follow up the struggle which had been commenced with new vigour. The duke Louis of Orleans, the son of the regent, was dying in the Jansenist monastery of St. Geneviève, whither he had caused himself to be carried; Father Bouettin, who was once a member of that community, took a kind of pride in coming to dispute for the soul of a prince of the blood with his old brethren; he was introduced into the presence of the dying man and spoke to him as he had done to the rector of the university; the devout Louis endured his sermon with patience, had the sacraments administered to him by his almoner, and expired prohibiting them from pursuing the curate of St. Peter.

This new act of audacity remaining unpunished, Bouettin continued to excommunicate the dying prince, to the great scandal of the faithful; at last the violent sacrilege which he exercised towards the old almoner of the gallant abbess of Chelles, forced the parliament to interfere. All the chambers assembled to judge the curate: a first resolve decreed his

arrest; a second declared that the bull "Unigenitus" was not an article of faith, and prohibited ecclesiastics from persecuting the faithful denying it, under the penalty of being themselves incarcerated as disturbers of the public peace. A very large number of copies of this last resolve were printed and distributed; all the Parisians, Jansenists, philosophers, peaceful Christians, nobles, burghers, artisans, bought them, saying, "This is my billet of confession."

Madame de Pompadour, whom a caprice had led into the party of the philosophers, and who, from another caprice, had returned into the party of the Jesuits, had caused the decision of parliament to be erased by the council of state, which caused a frightful disorder. The preachers thundered from the height of their pretended chair of truth against the magistrates; the incredulous published stinging pamphlets against the Jesuits, who, in revenge, attacked their enemies in the very churches.

The ecclesiastics of the provinces did not remain behind those of the capital; in all parts of the kingdom the altar was profaned by a refusal of the sacraments, expressed with a brutality and the bursts of passion which are the habits of Catholic ministers. Every where the dying were left without confession, the dead without burial; no retreat was beyond the reach of the fury of the priests; private houses, monasteries, even hospitals were invaded by those wretches, and became the theatre of their odious struggles. The triumphant Jesuits began to rally, to make songs, and to sport with their adversaries. Father Bougeand had his comedy of "The Female Doctor in Theology" performed; Father Danton published one under the title of "The Bankruptcy of the Trader of Miracles." The philosophers replied with vigour, and the people repeated couplets after them, in which the eucharist was called the wafer, and in which the mummeries of religion were turned into ridicule. All this formed a singular mixture of incredulity, fanaticism, fury, and gayety. Both parties strove with the blows of the parliament and the clergy.

At last the magistrates, tired of lancing useless decrees against the priests, determined to act with vigour against their obstinate instigator, the archbishop of Paris. On the refusal of the curate to administer the sacraments to a nun of the convent of St. Agatha, called Sister Perpetua, the parliament summoned the fanatical priest to its bar; the latter sent his vicar to represent him and to declare to the counsellors that he acted by virtue of the express orders of Monseigneur Christopher de Beaumont. A deputation was immediately sent to the arch-episcopal palace, to enjoin on the prelate to administer the ordinances to the sick woman; his eminence boldly replied, that he rendered an account to no one but the pope, of the power which had been confided to him; that he, however, owed it as a duty to explain the motives of his conduct to the king, but that

he would not abase himself by replying to the representatives of the people. The magistrates retired exasperated, and returned to their colleagues, who, still in session, awaited the result of their mission; parliament brought an action against the archbishop, convened the peers to judge him, and ordered his revenue to be seized. The marchioness of Pompadour caused the decree to be arrested by the council of state, prohibited the convocation of the peers, and sent the ordinance which prescribed those orders to the parliament.

The assembled chambers refused to take cognizance of the message of the favourite, pretending that it had not even the royal seal, and insisted that the peers should be convoked. Louis the Fifteenth prohibited these latter from meeting the parliament, threatened the counsellors with letters de cachet, and ordered the count d'Argenson to have the nun, who was the innocent cause of this conflict, removed from her convent, which the minister did. It is rare that the minister of a king refuses to accomplish an act of infamy.

The people cried out sacrilege; the orators of the parliament lashed, in energetic terms, the inhumanity of power, which tore a dying woman from her convent to plunge her in a dungeon. The abbe Chauvelin, one of the most distinguished members of this company, dared to discuss the illegality of letters de cachet, and by means of his eloquence, led all the counsellors, young and old, to draw up, during the sitting, a vehement protest against the arbitrary acts of the court. Louis the Fifteenth refused to receive the commissaries charged to carry it to him, and dismissed them very cavalierly. The magistrates replied that all the chambers would remain in session until their voice should reach the foot of the throne.

His majesty immediately expedited letters de cachet against the counsellors of the courts of inquiry and request. The abbe Chauvelin was sent to Mount St. Michel; Bisé-de-Lis to Pierre-en-cise; the president de Beligny to the castle of Ham; and the president de Méri to the island of St. Marguerite. The others were merely scattered through the cities which were to be their places of exile. The great chamber had alone been spared, because the court had need of it to enrol the money edicts. The king even wished to extend its attributes, but the members who composed it, and who were principally old men, were unwilling to dishonour their white locks, and refused to register the edict which made them the heirs of the spoils of their colleagues. To punish them Louis the Fifteenth exiled them to Pontoise. There these noble magistrates continued to sit as at Paris, and proceeded against the archbishop of Paris and the fanatical curates.

His majesty declared the chamber dissolved, and, to replace it, instituted a new tribunal, composed of the counsellors of state, and masters of the requests, without, however, daring to invest them with the important attribute of registering the edicts. The sovereign ad-

dressed himself to the chatelet to have his ordinances approved. This inferior tribunal was unwilling to arrogate to itself the attribute of a superior court, and refused to register the edict. The members of the new royal chamber were then obliged to open their sessions, and to sit in the hall of the Augustines without having been recognised by any body. Not only were their audiences deserted, but they were personally exposed to the insults and contempt of the advocates, who persisted in not recognising them in the capacity of judges.

The parliaments of the provinces imitated the example of that of the capital; the magistrates of Rouen stood courageously, for six months, against the orders of Louis. Those of Aix made regulations against the ecclesiastics, and paid no attention to the prohibitions of the prince; finally, the parliament of Toulouse signalled itself by energetic decrees.

On their side, the Jesuits persevered in the path they had opened. They no longer confined themselves to demanding billets of confession from the faithful who wished to commune or marry, they denounced as heretics all who refused to appear before the tribunal of penance, and occasioned such scandals that Louis the Fifteenth and Pompadour, fearing lest a curate might demand from them even a billet of confession, decided to recall the exiled magistrates to counterbalance the encroachments of the clergy. The birth of the second son of the dauphin, the duke de Berry, who was afterwards Louis the Sixteenth, furnished the pretext for an arrangement between the court and the magistracy; and the comptroller general, Marchault, was commissioned to negotiate the return of the counsellors, with the president de Maupeou. As, however, Louis the Fifteenth and the favourite dreaded the clamours of the priests, they endeavoured to sow dissension between the members of the clergy and the Jesuits, and through the interference of the cardinal de Rochefoucauld, they managed that the bishops would no longer insist on billets of confession, provided the court would renounce its plan of levying imposts on the property of the church. After this patching up the parliament returned to Paris amid the acclamations of an immense crowd, who had gone to meet them to celebrate their return. On the next day they resumed their sessions, and signalled their reinstallation by enrolling an edict which prescribed absolute silence on religious matters. The archbishop of Paris was cast down by it, as well as the Jesuits; and the society, finding themselves no longer sustained by the court, sent deputies to Benedict the Fourteenth to claim his official interference in their quarrel with the French magistrates. The sovereign pontiff was too skilful a politician to allow his participation in what was going on in France to be suspected. He received the commissaries of the society at a public audience, before the ambassadors of the foreign courts, and replied to their harangue by an extremely adroit speech. He told them that the events which they recounted

to him appeared to be inexplicable; that the priests and the magistrates appeared to him to be equally culpable; and that he was astonished that a king did not know how to control his subjects; and that he admired the solidity of a government which had resisted such shocks. Still, under the apparent calm of the holy father, it was easy to see the disappointment which the check suffered by the church in France, in its struggle with the parliament, caused him.

Venice also gave grievous causes of uneasiness to the pope by its efforts at rebellion against the Holy See. England, which had at first affected extreme veneration for Benedict the Fourteenth, commenced to show him less regard by persecuting the Scotch Catholics. In all the provinces of that kingdom the preachers thundered from their pulpits against the ultra montane priests, the Jesuits, and, consequently, the pope, who was strongly suspected of having aided the pretender, Charles Edward, the son of the chevalier St. George, and grandson of James the Second, in his adventurous expedition to the shores of Great Britain.

Benedict the Fourteenth, who was careful, in difficult matters, never to give written instructions to his agents, in order to be able to disavow them in case of failure, did not interpose his authority to save the unfortunate priests who had been arrested as partizans of the Stuarts, and cowardly abandoned them to the justice of George the Second. This act of perfidy disarmed his Britannic majesty, and procured his great esteem for the holy father. Benedict hastened to profit by it for the advantage of his see, and asked for authority to submit the regular and secular clergy which composed the orthodox churches of Great Britain to a special organization. He made several briefs to submit the monks and the Jesuits to the authority of the bishops, and published his bulls in the four Catholic districts of England, which had not been done since the time of Charles the First.

Notwithstanding the brilliant success gained by the skilful pontiff over the Anglican church, Catholicism could not be consolidated in the British kingdom, in consequence of the opposition of the Jesuits to his decrees. They could not pardon the holy father for having abandoned their brethren in Scotland, and having repaid their devotion to the Holy See with the blackest ingratitude, and they set to work to counteract his designs. It was not in England only, that the animadversion of the society for the pope manifested itself; in France even, they openly braved the admonitions of his holiness, and continued to refuse the sacraments to Jansenists, philosophers, and skeptics. The archbishop of Paris, the haughty Christopher de Beaumont, made common cause with these good fathers, and published mandamuses, enjoining on the priests of his diocese not to administer the communion to the faithful, unless they were fortified by billets of confession. The parliament proceeded against the prevaricators, and ordered its off-

cers to apprehend the priests, to make them carry the viaticum to the dying, so that the communion was almost always preceded by a summons, and terminated by a verbal process. At length the king became enraged at the conduct of the archbishop, and ordered him to administer the sacraments; the prelate replied, that it was his duty to obey God, and not kings and their favourites. This insolence procured for him an order of exile. He continued, however, from his retreat to excite trouble in the capital, in concert with the bishop of Mirepoix, a bitter Jesuit, who disposed of the livings in the king's gift. But this prelate dying, it became very easy to bring the clergy to reason, by confiding the list of benefices to the cardinal la Rochefoucauld, and by causing him to distribute abbeyes and prebends to the ecclesiastics who exhibited devotion to the court.

In vain did the Jesuits seek to cast ridicule on those who accepted these benefices, by calling them *Feuillants*; their party lost its importance. They, however, succeeded by force of intrigues in deciding several bishops to assemble in a national council, to address a memoir to the monarch on the danger which royalty incurred in taking the part of the philosophers against the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. The following was the tenor of this remarkable piece:—"Sire, an imperious duty leads us to the foot of the throne, to warn you that the thick smoke which is spoken of in the holy books, which rises from the depths of the abyss, and obscures the air and the sun, appears to have spread itself over the surface of your kingdom. Know that royalty cannot subsist with the liberty which the French arrogate of speaking and writing; know that it is the interest of kings to maintain darkness, to prevent bold minds from reasoning about the origin of religions and governments; do not forget that the throne and the altar are intimately united, and that kings cannot reasonably maintain their rule without the aid of priests, and that it would be a great imprudence to take the part of the people against them. Be fearful lest men, enlightened by the philosophers, accustom themselves to regard the powers which govern them as usurpations; for from that day the monarchy will be lost. They elevate themselves from proud heights against God; philosophers first overthrow the altars of Christ, and then beat down the throne of Cæsar. Foresee these frightful evils; imprison the dangerous writers, gag the printers who lend the aid of their presses to the propagation of these pernicious doctrines, which filter through all the pores of society, and which will end in corrupting the nation. Exterminate, sire, the infamous apostles of liberty, force them to silence by the most frightful tortures and the most terrible punishments; and let their viprous breath not vibrate longer, but beneath the dark and impenetrable vaults of the dungeons of the *bastille*."

The assembly of the clergy terminated its address by representations concerning the

edict which enjoined silence in religious matters, concerning the decrees which the parliament had passed against the bull "*Unigenitus*," and concerning the banishment of several Jesuits. His majesty making only evasive replies, the prelates determined to write solemnly to the pope, that he should at least give his opinion. Benedict, compelled to explain himself, was obliged to depart from his habitual prudence; he pronounced against the philosophers, and published the brief "*Ex Omnibus*," by which he declared the constitution "*Unigenitus*" to be an article of the faith: "*No Christian*," said he, "can free himself from the submission which is due to this bull, nor be opposed to it, without periling his eternal safety. The archbishop of Paris, and all the prelates who have acted with them, have done well in refusing the viaticum to the refractory, by the general rule which prohibits us from admitting a public and notorious sinner to the holy eucharist."

The brief of the holy father arrived in France at a time when the people, reduced to a frightful state of misery, were absolutely unable to meet the fiscal demands, when the parliament showed itself more refractory than ever, in the adoption of new imposts, and in which, however, Louis the Fifteenth had an urgent need for money for his mistresses and courtiers. His majesty had but one resource; it was to address himself to the clergy; he made a bargain with them, and in exchange for subsidies, revoked the edict of silence in favour of the priests, and declared in a bed of justice, that the French bishops might openly profess, in future, whatever they thought advantageous for the interests of religion.

The Sorbonne, which at this time showed itself as favourable to the bull "*Unigenitus*," as it had been before opposed to it, applauded the royal decree; but it was not the same with the parliament. On the refusal of the counsellors to register it, Louis the Fifteenth changed entirely the organization of the magistracy, deprived it of all political influence, suppressed the third and fourth chamber of inquests, and preserved but the great chamber. Ten counsellors, whose names have remained attached with infamy, as well as the presidents *à mortier*, alone consented to obey the monarch; all the others sent in their resignations, and the course of justice was again suspended.

Every thing foreshadowed a terrible struggle between the philosophers and the Jesuits, when an incident, to which an enormous importance was attached at that period, an attempt against the person of the king, distracted the public attention. On the 5th of January, at six o'clock in the evening, Louis the Fifteenth was preparing to get into his carriage to go from Versailles to Trianon; the guards were ranged under the vestibule, when suddenly a young man passing through the soldiers, came right up to the king, struck him on the breast, and immediately re-entered the crowd. His majesty feeling himself wounded, carried his hand to the place where he had been struck,

and exclaimed, "I am assassinated." Then perceiving a man wearing a large hat, he designated him with his hand, and ordered him to be arrested. It was in truth the assassin, who, a stranger to the customs of the court, had unluckily kept his hat on his head.

The king was carried to his bed, although the wound was extremely slight, having been made with a penknife. The queen, alarmed, hastened to the monarch; the marchioness de Pompadour found herself for a time deserted by the courtiers; the keeper of the seals, whom she had most protected, Machault, came himself to give her the order to leave Versailles; d'Argenson, who owed to her his position, his fortune, in fine, all that he was, also treated her with great contempt. Such is the usage of courts.

The assassin of the king was named Robert Francis Damiens; he was born at Tieullus, in the diocese of Arras; his father was a porter to the provostship of Arc, near St. Omer. He was put as usual to the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to constrain him to make avowals as to the causes which had induced him to commit the crime, and as to the names of his accomplices; but it was useless; he would designate no one, and contented himself with saying, "That he stabbed the monarch to give him a warning, and to lead him back to God." It appeared from the examinations, that he had served several years with the Jesuits, and that on different occasions, he had given proofs of unbounded devotion to the society; the court was, therefore, unanimous in laying the crime of Damiens at the door of the disciples of Loyola. It was maintained that their purpose was to open the road to the throne to the dauphin, who was the protector of the company, and to cast all the odium of the assassination on the philosophers, Jansenists, and members of parliament. In fact, Damiens, in his concealments, allowed suspicions to drop on the most influential personages of the parliament; his allegations, however, appear-

ed to be so absurd, that the king did not hesitate to confide the task of judging him to the counsellors.

Damiens appeared before the tribunal; he showed much firmness, resolution, and almost gayety. He was condemned to the same punishment as Ravillac, that is, to be quartered, with the aggravation of tortures by means of hot pincers and burning sulphur. He listened to the reading of this terrible judgment on his knees, and without allowing the least emotion to appear, and only said on rising, "The day will be a rough one." On the day of punishment he was conducted before the church of Notre Dame, to ask pardon, and then led to the place de Greve, where the judgment was executed.

The result of this affair was, that the king sought to connect himself closely with the parliament; he revoked the edicts which changed the organization of that body, permitted all the magistrates who had resigned, to resume their places, took measures to conquer the obstinacy of the archbishop of Paris and the Molinist curates, concerning the refusal of the sacraments, and announced openly that he abandoned the Jesuits. Thus the horizon was every where covered with black clouds, and announced the tempest which was about to fall upon the company of Jesus. The good fathers turned their looks to Rome and asked for aid. Benedict the Fourteenth, who had never dreamed of compromising his authority by avowing his connection with them, closed his ears to their complaints, and even made a hostile bull, which authorised Carvalho, marquis of Pombal, the first minister of Joseph, king of Portugal, to reform, at his pleasure, the abuses which the Jesuits had introduced into their colleges and establishments in that kingdom. This was the last act in the reign of Benedict the Fourteenth. He died on the 10th of May, 1758, aged eighty-three years, after a pontificate of eighteen years.

CLEMENT THE THIRTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIXTH POPE.

[A. D. 1758.]

Election of Clement the Thirteenth—The character of the new pontiff—The Jesuits form a conspiracy and attempt to assassinate Joseph the First, king of Portugal—This prince drives them from his kingdom—Fraudulent bankruptcy of the Society of Jesus—The good fathers refuse to pay the debts of Father Lavallette—They are brought before parliament—Examination of the constitutions of their company—Their abolition in France—Protest of Clement the Thirteenth—New exile of the archbishop of Paris—The apostolic bull—Louis the Fifteenth threatens to seize on the Venaisian countship to avenge himself on the pope—The clergy preach a crusade against the philosophers—The Jesuits are driven from Spain and from the territories of France, Naples, Sicily, Malta, Placenza, and Parma—Clement fulminates bulls against the sovereigns who suppress them—He wishes to enforce the pretensions of the Holy See to Parma and Placenza—Quarrel between Rome and Venice—The abolition of the order of the Jesuits by the holy father every where demanded—Clement the Thirteenth is poisoned by them.

Forty-four cardinals composed the conclave which followed the death of Benedict the Fourteenth. His eminence, Monseigneur Archinto, who had exercised great influence

during the last pontificate, received twenty-three votes on the first ballot; his party was then divided and reinforced the faction of Cavalchini, who obtained twenty-seven suffrages. But the French party rejected the nomination of this prelate, because he was affiliated with the Jesuits, and because he had contributed to the canonization of Bellarmine, that strong writer who, in his works, favoured regicide. They then fell into the ranks of the cardinal Passionei, then of Spinelli, and finally, into those of the Venetian Charles Rezzonico, who obtained a majority.

As soon as this cardinal found that he was elected, he uttered lamentable cries, shed tears, raised his eyes and arms to heaven, declared himself to be unworthy of so great an honour, and refused to clothe himself in the pontifical ornaments. He played the farce so perfectly, that the members of the conclave crowded around him to determine him to receive their adoration. As they could not stop him, one of them exclaimed, "Well, my lords, let us leave this brawler; there has been nothing done since he has not accepted the tiara; let us choose another pope." Which Rezzonico hearing, replied, "No, by God you shall not do that, for I accept it." Then wiping away his tears, he called his attendant to him, proceeded to his toilette, and was enthroned by the name of Clement the Thirteenth.

Charles Rezzonico, born at Venice, in 1693, was of a family originally from Como in the Milanese. He had been first assistant apostolical prothonotary, then auditor of the rota for the Venetians, and finally, cardinal.—Scarcely was he seated on the throne of St. Peter, when the new pontiff, who was secretly allied with the Jesuits, announced that he undertook the defence of the reverend fathers against the French philosophers, and that he was determined to make no concession to the ideas of the age. The disciples of Ignatius Loyola then conceived the hope of triumphing over their enemies, and solicited from the court of Rome the revocation of the brief of Benedict the Fourteenth in regard to affairs in Portugal.

The cardinal Saldanha, who had been appointed apostolic commissary to execute the bull, had already commenced his examination of the establishments of the good fathers, had satisfied himself that they were engaged in trade, and had seized, in the name of the king, on their warehouses, merchandize, bills of exchange, and commercial books. But all that did not discourage the Jesuits; they thought of drawing off the attention of the king and of the marquis Pombal to other matters; they declaimed against a commercial society which was invested with the exclusive privilege of trading in the wines of Oporto, and fomented troubles in several provinces, under pretext of claiming a suppression of the monopoly.

These tactics having only succeeded in causing their colleges to be closed, they changed their batteries, and prepared, in the dark, to strike a terrible blow, which was to

restore to them all their influence in Portugal. Among the members of the company was one named Gabriel Malagrida, an ignorant fanatic, who, in order to obtain access to the palaces of lords and princes, pretended to be in direct communication with Jesus Christ, and gave himself out as being the object of the particular predilection of the Virgin. This impostor counted among his penitents, the marchioness of Tavora, a haughty and ambitious woman, who was enraged at the disgrace which had overtaken her husband, the former viceroy of the Indies.

Father Malagrida perceived the advantage he might derive from the exasperation of this woman; he flattered her hatred, brought religion and vanity to play, encouraged her in her thoughts of vengeance, and satisfied her as to the consequences of a crime which was fermenting in her head; with the assistance of John Mathoz and Alexander Souza, two of his brethren, he proved to her that a Christian could not do any thing more agreeable to the Divinity than kill a king, and that there were no sins or crimes which were not ransomed by a regicide. The marchioness was convinced, adhered to her plan of conspiracy, and sought for accomplices. She brought into her plot, Joseph Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, the ex-minister of John the Fifth, who had fallen into disgrace since the advent of Joseph to the throne; she also opened herself to her husband, who was the director general of all the cavalry of the kingdom, and counsellor of war, to Louis Bernard and Joseph Maria de Tavora, her sons, to Don Jerome d'Ataide, her son-in-law, an officer of the palace guards, and to her daughter, who was the mistress of the monarch.

Different meetings of the conspirators took place at St. Antoine and St. Roch, two houses belonging to the Jesuits, in order to agree upon the means of putting their criminal plan into execution; and when all the dispositions had been made, one night when Joseph was going alone from his royal residence of Quintado Mego to the residence of Quintado Cima, to a love rendezvous, Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, accompanied by two bravos, sallied from an ambuscade and fired upon the postilion who drove the king. The piece having hung fire, the postilion whipped up his horses and left them at a gallop; the two bravoes hurried on in pursuit of the carriage, discharged their carbines at it, and returned into the woods, so as to leave the other conspirators, who were posted farther along the route, the care of finishing the work. Things did not turn out as they had hoped; Joseph, wounded by two balls, and losing much blood, gave orders to the postilion to retrace his steps, and to take him to Junquiere, which saved him from certain death.

On the next day, thanks to the activity of the marquis de Pombal, all the culprits were soon in the hands of justice. The whole family of the Tavoras perished on the scaffold, with the exception of the young countess Ataide, who was only confined in a convent.

All went on well, so long as the minister had only to judge the lords who had embarked in the conspiracy; it was not the same when he wished to proceed against the Jesuits.

The secular judges refused to cite before them the fathers Malagrida, Souza, and Matthoz, whose instrumentality had been proved during the trial of the first accused, and declared that they had no authority to take cognizance of a crime committed by priests. The minister wished to frame an extraordinary tribunal to judge them, but the bishops protested, and the accused appealed to the pope. Joseph the First then issued a decree of banishment against the Jesuits as traitors, rebels, enemies to, and aggressors on, his person, his states, and the public peace, and the general good of the people. He confiscated their property, arrested them all, and shipped them on vessels which had orders to land them in Italy. The three culprits were alone detained at Lisbon, in the dungeons of the palace, awaiting the decision of the pontiff.

Not only was Clement the Thirteenth unwilling to authorise the proceedings against the Jesuits, but he even threatened Joseph and his minister with all his wrath, if he did not immediately revoke the decree against the society. This excess of audacity determined the king to break openly with the court of Rome, and to recall his ambassadors; and, as he dared not violate the privileges of the regular clergy by judging Malagrida as a regicide, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope, he handed him over to the Dominicans, the natural enemies of the Jesuits, who burned him alive as a heretic, a visionary, and a false prophet. His two acolytes were merely condemned to imprisonment for life.

Throughout all Europe, and particularly in France, the Jansenists, the philosophers, and the magistrates, applauded this energetic proceeding of Joseph the First, and sought to excite all the governors to imitate his example by driving out the Jesuits. The latter, instead of replying to the attacks of their enemies, and taking measures to escape the danger, whether they were struck by a sort of blindness, or whether they were tired of their incessant strife with parliament, allowed things to go on. They soon came to the aid of their adversaries, and furnished them with an opportunity of destroying them in public opinion, and of annihilating them.

A French Jesuit, named Father Lavalette, had been sent by his superiors to Martinique, in the capacity of curate to a small village, and had become the superior or rector of their house in Martinique. By his financial skill he had increased the wealth of the community considerably, and controlled all the commerce of the islands. A rich banking house in Marseilles, the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, had been charged by Father Sacy, advocate general of the Windward islands, and Father Forestier, the provincial of France, to accept all bills of exchange under the tacit guarantee of the society. This prosperity was to have an end, several ships sent by the reverend father

to brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, to cover a sum of two millions of francs, or bills of exchange which they had accepted, were unfortunately captured by the English. This incident compelled the banking house to address themselves to Fathers Sacy and Forestier, as well as to the general of the order, for a reimbursement of the advances. They replied that the statutes of the order authorised superiors to disavow their inferiors, when any injury might result to the society from acknowledging their engagements. One of the brothers Gouffre went immediately to Paris to interest the dignitaries of the company in favour of his house. To all his entreaties, reasonings, and solicitations, the good fathers had but one reply, "The statutes of the order are inflexible, we can do nothing for you." It was in vain that he sought to move them, by telling them that his house would be forced to stop payment, and that he and his associates would not survive their ruin, and that they would be the cause of their suicide. The reverends replied to him very tranquilly, "That they would celebrate masses for the repose of their souls."

The Marseilles banker left Paris, returned to his associates, and announced to them the sad result of his mission. These unfortunate bankers, having no means of meeting their engagements, stopped payment, and surrendered all they possessed. The syndics of the creditors made immediate preparations to follow up Father Lavalette. The latter, in his turn, failed for four millions of francs, so as to frustrate the lawful rights of the creditors of Lioncy and Gouffre to the possessions of the Jesuits in the islands. Then arose a cry of outrage, and the syndics, without losing time, sued the whole Society of Jesus. By a decree of the council, the king sent the whole affair before the parliament of Paris, who were pleased to see their enemies brought before their bar on a charge of fraudulent bankruptcy.

The disciples of Loyola accepted the jurisdiction, thinking to entrench themselves behind their constitutions, and to deny their participation in, and consequently their being bound for the operations of Father Lavalette; they committed a still greater fault in surrendering the mysterious acts of their order to strengthen their reasons. As the examination of these constitutions was a long work, the parliament first made a decree against the company, declaring it to be one and indivisible, under the orders of its general, and condemning it to pay the amount of the bills of exchange drawn by Father Lavalette on the house of the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre of Marseilles.

This decree showed the Jesuits the mistake they had made in allowing things to go so far; they immediately went to work to execute the decree in its full tenor, so as to hush up the affair and prevent a greater evil. It was too late; the examination of the famous statutes of the company, had produced alarm and consternation among all classes in society,

and their expulsion was demanded from all quarters.

The duke de Choiseul, and the marchioness de Pompadour, delighted at finding a mode of diverting the attention of the people from their persons, and of making a useful diversion from the frightful disorders they had brought on France, encouraged the hostile manifestations to the Jesuits, and even united with their enemies. The congregation endeavoured to allay the storm, and obtained, through the influence of the apostolic nuncio, that a council of fifty bishops should be commissioned to examine their statutes. As was to be expected, the prelates declared that the constitutions of the society contained nothing reprehensible, and decided that there was no reason to prosecute them.

The parliament, urged on by the minister Choiseul, refused to register the edict, and sustained its opposition by such powerful motives, that Louis the Fifteenth was compelled to yield to the opinions of the magistrates, and surrender to them the decision of this important affair. The parliament again took hold of the proceeding, and after some months of inquiries and pleadings, made a decree, which pronounced the doctrines and practices of the Jesuits "as perverse, destructive of every principle of religion, and even of probity; as injurious to Christian morality, pernicious to civil society, seditious, dangerous to the rights of the nation, the nature of the royal power, and the safety of the persons of sovereigns; as fit to excite the greatest troubles in states, to form and maintain the most profound corruption in the hearts of men; it accordingly ordered that the institution of the Jesuits should for ever cease to exist throughout the whole extent of the kingdom; it prohibited the subjects of the king from proposing, soliciting, and demanding at any time, or on any occasion, the recall of the society; nor of frequenting the colleges, boarding-houses, seminaries, retreats and congregations of the infamous fraternity; it enjoined on the disciples of Loyola to abandon all the schools, professed houses, novitiates, residences, missions, and other establishments, under what rule soever they were, and to retire into whatever part of the kingdom they pleased, to reside there under the ordinary authority, with an injunction of not living in common, nor of longer recognising the authority of the general, nor of wearing a religious dress."

In its judgment, the parliament passed in review all the decrees published in France, as well in favour of the society as against it, the first to show that the Jesuits had always surpassed the limits of the concessions granted to them; the second to prove that they have constantly given ground for just complaints and grievous recriminations. The act of condemnation related the principal works of the good fathers, which were cited as extremely dangerous, on account of the doctrines they taught concerning simony, blasphemy, magic, witchcraft, astrology, irreligion, idolatry, impurity, false witness, adultery, incest, sodomy, rob-

bery, suicide, murder, parricide and regicide. It finally concluded with a list of the kings, princes, bishops, and popes murdered or poisoned by the disciples of Loyola.

His holiness, in order to counterbalance the decision of parliament, assembled in secret consistory, the cardinals who were devoted to the institution; and after having made a violent address to them against the princes, ministers, magistrates, Jansenists, and philosophers of France, read them a protest written entirely by his own hand as follows:—

"We, Clement the Thirteenth, the vicar of Christ, successor of the apostle, in the infallibility of our intelligence, condemn, reprove, and curse all that the French magistrates have attempted against religion, the universal church, the Holy Apostolic See, and the pontifical constitutions, by proscribing the constitutions of Jesus. We, moreover, declare, decree, and ordain, by the force of this solemn and consistorial statute, that all the mandates, judgments, decrees, ordinances, sentences, and declarations emanating from the laical power of the kingdom of France, in regard to the extinction and dissolution of the said Society of Jesus, have been, are, and always shall be, null, inefficacious, invalid, and entirely destitute of all lawful effect. We affirm that no one shall be obliged to observe them, although he had bound himself by oath to do so. Thus, of our own motion and certain knowledge, and by the plenitude of our power, we disapprove, annul, erase, and annihilate all those injurious and barbarous acts, and we protest before Christ of their manifest nullity, reserving to ourselves to give the most ample proofs of their repeal, annihilation, abolition and abrogation, as soon as we can do so without danger to the church."

Clement the Thirteenth sent a part of this protest to the French clergy, in a confidential brief, in which he enjoined on the prelates to carry on a rough war with the parliament, whilst treating with respect the court and the king, who could not delay long, he said, to recognise that the Jesuits were the best auxiliaries of despotism.

His majesty, Louis the Fifteenth, had already for a long time known this, for the cardinal de Fleury had not ceased to repeat to him in his youth:—"Sire, the Jesuits are wretches, and you can, however, make useful instruments of them, the better to oppress the people and assure your sway." Thus the king had tolerated, rather than approved, out of regard for the favourite, the act of parliament which annihilated the Society of Jesus.

He had even had some feelings of remorse for the expulsion of the Loyolists, for he had proposed to the sovereign pontiff, to reinstate the congregation in his kingdom, under the sole condition, that the members should introduce some modifications concerning regicide into their constitutions. But the fiery Clement the Thirteenth, had brutally repulsed his advances, by saying that the Jesuits should remain as they had always been, or they should not exist at all, and compulsion

had been laid on Louis the Fifteenth, to give his sanction to the decree of parliament, and to declare by an edict, dated from Versailles, that it was his pleasure that the society should no longer exist in his kingdom, nor in the territories or lordships which were obedient to him.

The archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, wished to make opposition, and censure the acts of government in his pastoral instructions. All that he gained by it was a second decree of parliament, which condemned his mandamus to be burned, and an order from the king, which sent him into exile and confined him in the abbey of la Trappe.

The expulsion of the four thousand Jesuits, who infested the capital, and the banishment of the archbishop of Paris, raised the irritation of Clement the Thirteenth to its height. His holiness, not knowing how better to oppose what he called the general fermentation of the governments, lanced the bull "*Apostolicum pascendi murus*," filled with praises for the black cohorts of the Jesuits, and with injuries and outrages for their enemies. The parliament of Paris suppressed this bull, on the strong conclusions of the advocate Joly de Fleury, and prohibited its being printed in France. The parliament of Aix acted with still more firmness; it had it torn up by the executioner and publicly burned, and, moreover, it invited Louis the Fifteenth to seize on the Venaissin countship, to avenge himself on the court of Rome and the pope.

His majesty, stimulated by the marchioness de Pompadour, appeared well disposed to use great rigour, and appeared only to wait an opportunity to seize the city of Avignon, when the almost sudden death of the favourite turned him aside from this plan, and freed the Jesuits from their most formidable foe. The clergy resumed courage, intrigued around the monarch, and obtained authority to convene a synod, to decide on what measures it was useful to take, in order to put an end to the disputes between the civil and religious powers.

In consequence of this authority, thirty-two archbishops or bishops, and thirty-six deputies of the second order in the ecclesiastical hierarchy assembled in council in the capital, and fulminated anathemas against the principal works of the philosophers, amongst others, against the *Encyclopædia*, the *Analysis* of Bayle, the *Book of the Mind*, by Helvetius, *Emile*, the *Social Contract*, the *Letters from the Mountain*, of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the *Essay on Morals*, the *Philosophical Dictionary*, the *Philosophy of History*, and the *Oriental Despotism* by Voltaire.

They then declared that the church alone had the right to teach and instruct children; that it alone could judge in matters of doctrine, and fix the degree of submission which was due to them; that it alone, by virtue of the assistance of Jesus Christ, could regulate articles of belief; that it alone had the right to pronounce on the excellence of the religious orders, to declare them suppressed, or to sus-

tain them; that the administration of the sacraments appertained to Catholic priests alone; that the civil authority could in no way go against the canon laws, nor force the ministers of religion to administer the sacraments to sinners whom they thought unworthy to receive it. Finally, they declared that the bull "*Unigenitus*" was binding on all the faithful of the kingdom of France.

The parliament erased the acts of this ecclesiastical assembly as derogatory to the authority of the government, and prohibited the citizens from paying regard to them. The clerical dignitaries, who were a part of this council, went immediately to Versailles, cast themselves at the feet of Louis the Fifteenth, and obtained an edict which annulled the decree of parliament.

This first victory emboldened the ecclesiastics; they raised their heads proudly every where, publicly panegyrised the archbishop of Paris, and announced the approaching recall of the Jesuits. The marshal Richelieu and the duke d'Aiguillon, his nephew, the secret enemies of the prime minister, the duke de Choiseul, intrigued for the good fathers, and announced that the reign of confessors was about to succeed that of mistresses. His majesty himself was seized with an holy fervour for religious exercises, and had even closed the royal lupanar called the *Parc-aux-cerfs*. This new caprice of the monarch lasted, however, but a short time, a demoiselle de Romans attracted his attention, and prevented him from amending his life. The parliament took advantage of this circumstance to arrest the encroachments of the Jesuits. It published a decree, which made the law of silence concerning religious matters as binding on the clergy as the laity; it prosecuted the priests who persisted in refusing the sacraments; it enjoined on the bishops who held cabals in Paris, to return to their dioceses, under penalty of a seizure of their temporalities, and took energetic measures against the disciples of Ignatius Loyola.

From this period, the history of the congregation of Jesus is but a registry of a long train of disasters; already expelled from China and Portugal, the good fathers found themselves arrested in one day throughout all Spain, by order of Charles the Third, and conducted by officers to different sea ports and sent to Italy.

France did not long delay in imitating the example of Spain, and drove beyond the mountains, the cohorts of Jesuits who infested the provinces. The king of the Two Sicilies also drove them from his dominions. Don Ferdinand, the duke of Parma and Placenza, infant of Spain, followed the political impulse of his family, and extirpated them from his domains. The soil of Italy was polluted by this unclean slime which the nations had rejected, and which they had sent back to Rome, the fountain of all corruption.

The pope was soon alarmed by the prodigious number of Jesuits which fell upon the patrimony of St. Peter, as upon a prey which

belonged to them; and to place his provinces beyond the reach of a certain devastation, he crowded them on the neighbouring territories.

His holiness, however, lanced a bull of excommunication against the kings who persecuted the members of the congregation, and threatened with his vengeance the princes who should maintain the decree of proscription with which the disciples of Ignatius Loyola had been struck. He even wished to join the execution to the threat; he began with the duke of Parma, who was the least formidable of his adversaries, summoned him to restore the duchies of Parma and Placenza to the Holy See, and sent troops to sustain his claim.

The kings of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, who were united by the family compact, pronounced loudly against the court of Rome, and prepared to punish the outrage done them in the person of a prince of their house. Louis the Fifteenth, by the advice of the duke de Choiseul, sent troops to Avignon and seized on the Venaissin territory. The young Ferdinand the Fourth, the king of the Two Sicilies, invaded the province of Beneventum, which he occupied with his troops; the courts of Parma, Madrid, and Lisbon, and the parliament of Paris caused the bull of Clement to be torn up.

His holiness then sought assistance in Aus-

tria, and asked for aid from Maria Theresa; but the empress, discontented with the Jesuits, who, on a recent occasion, had betrayed her secrets to the court of Rome, did not even deign to reply to him, and caused the famous bull, "In Cœna Domini," to be suppressed in her dutchy of Milan. The pope, repulsed on all sides, and being without allies, humbled his pride, declared that he was ready to make concessions, and implored the clemency of the sovereigns.

But the impulse was given, and his tardy submission could not prevent the progress of the reform. The Catholic powers continued to trace out, definitely, the line of demarcation between the spiritual and temporal power, and made it a condition of peace that the pope should suppress the institution of the Jesuits. Clement, too weak to resist the princes of the house of Bourbon, determined, finally, to sacrifice the satellites of the papacy, and announced that he would pronounce the abolition of the society in a public consistory. This imprudent declaration was the cause of his death; the good fathers were on their guard, and on the night preceding the day appointed for this solemn act of justice, the holy father was seized with strange pains, and expired in convulsions at four o'clock on the morning of the 2d of February, 1769. The Jesuits had poisoned him.

CLEMENT THE FOURTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVENTH POPE.

[A. D. 1769.]

Election of the virtuous Ganganelli—The details of his life before his elevation to the pontifical throne—His projects of reform in the church—The Jesuits threaten him with the fate of his predecessor, if he dare to touch their order—He makes peace with all the powers—Representations of the French clergy to Louis the Fifteenth, concerning the progress of philosophy—The encyclopedists follow up their victory—Clement the Fourteenth suppresses the society of the Jesuits throughout Christendom—Arrest of the general of the Jesuits, Lorenzo Ricci, and of the principal chiefs of the order—Frightful vengeance taken by the Jesuits on the unfortunate pontiff—He dies poisoned.

Forty-seven cardinals opened the conclave to give a successor to Clement the Thirteenth. From the first, the electors were divided into two parties, equally powerful; the one, those who were affiliated with the Jesuits, wished to give him a successor capable of walking in the footsteps of Gregory the Seventh and Pius the Fifth; the others, who were sold to the courts of France and Spain, wished to place the tiara on the head of a pope who was conciliatory enough to restore harmony between the altar and the throne. The intrigues lasted for three months; at last the Franciscan John Vincent Anthony Ganganelli, obtained the suffrages of the majority, and was proclaimed head of the church by the name of Clement the Fourteenth.

The new pope had scarcely attained his sixty-fourth year. He was born in the small town of St. Archangelo, near Rimini, where his father was a physician. From his ten-

derest infancy, he had shown a decided predilection for meditation, which had determined his family to enter him in a convent of the order of St. Francis, where he was distinguished for his virtues. He left it to be raised to the post of adviser to the holy office by Benedict the Fourteenth; during the following reign he obtained the hat of a cardinal.

Ganganelli preserved, beneath the tiara, the same morals as under the cowl of the Franciscan; he studied to remain humble and charitable, and took great pains to preserve the frugal and studious habits, which had been the charm of his existence. Never, since Titus Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, had a sovereign been endowed with a nobler character, a finer soul, a more judicious mind, commanded in Rome. His first act of authority was to remove from his court, the ministers of his predecessor; he then announced that he wished to restore peace to the church and reform Christianity.

The consternation was great among the cardinals, bishops, priests, and monkish mob, who grew fat in idleness on the sweat of the unfortunate. All rose in mass against him, and endeavoured to make him renounce his generous projects by terrible threats. A Jesuit dared to post up in open day, on the principal entrance to the Vatican, a placard containing these words: "Pray for the pope, who is about to die." Another fanatic placed on his table a billet which contained these four letters: "P. S. S. V.", which the pope thus explained: "Presto sarà sede vacante,—the Holy see will soon be vacant."

Clement, unshakeable in his resolution, paid no attention to the complaints, curses, or threats of the ecclesiastics. He walked with a firm step in the path he had marked out. The finances were in extreme disorder in consequence of the depredations of his predecessors; he changed the treasury officers, diminished the number of charges which weighed upon the treasury, and solaced the people. Industry and the arts were languishing; commerce and agriculture were in a deplorable state; he established manufactures, repaired the public buildings, drained the Pontine marshes, founded the rich museum which bears his name, provided for the expenses of nunciature and missions, for the payment of troops and artists, and paid regularly the pensions which were chargeable on the Holy See. All these internal matters arranged, he turned his attention to the external. The political horizon was dark with clouds; the irritation of the crowned heads had been carried to the highest point by the brief of Clement the Thirteenth against the duke of Parma, and by a new attempt made by the Jesuits to assassinate the king of Portugal. That monarch even announced his intention to appoint a patriarch independent of the pope, so as to finish matters with the court of Rome at a blow. Clement the Fourteenth commenced by renewing relations with the courts of France and Spain; he caused it to be skillfully insinuated to them, that the papacy was the basis on which the absolute authority of the Catholic princes reposed; that it was their interest to defend it, saving to restrain the privileges which their ancestors, right or wrong, had granted to the successors of the apostles, and which they regarded as incompatible with their dignity. Then, to join example to precept, he abrogated the famous bull "In Cœna Domini," and annulled all the decrees of the council of Trent, and the popes regarding it; desisted, in theory and practice, from all pretensions to temporal authority over princes, and gave pledges of his sincerity. This conduct brought back to him all minds; France restored to him the Venaisian territory, and the king of Naples, Beneventum and Ponte Corvo.

The princes of the houses of Braganza and Bourbon did not, however, depart from their rigour on the subject of the Jesuits, and urgently claimed the suppression of the order. Clement the Fourteenth, like a prudent man, replied, that before accomplishing so solemn

an act as the abrogation of an order which counted its members by thousands, and which had ramifications in all parts of the world, he must first inform himself as to the causes which might justify his decision in the eyes of posterity. From that time the pope enveloped himself in an impenetrable mystery; he studied, with scrupulous attention, the statutes, rules, acts, and history of the society; he appointed apostolical visitors to examine into the administration of the property of their colleges, and expert accountants to establish the reports of their monstrous wealth.

Clement was not, however, so absorbed in this affair as to be unable to play his part of pope, and lanch bulls of excommunication against Diderot, d'Alembert, Voltaire, Helvetius, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Marmontel, and Holbach. The French clergy naturally took the side of the pope against the philosophers; the parliaments cowardly turned against those who had aided them in triumphing over the Jesuits, and authorised the bishops of the kingdom to meet at Paris to judge the works which had been censured by the court of Rome. This assembly of prelates drew up its formula in the following terms: "Most dreadful Sire—Impiety does not confine itself to attacks on the church; it attacks at once the sanctuary and the empire, and announces that it will never be satisfied until it has annihilated all divine and human power. If your majesty doubts this sad truth, we will hasten to furnish you proof of it: by placing before you a work recently published, called the 'System of Nature.' The author of this production, the most criminal that the human mind has probably ever given birth to, does not think that he has done enough evil to men by teaching them that there is no revealed religion, and that hell is a hideous and absurd chimera, which owes its origin to the knavery of priests; he even dares to turn his attention upon societies, and the heads who govern them; he announces that he only perceives in the different states a vile assemblage of cowardly or corrupt men prostrated before bishops who rob them, or princes who oppress them. He says that the heads of nations are all infamous usurpers, who sacrifice the people to execrable passions, and who do not arrogate to themselves the proud titles of representatives of God, but to exercise with the more impunity an odious despotism over the human race; he says that the agreement between the priesthood and the sovereign power is a sacrilegious compact between knavery and force. He dares to deny that the authority of kings is of divine right; he maintains that the people may demand an account from them, of the management of affairs, and even, excess of audacity, deprive them of their life and crown, if they discover that they have abused the supreme authority. Be careful, sire; such principles are of a nature to please the imagination, are propagated with extreme rapidity, and the inevitable consequence will be, the emancipation of the human race, and the ruin of the throne and the altar."

"Who would, however, believe it, sire? This dangerous, impious book, is sold in your capital, at the very gates of your palace; soon it will penetrate to the very extremities of the empire, and will spread the germs of liberty in the heart, that formidable foe to all. And the laws are silent—and the tranquil authorities do not dream of wresting from the hands of your subjects this monstrous collection of blasphemies. Do not suffer such an outrage any longer, oh, well-beloved prince! Arrest the progress of human reason! Enchain that spirit of independence which has so often overthrown thrones; repress these outbreaks of a delirious imagination which revel in equality among men, or tremble for the future kings of your race."

The requisitions of the magistracy were joined to the representations of the episcopate. The advocate general Segnier was instructed to prosecute the philosophers before parliament, and expressed himself thus: "An impious and audacious sect has decorated its false wisdom with the name of philosophy; its partizans have erected themselves into preceptors of the human race, and seek to overthrow the altar and the throne. Their rallying cry is, 'The freedom of the press;' and to make their device triumphant, they have placed themselves at the head of the skeptics, and displayed the standard of revolt. If then, we wish to guarantee our privileges from the attacks of these dangerous doctrines, which threaten to throw society into confusion, under the pretext of reforming abuses; we must be severe against these works, we must annihilate them, we must efface even the recollection of them."

In conformity with the furious conclusions of the advocate general, the parliament, by a decree of the 16th of August, 1770, condemned to be burned, the works which were denounced to it by the assembly of the clergy; the *System of Nature*, *Hell Destroyed*, the *Sacred Contagion*, the *Examination of the Prophecies* which serve for the foundation of Religion, *Christianity Unveiled*, *God and Men*, *Treatise on the Miracles of Jesus Christ*, the *Philosophical Collection*, *Critical Examination of the Apologists for the Christian Religion*, and the *Impartial Examination of the Principal Religions of the World*. These works were attributed to *Damilaville*, *Diderot*, *Voltaire*, and the celebrated baron d'Holbach, whose house, according to the expression of *Grimm*, was one of the pleasantest hospitals of the the initiated of the *Encyclopædia*; it was called "the synagogue" by the priests, who called that of *Madame Neckar* "the parish church;" there met the *abbe Chanvelin*, the count d'Argental, *Miraud*, *Mirabeau*, *Foncemange*, and many other disciples of *Voltaire*.

Thanks to the imprudent conduct of parliament, the Jesuits appeared to be once more on the eve of resuming their former preponderance; the magistrates had stupidly aided the clergy in their struggle with the philosophers. The clergy, whose interests drew them towards the Society of Jesus, made in

their turn common cause with the disciples of *Ignatius Loyola*, and intrigued so skilfully that finally the well-beloved *Louis the Fifteenth* closed the parliament.

The king, yielding to the solicitations of the new favourite, the countess du Barry, who was herself the instrument of the chancellor *Maupéou*, the tool of the Jesuits, announced his desire to recognise the company, and informed the court of Rome of his intentions. The sovereign pontiff wrote at once to the monarch, beseeching him to allow things to remain as they were, until after the judgment which he was about to render concerning the society.

Clement the Fourteenth continued his minute inquiry, regardless of the threats or obstacles of every kind which he met on his way. He had, however, judged it prudent to take certain precautions to avoid the terrible fate of his predecessor. Thus he had replaced the cook of the Quirinal palace by a good monk, named *Francis*, who, from devotion to him, had consented to serve as his cook and prepare the dishes destined for his table.

Nothing could intimidate the virtuous *Ganganelli*, and when, after four years of close inquiries, he found himself sufficiently enlightened concerning the crimes of the congregation, he lanced the celebrated bull "*Dominus ac Redemptor*." The decree which abolished the society was thus framed, "Inspired by the Holy Spirit, urged on by the duty of bringing back concord into the bosom of the church, convinced that the congregation of the Jesuits can no longer render the services for which our predecessor, *Paul the Third*, instituted them, induced, moreover, by other motives which morality commands us to confine in our own soul, by virtue of our sovereign authority in religious matters, we abolish and for ever destroy the Society of Jesus, its functions, its houses, and its institutions." In signing this bull, *Clement* said with a sigh, "I sign my death warrant, but I obey my conscience."

This sentence was immediately notified to the professed house, and the other colleges, by the deputies of the commission of inquiry. To prevent all rebellion, his holiness arrested the general of the order, *Laurenzo Ricci*, his assistants, the secretary general, *Fathers Faure*, *Forestier*, and *Guatier*, who were conducted to the castle of *San Angelo*. From that time *Clement* redoubled his precautions to free himself from the vengeance of his enemies, and renewed his recommendations to the good Franciscan to watch the kitchen—"Fra *Francisco*," he said to him, "cadate a la pignata,"—"Brother *Francis*, watch the pot." The active prudence of the good monk did not disconcert the Jesuits, it only rendered them more ingenious. The following was the infernal trick they employed to attain their ends. A lady of the *Sabine*, entirely devoted to them, had a tree in her garden which bore the hand-somest figs in *Rome*. The reverend fathers, knowing that the pope loved this fruit very much, induced the lady to disguise herself as

a peasant and go and present these figs to Brother Francis. The devotee did so several times, gained the confidence of the Franciscan, and one day slipped into the basket a fig larger than the others, into which a subtle poison, called aquetta, was injected. Up to this time the holy father had enjoyed perfect health; he was well made, though of the ordinary height; his voice was sonorous and strong; he walked with the activity of a young man, and every thing presaged a long old age to him.

From that day his health failed in an extraordinary manner; it was remarked with alarm, that his voice was sensibly failing. To those first symptoms of his sickness was joined so violent an inflammation of his throat that he was obliged to keep his mouth constantly open; vomiting then succeeded the inflammation, accompanied by pains in his bowels; finally, the sickness increasing in intensity, he discovered that he was poisoned. He wished to make use of antidotes, but it was too late, the evil was beyond remedy, and he had only to wait the close of his

life. For the three months that he endured this terrible agony, his courage never failed him for a moment; one day only, after a more violent crisis than all the others, he said, "Alas, I knew well that they would poison me, but I did not expect to die in so slow and cruel a manner." He became, if we may so speak, the shadow of himself; his flesh was eaten out by the corrosive action of the aquetta, his very bones were attacked and became softened, contorting his members and giving them a hideous form; at last, God took pity on the poor victim of the execrable Jesuits, and recalled him to himself, on the 22d of September, 1774, at seven and a half o'clock in the morning.

An authentic piece, the despatch of the ambassador of Spain, relates in its fullest details, the examination of the dead body, which was made the day succeeding his death, and adds to the irrefutable proofs of the poisoning of the pontiff and the guilt of the Jesuits.

Thus were realised the threats of the Jesuits, and their sinister predictions were accomplished!

PIUS THE SIXTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH POPE.

[A. D. 1774.]

Simoniacal election of Pius the Sixth—Execrable character of the new head of the church—His infamous morals—He maintains the decrees of Clement the Fourteenth concerning the Jesuits, in order to seize on their wealth—By way of compensation, he authorises them to found establishments in Russia and Prussia, and at Liege—Louis the Sixteenth, the pupil of the Jesuits, renews the decrees of his predecessor against them—The nobility, clergy, and parliaments, league against the philosophers—Brief of the holy father against the Jews—Draining of the Pontine marshes—Nepotism of Pius the Sixth—His incests—He renews the crimes of the Borgias, and marries his bastard to his daughter—Frightful debauchery of the pontifical family—Prodigalities of the holy father towards his minions and bastards—Quarrel between the courts of Rome and Vienna—Joseph the Second brings about useful reforms among the clergy of his dominions—His holiness goes to the court of the emperor of Germany to convert him—Pontifical farce—Pius the Sixth fails in his efforts, and returns to Rome—Saturnalia at the Vatican—Spoliations of the pontiff—Scandalous lawsuit between the pope and the marchioness Lepri—Congress of Ems, and separation of the church of Germany from the Holy See—All the powers declare themselves hostile to the court of Rome—Ecclesiastical reforms in the duchy of Tuscany—Scipio Ricci and the Dominicans of Pistoia—Pius the Sixth anathematizes the prelate Scipio Ricci—Abolition of the inquisition at Naples—Revolutionary movement in France—Suit of the cardinal de Rohan—Ministry of the archbishop of Brienne—Louis the Sixteenth opens the states-general—Civil constitution of the clergy—The constitutional bishops—The pope fulminates bulls against the constituent assembly—Revolution in the Venetian territory—Pius the Sixth massacres the inhabitants of Avignon—He persecutes the French at Rome—Condemnation of Cagliostro—Louis the Sixteenth refuses to sanction the laws concerning the ecclesiastics—The kings of Europe and the pope form a confederacy against the French—The nobles and priests emigrate into Italy and England—Proclamation of the republic in France—The French government intimates to the pope to set at liberty the citizens who were retained as prisoners—Pius the Sixth massacres the citizen Basseville—Judgment and condemnation of Louis the Sixteenth—The pope causes all the French found in his dominions to be arrested—Outbreak at Rome—Pius the Sixth arms against France—Bonaparte in Italy—Armistice between the Holy See and the republic—Perfidies of the pope—Miracles of the madonnas—Massacre of the French in Italy—Feats of Tolentino—The pope murders the Romans—Murder of General Duphot—Revolution at Rome—Pius the Sixth is exiled to Florence—From that city his holiness organises massacres at Rome and Naples—He is transferred to Valence in Dauphiny—His death.

WHEN the funeral of the unfortunate Ganelli was over, the cardinals entered into the conclave to give him a successor. As in the last elections, two great parties were at

once formed, that of the crowns, and that of the Zelanti, or the prelates sold to the Jesuits. At the head of this last party were the cardinals John Baptiste Rezzonico, Castelli, and Buffalini; the other was governed by the ministers of the courts of France and Spain, the cardinal Bernis, and Monino, count of Florida Blanca. The Zelanti at first proposed as their candidate the imperious Mark Anthony Colonna, who was at once rejected by Bernis; the French ambassador, in his turn, presented Negroni, showing that he did not belong to any party, that he was sprung from an humble condition, and that he had all the guarantees of wisdom and probity that could be sought for in a pontiff. But the Zelanti cried out against this choice. "We do not wish another beggar," they said to Cardinal Bernis, "and now we will prevent the election of a mendicant," wishing to designate the virtuous Clement the Fourteenth by these outrageous epithets.

The faction of the crowns proposed in succession Palavicini, who was rejected on account of his tolerance, and Visconti, who was objected to on account of his rigidity. The partizans of the Jesuits then presented Castelli, who was opposed as too immoral, and Boschi, who was rejected as too fanatical. The holy assembly consumed five months in warping, or undoing the warps which each competitor set at work to filch the tiara; sometimes the opposing cardinals did not confine themselves to epigrams, reproaches, nor insults, to conquer their adversaries; they even used brute force, and ignobly battered each other. Things went so far, that a censor afterwards composed a satirical piece on this meeting, called the Conclave, in which all the cardinals who took part in it, appeared on the scene in the truest and most grotesque manner.

From the turn which the elections took, the vacancy in the Holy See would have been beyond all doubt prolonged indefinitely, if the minister of Spain, Florida Blanca, had not conceived the happy idea of gaining over to his side the mistresses of the cardinals opposed to the party of the crowns, and making the Holy Spirit speak by the mouths of the handsomest courtizans of Rome. The gold of Spain and France was lavished on these queens of the conclave, who, in return, promised to support by secret advice to their lovers, the candidate who should be designated to them.

Bernis, informed of what was going on without, proposed as pope, John Angelo Braschi, one of the Zelanti, whom he believed to have been gained over to France; the other cardinals, who were secretly influenced by the Roman dames, were favourable to his promotion, and proclaimed him supreme head of the church, on the 14th of February, 1775, by the name of Pius the Sixth.

The cardinal Bernis at once announced this promotion to the court of France in the following note: "Braschi has been elevated to the chair of St. Peter; it is believed he will occupy it worthily; but I dare not answer for

events which may result from certain circumstances which it is impossible to foresee, or from variations which a too great elevation produce by operating upon the character, the mind, and the habits of most men. God alone sees the depth of the heart, and we can only judge by appearances. The reign of the new pontiff will reveal whether, before his election, I saw his face or his mask."

One might, however, foresee what kind of a pope Pius the Sixth would be, from the explanation he gave concerning the name he chose on accepting the tiara. "Pius the Fifth is the last pope canonized by the church," said he, "I wish to walk in his footsteps." Alas, the execrable Braschi but too much resembled the sanguinary Dominican, the originator of the St. Bartholomew; like him, insatiable of sway, coldly cruel, implacable, proud; he only wanted the political genius of the ferocious Pius the Fifth, to complete the resemblance.

During his pontifical career Braschi was at once enterprising and irresolute, ambitious and pusillanimous, interested and prodigal, suspicious and careless, false in heart, and knavish in mind; with such a character he became, as he was, the sport of the courtiers who surrounded him. He abandoned all the affairs of government to his favourites, and contented himself with being enthroned in the Vatican, in order to exhibit the fine proportions of his imposing figure, with such a dramatic affectation, that strangers, who were present at the religious ceremonies at which his holiness officiated, asked if they saw a pontiff actor, or an actor pontiff.

Pius the Sixth attained his fifty-eighth year when he reached the throne of St. Peter; he was born of a noble, but poor family of the territory of Cesena. The cardinal Ruffo, the lover of the mother of the young Braschi, had been his first protector, and had opened the way for him to high ecclesiastical dignities, by procuring for him the appointment of private secretary to Benedict the Fourteenth. During the following reign he had exchanged that place for that of auditor, and then for that of treasurer of the apostolic chamber, which was one of the most important posts in the Roman government. Under Clement the Fourteenth, serious accusations of concussions drove him from his place, but as the virtuous Ganganelli was an enemy to scandal, he spared him the disgrace of a public dismissal by giving him the hat. Braschi lived in a kind of disgrace until the death of his predecessor, making common cause with the Jesuits, concealing them in his palace, even conspiring with them, which induced the supposition that he was not a stranger to the crime which had terminated the existence of Clement the Fourteenth.

His morals were not more irreproachable than his administration; for Gorani, the author of "The Secret Memoirs of Italy," an extremely curious work, and one of high historical importance, formally accuses him of adultery, sodomy, and incest, and with him

all cotemporary authors, except the stipendiaries of the priestly party, agree in saying, that the holy father led the life of a Sybarite, fulfilling none of his pontifical functions, confining himself to the celebration of mass in his oratory, or being enthroned for an hour at a solemn audience, and passing the rest of his time in getting drunk with his mistresses and his minions, whom he chose out of his own family.

On his advent to the chair of St. Peter, the new pontiff endeavoured to induce the Romans to forget his past extortions, and spared nothing to gain their affections; he distributed money to the poor, promised to diminish the imposts, and announced that he was about to carry into effect great reforms among the clergy. In fact, he dismissed a large number of prelates and ecclesiastics, convicted of malversation and peculation, from the employments they filled, but it was to give their functions to his relatives and creatures; he diminished the pensions granted to the great dignitaries of the church, but it was to increase by so much the more, his private fortune.

The people of Rome, usually so easily deceived, were not this time the dupes of the juggleries of the pope, and preserved for Pius the Sixth the hatred they had for Cardinal Braschi. His holiness, unable to gain the people, wished to find a support among the members of the sacred college, by flattering by turns, the two parties of the Zelanti and the crowns, which rendered his position extremely difficult through his whole pontificate, and frequently forced him to take the most contradictory measures, now under the inspiration of the courts of Madrid or Versailles, or under the dread of a threat of death from the Society of Jesus.

At first, the sovereign pontiff had appeared to lean towards the Zelanti, and had exhibited a disposition to repair the disasters of the congregation of St. Ignatius; he then reviewed his decision, and declared that he would maintain the dispositions taken towards them by Clement the Fourteenth, until the conclusion of the proceedings which had been commenced against them. The pretext for this change was the fear of drawing upon Rome the wrath of the kings of France and Spain, but his real motive was his desire to retain their wealth, which had been confiscated to the benefit of the Holy See.

By way of compensation, he permitted the good fathers to scatter pamphlets against the memory of Clement the Fourteenth, and he himself opposed the king of Spain, in regard to the canonization of a former bishop of Mexico, named John Palafox, one of the most ardent enemies of the Jesuits. The more Florida Blanca, the ambassador of his Catholic majesty, urged the court of Rome to place his protegee in the catalogue of the saints, the more did the pope exhibit hostility to this promotion, and seek to depreciate the merits of the Spanish bishop. A sort of quarrel of vanity was the result, and it reached such a point that Charles the Third was obliged to threaten

him with his wrath to obtain an entrance for Bishop Palafox to the skies.

This small satisfaction given to the Loyolists made them resume patience, and even induced them to unite with the holy father to aid him in combatting the ideas of the reformers, which were invading all governments, and particularly Germany, where reigned Joseph the Second, one of the most terrible adversaries of the supremacy of the Holy See.

Through a continued reciprocity of kindness, Pius the Sixth rendered great honours to Lorenzo Ricci, the general of the order, who had died in the dungeons of San Angelo; and by a fresh contradiction, whilst maintaining the abrogation of the society, he authorised the Jesuits to spread themselves through Prussia and Russia, form schools, colleges, and professed houses, and even appointed to the prebend of the collegiate establishment of St. John the Baptist at Liege, a member of the congregation, the English Aphton, who had the direction of the famous college of that city. Only to avoid showing too openly his contempt for the representations of the kings of France and Spain, he prohibited the disciples of Loyola from wearing the habit of their order.

This kind of hidden restoration excited the discontent of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and became the subject of representations which were addressed to the pontiff by Cardinal Bernis and Florida Blanca, in the name of Louis the Sixteenth, the new king of France, and of Charles the Third. His holiness did not content himself with denying his participation in what had been done, and sent to the two sovereigns a brief, in which he declared all the encroachments of the congregation in the Russian empire and the Prussian monarchy, to be null, abusive, and unlawful. The two monarchs, occupied with more serious interests, permitted the Jesuits to proclaim their approaching re-establishment, and to use, as trophies, the rescripts which the pope had granted them, and the authority which was given them to remain in every place in which the bull of Clement the Fourteenth had not been published, as they were before.

The disciples of Loyola availed themselves of this species of toleration to seek to retake root in France; they rallied the clergy to their side, and excited new persecutions against the philosophers. They caused to be condemned by an assembly of bishops entirely devoted to them, a number of remarkable works levelled against fanaticism, among others, *Antiquity Unveiled by its Usages*; the *Sermon of the Fifty*; *Critical Examination of the Old and New Apologists for Religion*; the *Letters of Thrasybulus to Leusippus*; the *Social System*; *Questions on the Encyclopedia*; *Critical History of the Life of Jesus Christ: Common Sense*; *Philosophical and Political History of the Establishment of Europeans in the Two Indies*; the *Profession of the Faith of the Theists*; the *Dialogue of Evhemerus*; the *Canonization of St. Cucufin*; *Instructions to*

Brother Pedienoso; the Questions of Zapata; the Cry of Nations.

The nobility, which was no better treated than the church in the books of the philosophers, joined the clergy, and brought into play all the resources of Machiavelism and corruption, to have the condemnation of these works sustained by the new parliaments which Louis the Sixteenth had recalled from exile.

The struggle then recommenced with more animation and more violence than ever, between the philosophers on the one side, and the priesthood on the other, seconded by the footmen of the court. All means were judged proper by shameless great lords, and the ecclesiastics, their worthy acolytes, to triumph over their opponents in this discussion; they first sought to excite troubles in the kingdom by monopolising the grain, and starving the people; they then applied themselves to perverting the soul of the young queen, surrounded her with seductions of all kinds, pushed her into an abyss of corruption, and made her the instrument of their hatred. The feeble Louis the Sixteenth, ruled by Marie Antoinette, obeyed the impulse of the clergy and nobility, and thought of nothing less than arresting the car of civilization. For a moment, one might have imagined that their sacrilegious wishes were realised; two ministers of integrity, Turgot and Malesherbes, the partisans of toleration, were forced to retire; letters de cachet were issued against several men of letters; every thing preaged a religious reaction. The apostolic nuncio even was so assured of the triumph of the ecclesiastics and of a return to the good traditions of ultra montanism, that he wrote to the holy father that France was still worthy of the name of the eldest daughter of the church, which the first popes had given it, and that before long the philosophers would be all crushed, burned, or shut up in the bastille.

This news was naturally received at Rome with transports of joy; it rejoiced the pontiff the more, since this mode of proceeding to conversions was entirely in accordance with his views, and as he himself was preparing to put in force, through the police of his states, the old decrees of his predecessors against heretics, and particularly against the Jews, which had fallen into disuse on account of their cruelty and absurdity. Instead of moderating them, he rendered them more rigorous than ever; he assigned to the Israelites an infected quarter, called the Ghetto, prohibited them, under penalty of death, from passing the night out of their prison, enjoined on them, under penalty of the galleys, not to approach the convent of the Annunciado, and not to be seen near the churches, monasteries, or hospitals of Rome. He prohibited them from carrying on any commerce with the Christians, or even from taking Catholic domestics into their service, unless they wished to incur very severe corporal punishments. And, that we may not be accused of extravagance, we will add, that most of these odious measures are still in full vigour at Rome, Naples, Turin,

Milan, Modena, and all the cities of Italy, which are submitted to the despotism of reigning princes. Each city has its ghetto; no Jew has the right to possess, without it, the smallest parcel of land; only, for those who essayed to quit the ghetto, the penalty of death has been replaced by that of the galleys, a fine, or imprisonment.

Pius the Sixth also exacted that the Jews should only use yellow garments, and should celebrate no ceremony but the funeral of their coreligionists. So much rigour constrained a crowd of these unfortunate people to fly from the states of the church; it was what the pope desired, since the property of emigrants appertained by law to the Holy See. Those who continued to dwell at Rome, independently of the bad treatment they received, were subjected to enormous imposts.

All the money which the pontiff extracted from the Jews was swallowed up with that of the Christians in foolish expenses, which the pontiff thought would shed great lustre on his reign. Among other extravagancies, he increased beyond measure the museum of antiquities, which was commenced by his predecessor; he made large excavations in the environs of Otricoli, which produced no other discovery than some shafts of columns, some tripods, and the remains of mosaics; he added a sacristy to the church of St. Peter, into which he crowded, without order or taste, a crowd of master-pieces of sculpture and painting, which cost him enormous sums; he threw down and reconstructed, in gigantic proportions, the miserable abbey of Subiaco, of which he had been superior, whilst he occupied the post of treasurer to the apostolic chamber. The only labours which he executed for a really useful end, were the grading of the routes which led to Rome; he even proceeded in this work by vexatious means, which increased the public misery; he was infamous enough, after having made the community contribute to these expenses by extraordinary taxes, to have the work performed by compulsory and unpaid labour.

He lavished in turn millions on the embellishment of the Quirinal palace and in draining the Pontine marshes, an enterprise which was doubtless very glorious, had it not been undertaken from an interest of cupidity, and to augment the wealth of his bastard. These Pontine marshes had submerged, for very many ages, an immense extent of land, and spread through all the environs pestilential emanations, which, fortunately for the inhabitants of Rome, were arrested by the forests of Cisterna and Sermionetta.

The Pontine marshes commenced at the bridge of Astura, where Cicero had been beheaded, and where the unfortunate Conradin, thirteen centuries afterwards, fell into the hands of his cruel conqueror, the duke of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis; they extended along the shore as far as Terracina, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, and in some places even penetrated into it. Historical traditions represent this plain to have been

one of the most fertile in Italy. The authors of antiquity count as many as twenty-three cities or towns of the warlike nation of the Volsci, as inhabiting the place which the waters afterwards occupied.

Three hundred years before the Christian era, in consequence of the ravages of war, the Volscian cities had entirely disappeared, and their country had been transformed into a marsh, when the censor, Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind, endeavoured to restore the country and built the way, which has preserved his name. A century and a half later, the consul, Cornelius Cethegus, resumed the labours which had been interrupted; he was in his turn compelled to suspend them. Julius Cæsar found this country abandoned to new devastations, and thought of undertaking great works to restore to it its former fertility. Augustus, the heir of his plans, dug an immense canal, destined to receive the stagnant waters and to drain them. Trajan was also engaged with the Pontine marshes; but their successors lost sight of this object; then when the emperors disappeared to give place to the popes, the labour of draining was completely abandoned, and this country, once so flourishing, was buried beneath the waves.

Some pontiffs, less indolent than most of the successors of the apostle, Boniface the Thirteenth, Martin the Fifth, Leo the Tenth, Sixtus the Fifth, attempted some reparations, abandoned almost as soon as begun. Finally, Pius the Sixth, in his advent to the throne of St. Peter, cast his eyes upon the Pontine marshes, and determined to reconquer from the seas the ancient country of the Volsci, and to form an appanage out of it for his bastard. He first established a bank, by the name of the Mont des Marais, to receive the funds devoted to this enterprise, and which amounted in a few months, by voluntary subscriptions, to the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand Roman crowns; he then caused plans to be drawn up by Bolognini and the skilful engineer Sani, to be enabled to sound the places which offered the most facilities for the work. They began by repairing an old aqueduct, which supplied the city of Terracina with water; they then cleared the famous Appian way, concealed for so many centuries beneath beds of mud, which was constructed entirely of blocks of lava, and still furrowed by the ruts which the Roman carriages, and perhaps the triumphal chariots of the old consuls of the republic, had made. Thousands of arms were employed in digging a large canal, which was to lead into Lake Fogliana, and dried several leagues of ground, which were immediately put under cultivation.

This first success encouraged the holy father to persevere in his enterprise, and even decided him to build an important city in the midst of the marshes, which a grand canal was to traverse in the lower part, emptying itself into the sea. The work had already been commenced, and enormous sums expended, when an engineer thought of measuring the levels, and found that the earth was much

lower than the sea. Pius the Sixth was consequently obliged to renounce his plans; he then turned towards the side adjoining the declivities of the mountains, and swallowed up in new efforts, all the money in the apostolic treasury, that of voluntary taxes and forced imposts, and that which he drew from the treasury of our Lady of Loretto.

The most odious part of all this operation was, that the pope, to replace the voids which death made among the workmen, carried off forcibly labourers from the adjoining country, and decimated the population. He finally became so hated, that the Romans no longer designated him but by the name of "Secatore," in allusion to his mania for draining the marshes, and to the ingenious means he resorted to to drain their purses. Every one asked what great interest induced the pope to pursue this senseless strife against nature, when he might, at a quarter of the expense, and without danger to the lives of the workmen, have cleared up the uncultivated land in the states of the church, which were five times more considerable. The cause of this preference was very simple; the waste lands belonged to the cities or private individuals, and the holy father could not dispose of them at his good pleasure. The Pontine marshes, on the contrary, having no owners, his holiness had the free disposal of them, and could form an appanage out of them for some of his own.

In the prosperous ages of nepotism, the popes enriched their relatives with the pious presents which flowed from all parts of Europe into the purse of St. Peter; but since superstition had decreased among nations, they were obliged to do so at the expense of the Roman people, and to increase the imposts to gratify the avidity of their relatives. Pius the Sixth naturally followed this path for the two bastards whom his sister had borne him. He purchased for the youngest, who was called Romuald, the property of the duke of Lante, conferred on him the title of count, gave him magnificent equipages and apartments in the interior of the palace; then, to take all pretext for public malignity, which gave to his handsome nephew the names of Ganymede and minion, he sent him to the court of France with the rank of apostolic nuncio.

The pope behaved, in the absence of young Romuald, as if he had been his most cherished mistress; he occupied himself with causing a magnificent palace to be decorated by the first artists, painters, and sculptors; he adorned it with splendid furniture, rich hangings, and extremely precious objects, either as antiquities or works of art. He was even so interested in rendering this palace worthy of the object of his shameful amours, that he was taken very sick, and ran the risk of his life.

The nuncio, warned of the state in which his uncle was, returned immediately to Rome, under the pretence of consoling him, but in reality not to leave to others the care of pillaging the apostolic treasury. The convalescence of Pius the Sixth disappointed the hopes

and imbeciles of every class came to kiss it, to the disgrace of the human kind. They did more; it was carried about as a relic through the lordly mansions of Vienna, and princes made it a pious duty, to kiss the slipper of a sodomite and incestuous priest.

Joseph the Second finished it by taking charge of the enthusiasm of his people for Pius the Sixth, and thought to dismiss him; he wished, however, to have the appearance of granting him some concessions; he permitted his subjects to address themselves to Rome to obtain dispensations of the first and second degree; he consented that nothing should be changed in the appointment to the vacant sees of Lombardy; he tolerated historical instruction, in regard to the questions which related to the bull "Unigenitus," and only prohibited discussions concerning the dogmas it taught or those it condemned.

Before separating, the emperor and pontiff gave to each other mutual marks of affection. Joseph presented the head of the church with a breast-plate enriched with diamonds, and valued at more than two hundred thousand florins; he gave him besides, through the vice chancellor of the empire, a diploma, which elevated his bastard, Louis Braschi Onesti, to the dignity of a prince of the holy empire, and exempted him from the taxes paid in such cases, which amounted to ninety thousand florins; he did not forget the cardinals and bishops who composed the suite of the pontiff, he ennobled them all and made them rich presents. On the day of his departure, he accompanied him as far as the church of Mariabrunn, a league from Vienna, and embraced him with appearances of the frankest cordiality. But that was all, for scarcely had the pope left the Austrian territories, than the emperor resumed his plans of reform, annulled the preceding decrees in regard to the sees of Lombardy, himself appointed a prelate to the archbishopric of Milan, suppressed the mendicant orders which infested his kingdom, seized the revenues, restrained the privileges of the apostolic nuncios, sanctioned his edicts of toleration, and took under his immediate protection, writers who were hostile to the court of Rome.

Joseph the Second having entered further than ever on the path of religious reforms, was desirous of overthrowing at a blow the obstacles which opposed his designs, and went into Italy for the purpose of making a last effort to bring the Holy See to extreme concessions, or openly to declare his rupture with the papal court. He was received at Rome as Pius the Sixth had been at Vienna, but instead of falling out abruptly as he had intended to do, he allowed himself to be overreached by the cardinal de Bernis, the ambassador of France, and the chevalier Azara, the Spanish minister, and consented to conclude a kind of concordat with the Holy See.

Pius the Sixth no longer disturbed himself about the reforms in Germany, and surrendered himself to all the excesses of drunken debauchery. The Vatican was the nightly

theatre of disgusting saturnalia, at which met the father, the daughter, and the two brothers, and which recalled the orgies of the Borgias. Rome was daily informed by the indiscretions of the officers of the palace, who were the favourites of the pope during the night, and whether he had chosen among his bastards, his pages, or the scullions in his kitchen.

His holiness no longer performed any pontifical functions; he passed whole mornings at his toilette, painted his cheeks and his lips, perfumed his hands and his breast; he bathed himself with precious essences, like the most coquettish of courtizans, and decorated himself with lace. Gorani maintains that he fell into a violent passion when his chamberlains did not dress him to his fancy, and that he beat them with his fist, and that one day he beat a tailor almost to death for bringing him a badly fitting garment. It is certain that Pius the Sixth was extremely arrogant and rough, and that he preserved this violent character to his death. Finally, his turpitudes rendered him such an object of hatred and contempt to the Romans, that in the religious ceremonies in which he appeared, the faithful returned him only hisses in exchange for his blessings.

It may not be useless to give information concerning a very curious incident which caused great noise throughout all Italy. A certain Amanzio Lepri, a Milanese by birth, and the son of an old officer of the customs, was the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he expended in pious works. The pope having been informed that this blessed person was of an extremely weak mind, determined to use religion for the purpose of seizing on his great wealth. He sent an old Jesuit to him, who inspired doubts in his mind as to the lawfulness of his wealth, determined him to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and to make a donation of his large patrimony to the bastard and cherished daughter of his holiness.

Pius affected to wish that the duke de Braschi should not accept the gift; he then permitted himself to be overcome by the entreaties of Amanzio Lepri, and only insisted, as a condition, that he should reserve for himself a pension of five hundred crowns a month. The sister-in-law of this fanatic, the marchioness Victoire Lepri, protested against these dispositions, which deprived her young daughter Marianne, the niece and pupil of Amanzio, of her inheritance, and attacked the donation before the tribunal of the auditor of the chamber. The latter, who was all devotion to the pope, rejected her petition, and received the hat of a cardinal as the price of his conduct. Victoire Lepri was not discouraged, and she appealed to the tribunal of the rota. This was the only jurisdiction which had preserved any independence at Rome, and consequently its right to public regard; it owed its independence to its organization, being composed of twelve judges or auditors, of whom three only were Romans, and the rest spread about in the following manner; one

from Bologna, one from Ferrara, one from Venice, one from Milan, one German, two Spaniards, and two Frenchmen. Five of these doctors only were paid by the pope, the others were paid by the states to which they belonged. The form of their judgment was simple, and left little room for chicanery; every thing concurred to render them respectable.

Pius the Sixth, fearing a condemnation, offered the marchioness to pay her down a hundred thousand crowns, provided she would desist from her pursuits, and even proposed to marry the young Marianne to his nephew Romuald Onesti. The family of Lepri refused, and persisted in its determination to have the donation voided by the tribunal of the rota. The judges rendered a decree favourable to the dispossessed pupil, and broke the act of donation. The holy father was not conquered, he extorted a will in proper form from the imbecile Amanzio in favour of his nephew, the duke de Braschi, and then when he had this important piece, he merely poisoned him to prevent him from taking a fancy to change his mind. On the next day he convened the tribunal of the rota and presented the will, in order that his bastard should be put in possession of the property of the deceased; but what were his astonishment and rage, when at the very moment when the judges were about to pronounce in favour of the validity of the rights of the duke de Braschi, to see the young Marianne herself, led by her mother, advance before the tribunal and unroll a later will than that of the pope, in which Amanzio declared that he appointed her his sole heiress, that he annulled the donation made in favour of the nephew of the pontiff, as well as the will which had been obtained from him by violence, and that he left to his family the task of avenging his death.

This incident changed every thing; the tribunal pronounced a second judgment in favour of Marianne Lepri, and cast the duke de Braschi. The obstinate pontiff did not yet abandon it; he refused to yield to the orders of the magistrates, and decided, of his own authority, that the cause should be re-examined, and in the interval he brought into play threats and promises so appropriately, that the auditors handed to him on a plate of gold, the definite decree, which confirmed the donation of the unfortunate Amanzio to the infamous Duke de Braschi, and which condemned his lawful heirs to pay the expenses of the proceedings. This odious spoliation excited a general indignation among the Romans, and even among foreigners; the courts of Naples, Spain, France, Germany, the republic of Venice, the states of Modena, and the duchy of Parma lashed the conduct of the pope in their gazettes.

Joseph the Second took advantage of it to keep no longer on any terms with the Holy See; he abolished the nunciatures entirely, as contrary to the jurisdiction of the ordinary bishops; he made a decree concerning the

nuncios, and brought them down to the class of mere diplomatic envoys; he then assembled the famous congress of Ems. The prelates who composed this meeting framed twenty-three very important articles, which were directly hostile to the ultra montane principles of the court of Rome, and which, among other things, proclaimed the independence of the religious of every superior residing in a foreign country, the absolute authority of bishops in their dioceses from all exemptions and dispensations, the necessity of the acceptance of the Roman bulls by competent authority to render them binding in the empire, the abolition of the oath of vassalage prescribed to prelates by Gregory the Seventh, the exclusive recognition as the true public law of the German church, of the decrees of the council of Basle, and the abolition of the concordat concluded with Rome at Aschaffenburg. Finally, in order to give the last blow to the supremacy of the Holy See, Joseph demanded from the pope, through the congress, the convocation of an œcumenical council, which the popes had promised for two centuries; he rested this demand on the necessity which existed in the church to abolish a crowd of superstitious usages which compromised religion, and at the same time to revise the lying constitutions which served as a pretext for the encroachments of the court of Rome.

The troubles which then broke out in the low countries, distracted the attention of the emperor, and compelled him to defer the execution of his plans to another time; his example had, however, produced good results; the taste for reform had reached the states of Italy; the republics of Venice and Genoa, the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Modena, laboured seriously to abase the Holy See; the grand duke of Tuscany, Leopold, the brother of Joseph the Second, especially distinguished himself in this crusade against the papacy; like the emperor, he had convened a council at Pistoia, under the presidency of the bishop of that city, the famous Scipio Ricci, the nephew of the general of the Jesuits who had died in the dungeons of the castle of San Angelo, a prelate of sincere piety, but who had the misfortune, in the eyes of the pontiff, of not sharing the sentiments of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. His holiness immediately condemned the decisions to which this assembly came, and prohibited the duke of Tuscany from paying any attention to them. Leopold, instead of being intimidated by the apostolic censures, assembled the bishops of his kingdom at Florence, to have four new articles adopted concerning the reformation of the breviaries and missals, the translation of the ritual into the vulgar tongue, the precedence of curates over canons, and the declaration that the episcopal institution was of divine right. But Pius the Sixth had intrigued so well, and put into play so well the resources of corruption, that a majority of the prelates declared against the plans of the grand duke.

The coteries of the pope did not confine

save the throne and the altar from imminent ruin. The feeble monarch obeyed, appointed as his principal minister Charles Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, and gave to him the administration of the finances. The prelate immediately drew up edicts of imposts, and carried them to parliament to be registered. The counsellors refused to obey his orders, and declared that an assembly of the states-general was alone competent to establish public charges. That word, "states-general," immediately resounded through all France. The clergy, the nobility, the parliament, the burghers, all moved by different hopes or fears, proclaimed the principle, "that a nation represented by its delegates, possessed an imprescriptible right to reform abuses and levy imposts."

His majesty wished to resist the opinion and held several beds of justice, in which new edicts were registered; the parliament protested against this illegality, and declared the registry void. In vain had the principal minister resorted to intimidation, and caused the most refractory magistrates to be imprisoned. These acts of rigour only exasperated men the more, and compelled the king to dismiss his minister, and give him as a successor the Genevese Necker, and to issue a decree fixing the opening of the states-general for the 1st of May, 1789. An incredible effervescence was already manifested in all parts of France; clubs and political assemblies organised everywhere, for the elections of the commissioners of the nation.

At last, on the 4th of May, 1789, the deputies of three orders, the third estates, the nobility, and the clergy went to Versailles, where they were to hold their meetings. Louis the Sixteenth, followed by the princes and great officers of the crown, went to meet them at the church of the Holy Spirit, to hear a solemn mass, at the conclusion of which, Monseigneur de la Fare, bishop of Nancy, preached a sermon, in which he mixed up protestations of love for religion, loyalty to the king, and sublime reflections on the advantages of liberty. On the following day, his majesty opened the states-general in a cautious speech, in which he was prodigal of assurances of his respect for the laws and love for the people. The deputies of the third estate were not the dupes of this hypocritical language; met to bring about useful reforms for the nation, they went to work, without allowing themselves to be deterred or discouraged by the obstacles of every kind which were thrown in their way. They began by attacking the ecclesiastical privileges, declared that the property of the clergy was national property, abolished the tithes, sold the properties of the churches and converted them into life rents; they then suppressed the annates. At length, on the 17th of May, the deputies, whose powers had been recognised, having taken the title of National Assembly, decreed the famous civil constitution of the clergy, which overthrew all degrees in the spiritual hierarchy, and enjoined on the

bishops and curates to take the oath of fidelity to the nation.

The great majority of the French clergy refused to submit to the decisions of the assembly; out of one hundred and thirty bishops, only four were in favour of its adoption. The first consecration of constitutional bishops, soon, however, took place in the church of the Oratoire; Talleyrand Perigord, bishop of Autun, assisted by the prelates Gobel, Lydda, and Miroudot, conferred the constitutional episcopal dignity on the curates Expilly and Marolles, recently promoted to the sees of Quimper and Laon. This news created a profound sensation at the court of Rome; Pius the Sixth had contented himself, until that time, with addressing protests to the philosophic legislators, who, as he said, were biting each other, in the constituent assembly. He thought that his remonstrances had been too mild, and he determined, in order to intimidate the deputies, to lanch terrible bulls against the ecclesiastics, who had taken the oath of fidelity to the constitution, and ordered them to retract within forty days, under penalty of being excommunicated as intruders, unlawful schismatics, heretics, and sacrilegious.

The bulls of his holiness only served to induce the legislative body to decree, that all intercourse should be broken off with the court of Rome, that the nuncio should be expelled from France, the ambassador recalled to Paris, and the priests who refused to take the oath be prosecuted as refractory.

Pius the Sixth found himself attacked at once in his spiritual and temporal power. The cry of liberty, uttered by the national assembly, had resounded at Avignon; the inhabitants of the Venaissin countship had rallied to the ideas of independence proclaimed by the French; they formed a national guard, framed a religious constitution on the same basis as that of the French, and had revolted against the vice legate, who commanded the province in the name of the pope. Then, on the refusal of his holiness to give his sanction to all these acts, they had driven from their territory the vice legates, the archbishop, and all the ecclesiastics attached to the court of Rome; finally, they had declared themselves independent of the pope, and had offered themselves to France. Pius the Sixth, furious at seeing one of his handsomest provinces detach itself from his temporal power, wished to make an effort to retain it beneath his sway; he organised bands of assassins, who, under the name of pontifical soldiers, abandoned themselves to frightful brigandages in the Venaissin territory, and murdered a great number of the republicans in the name of the holy father, and for the greater glory of religion. Most happily the cause of liberty triumphed; public indignation did justice to the murderers, and the country was reunited to France.

This event was celebrated in Paris by rejoicings, at the close of which the people of the capital burned the pope in effigy in the

gardens of the Palais Royal; a burlesque farce which became, on the part of Pius the Sixth, a pretext for cruel reprisals. His holiness fell on the French who inhabited his states, and were regarded as partizans of the new ideas; he massacred or poisoned them all, and did the same towards the Italians and strangers, who were suspected of partaking of the doctrines of the constituent assembly; as for those who were regarded as indifferent, he contented himself with confining them in the dungeons of the castle of San Angelo, and submitting them to the harshest treatment.

Among these last was the famous Cagliostro, one of the most extraordinary men of the eighteenth century, who had retired to Rome after the affair of the queen's necklace, in which he was seriously compromised. After that affair he had married the beautiful Lorenzia Feliciani, who, under the name of Seraphina, had accompanied him in all his journeys, and shared his good and bad fortune. As he treated her with much harshness, after she was bound to him by indissoluble ties, the lady found no other way of getting rid of his tyranny than by revealing to her confessor, that he might impart it to other members of the sacred office, the divining practices by means of which Cagliostro duped fools.

The good father, much smitten with his beautiful penitent, had no scruples about destroying her husband, to obtain possession of her, and denounced Cagliostro to the tribunal of the inquisition. In consequence of this information, the latter was arrested and plunged into a dungeon; his trial then commenced. The inquiry was long and minute, considering the importance of the personage; all his letters and smallest papers were read, commented upon, and translated with extreme care; but nothing was discovered which treated of sorcery; they only judged from certain passages written by himself, that he was a Freemason and a partizan of the French ideas. He could not be judged worthy of the most cruel punishments. For a short time his holiness thought of having him burned alive, under the pretext of the crime of sorcery; then reflecting that such an execution would excite general indignation, he only condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. Another unfortunate, named Octavius Capelli, for the same crime, that is to say, for having expressed opinions favourable to the French republicans, was condemned to languish in a dungeon all his life; a monk, named Rugusain, underwent a still more cruel punishment on like accusations.

But what could the furious anger of a pope do before the revolutionary movement? The cry of liberty uttered in Paris, crossed the Alps, resounded even in Rome, and was repeated by the Italians. The holy father then conceived the thought of fomenting a civil war in France, and of using the legions of monks, who were devoted to his cause, in renewing the terrible religious wars. More than seventy thousand

constitutional oath; the constituent assembly had, however, the weakness to authorise them to celebrate divine service in the churches of the sworn priests. These miserable satellites of fanaticism, at the instigation of the court of Rome, unworthily abused this tolerance, to conspire against the new order of things; they insinuated to the devotees, that all the sacraments administered by the constitutional bishops and curates were essentially void; they rebaptised children, remarried adults, and dared to announce from the pulpit, that out of their communion were only concubinage, illegitimacy, and damnation. A dangerous agitation, the consequence of those insinuations, manifested itself in all the departments and reacted against the revolutionary work; fortunately the legislative assembly, which had succeeded the constituent, took measures to arrest the progress of the evil. It suppressed the pensions the state still allowed to the refractory, decreed the liberty of worship, the emancipation of all the monastic orders, the marriage of the priests, and on the proposition of Archbishop Torne, it prohibited all religious costumes.

Louis the Sixteenth wished to cover the clergy by his tottering authority, and used the right which the constitution granted to him of rejecting a law according to the caprice of his will, by a simple veto. The ecclesiastics resumed a pride and insolence which became fatal to them; they dared to announce publicly, that a vast confederacy had been organised by the pope, and that soon all the Catholic powers, reunited by his holiness, would fall together on France to stifle the philosophical hydra in a sea of blood.

The boldness of the clergy, and the imminence of the danger, at last impelled the legislative assembly to act with severity against the rebellious priests. It was enjoined on all ecclesiastics, without exception, to take the civic oath, or leave the kingdom. Those who refused to obey the decree, and persisted in remaining in France, were cast into the national prisons; the greater part, however, joined the princes and princesses who had fled to foreign lands, and who intrigued with kings to excite them against the nation.

Among the emigrants was the celebrated abbe Maury, one of the most skillful champions of despotism, who had taken refuge with the pope, and obtained flattering distinctions, and the title of nuncio, to represent the Holy See at the diet of Frankfort, in order to urge Germany into a war of invasion.

At last, thanks to the efforts of these props of tyranny, a formidable coalition was organised against France; the civil war broke out in la Vendée, and the frontiers were threatened by the armies of the kings of Prussia, Sweden, Austria, and Sardinia; within, base machinations increased the disorders, and threatened the country with certain ruin. Should we then be astonished that the people, in a moment of despair, at seeing all these disorders fall upon the country, dreading to fall beneath the yoke of despotism, went to the prisons which con-

tained the enemies of liberty, to take vengeance on the guilty authors of these evils? Doubtless such outbreaks are to be deplored, but we will say that they were in some sort justified by the priests themselves, who, within their prisons, conspired against the nation, and did not cease to affront the anger of the people, by expressing the sacrilegious hope of seeing themselves delivered by the allied armies. And lest despotism should make too much noise about the massacres of the prisons, we will recall the crusades against the Albigenses executed under Philip the Second, the atrocities of the Armagnacs and Burgundians under King Charles the Sixth, the bloody executions of the St. Bartholomew under Charles the Ninth, the dragoonings of the Cévennes under Louis the Fourteenth, and will ask which, whether royalty or democracy, is in arrears to the other.

But events were changing appearances; a new national assembly, the convention, succeeds the legislative; the republic is proclaimed in France, and Louis the Sixteenth expiates the crimes of his race upon the scaffold. Pius the Sixth immediately fulminates a bull of excommunication against the French nation, designates it by the names of impious, sacrilegious, and abominable, and calls down upon it the thunders of heaven and earth. The convention sends the following letter to his holiness as its reply: "The Executive Council of the Republic to the prince bishop of Rome. Pontiff—You will immediately discharge from your dungeons several French citizens who are detained in them. If these demands are ineffectual, you will learn that the republic is too bold to overlook an outrage, and too powerful to allow it to go unpunished."

The pope could scarcely restrain his rage when he received the message of the convention. The cardinals, however, who surrounded him, having shown him the danger he incurred by exposing himself to the wrath of a republican people, there was seen the pretended vicar of God, the successor of St. Peter, the infallible pontiff, who lords it over the Christian world, humble himself before a simple deputy, sprung from the lowest ranks of the people, and promise to obey the wishes of the republic.

Then, on the news that the French had experienced some reverses, he resumed his boldness, assembled troops, and announced that he was about to put on the helm and cuirass to combat the republicans. After the example of their head, the priests and monks, filled with a holy enthusiasm, traversed the city and country, reunited fanatics on their way, enrolled them beneath the pontifical banners, and organised them into bands of assassins; then, when they supposed they were strong enough to fight the republic, they threw aside all shame, and in contempt of the laws of nations, massacred a secretary of the embassy, named Basseville, whilst passing through the streets to go to the academy, accompanied by his wife and children. These cannibals

then rushed into the city exclaiming, "Long live Pius the Sixth! Long life to the St. Bartholomew! Death to all Frenchmen."

The palace of the academy was invaded, the boarders pursued, and forced to fly before the swords of the priests, whilst other bands of murderers beat down the doors of the houses inhabited by the French, and there renewed the same scenes of violence.

In France, things were daily assuming a more lugubrious aspect; within were disorders and anarchy; the peasants of Brittany and la Vendée, excited by the preaching of fanatics, organised the insurrection of the Chouans, and transformed their rich plains into frightful battle fields; without, despots and their hordes of slaves were warring, ready to fall on the republic. Such was the critical position into which nobles and priests had brought the country.

Pius the Sixth, the organizer of this sacrilegious crusade, undertaken by kings against liberty, was not backward in the odious task he had imposed upon himself. He, the head of the Catholic church, united with heretical England, and the schismatic northern courts, and formed, in connection with these powers, and the kings of Italy and Spain, a formidable coalition.

It is true that tyrants have neither religion nor country; their religion is an immoderate love of power; it is the exercise of that supreme power with which the weakness or the ignorance of their fellow citizens has invested them; their country is the throne on which they sit in the plenitude of their insolence. In the opinion of these demi-gods men are but slaves, only fit to dig into the bowels of the earth, to extract from it the wealth it contains, and they scarcely think them worthy to rear their palaces, and furnish their handsomest sons, and most beautiful daughters, to gratify their passions and licentiousness.

Grand and sublime in its efforts, the republic set on foot fourteen armies, struggled against its enemies, caused despots to tremble on their thrones, and announced that it was about to punish the old pope for his crimes and perfidies. At the news that the French were preparing to invade Italy, Pius the Sixth wished to make an appeal to fanaticism, and spread this furious proclamation through the provinces.

"Italians, as soon as the stroke of the bell shall announce the entrance of the republicans on the territories of the church, run all to arms, burn the harvests, poison the rivers and fountains; slay by every means, sword, fire, or poison, an unbridled foe, who mows off the heads of kings and priests with the axe of the executioner; annihilate these barbarous republicans, who have sworn to overthrow the throne and the altar. Obey, all of you, it is your god, your pope who orders you.

"We promise plenary indulgences and eternal recompenses to the faithful who shall murder most of these ferocious French; we grant an entire amnesty to robbers, assassins, and parricides, who shall redeem their crimes by fighting for religion; we give, in advance,

our absolution to courageous women, who, like Judith, shall abandon themselves to the Philistines, and cut off their heads.

"Let all men who have received baptism hasten beneath the immaculate standard of the Roman church; let all Italy rise with its millions of swords at the voice of the vicar of Christ, and let all men and women plunge their hands in the blood of the French, and taste the delights of this glorious holocaust.

"We grant no dispensation from this crusade but to ecclesiastics; because it is the duty of pastors to elevate their arms upon the mountains, whilst the faithful are combatting and murdering each other in the plain."

Never had fanaticism spoken a more furious language during the days of darkness of the middle ages, nor during the fury of the league. Fortunately the times were changed, and the proclamation of the holy father had scarcely any influence over the people of the ecclesiastical states. Besides, what could men demoralised by misery, rendered brutal by exactions, and plunged in the most profound ignorance, do? Moreover, the apostolic treasury was empty; its credit gone, and the resource of loans exhausted. Every thing had been swallowed up by the pontiff or his bastards, even to the plate of the churches. The Italians made no movement, and awaited the arrival of the French, not as enemies, but as liberators. Nay, more; the pope having desired to double the taxes, they revolted against the fiscal agents, killed some of them at Rome, and even thought of burning the palace of the duke de Braschi, whose wealth and insolent luxury contrasted in so odious a manner with the general distress. But a few sbirri were enough to arrest the hostile manifestations, and cause the degenerate sons of ancient Rome to tremble. It is related, that the miserable people were so demoralised that on the day of an outbreak, Braschi left his palace with a whip in his hand, followed by some lackeys carrying baskets filled with pieces of money, and cried out in a loud voice, "Here, throw some gold to this mob, that it may go howl farther off." Then, clearing a passage with blows of his whip, he passed through the crowd, without a single man daring to punish his insolence. As the holy father lost some of his guards in these collisions, he determined to declare them inviolable, and published, that every insult offered to one of the sbirri would be regarded as a crime of high treason.

In the interval, France had seen the convention pass away, and the Thermidorean reaction be accomplished. A party, composed of all the infamous men who had enriched themselves by betraying the popular cause, triumphed over the mountain, and placed the exercise of power in the hands of a council of five members, called the directory. With these men reappeared the priests, and in their train came bands of assassins, organised under the name of the company of Jesus, who made a terrible war on the republic.

These new soldiers of the cross, recruited

from among the nobles and the unfrocked monks, spread through several departments, especially those of Vaucluse and the mouths of the Rhone, and exercised the most barbarous atrocities in the name of the pope, and of Louis the Eighteenth, the king of France, whom his holiness, Pius the Sixth, had recognised by that title, since the news of the death of the son of Louis the Sixteenth in the temple.

Their audacity soon increasing, from the feebleness of the directory, they dared to proclaim Catholicism the national religion. Five bishops sworn to, and secretly affiliated with the Jesuits, seconded their plans by publishing an encyclical letter, to which thirty-three other prelates adhered, that is to say, almost the whole new Gallican church. The refractory priests thought that their day of triumph had come, and encouraged the companies of Jesus in their work of devastation. The court of Rome applauded this sanguinary zeal, and in the intoxication of its joy commanded actions of solemn thanks for the success of the cause of despotism.

The directory was at last aroused by the progress of the companies of Jesus, and took vigorous measures to arrest them. They exacted the civic oath from all ecclesiastics without exception, and banished from France those who refused to take it. Unfortunately for the nation, there remained too great a number still; and it was afterwards discovered, without ability to remedy the evil, that this same clergy had prepared the ruin of the national liberties, and the triumph of despotism.

The republican armies were every where victorious. The countries lying on this side of the Rhine were completely subjugated; it only remained to conquer Italy to break up the coalition. This mission was confided to General Bonaparte, then but twenty-seven years old. Brilliant successes signalised the arrival of this young chief, who was one day to fill the world with his military glory. The Austrians and Piedmontese were routed by the republican soldiery, who were scarcely armed, and without shoes; and the pope soon trembled for his temporal sovereignty.

Pius the Sixth endeavoured then to levy troops; and to repair the penury of his treasury he issued billets, a species of payment whose circulation he forced by compelling the shopkeepers of Rome to receive them in exchange for specie. But the rapid march of the French surprised him in his preparations, and prevented him from putting his warlike plans into execution. The wary pontiff then feigned to wish to enter into an arrangement with General Bonaparte, and sent to him the Spanish ambassador, the chevalier Azara, to ask of him an armistice, and to offer to buy peace by ceding the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, the payment of a contribution of fifteen millions of francs, and the surrender of the master-pieces of art of ancient Greece and modern Italy, which adorned the galleries of the Vatican.

The armistice granted, Pius the Sixth, who had only thought of gaining time, and not of

fulfilling the conditions stipulated in his name, hastened to take advantage of the time to put his armaments in a state of activity. By his orders, legions of priests spread themselves through all the cities of the patrimony of St. Peter, and embittered the fanatical population against the French by furious preaching. In order to increase the enthusiasm of the devotees, he opened the treasuries of celestial liberalities, and promised, in a bull, forty thousand years of indulgences to all those who should aid in repulsing the republicans. The following was the tenor of this brief:

"To all our well-beloved and Catholic children, brethren in Jesus Christ: We order you, for the good of Christendom, to take up arms; and that no one may hesitate to accomplish our wishes, we inform you, that by virtue of our sovereign power, we grant forty thousand years of indulgences to those who shall range themselves under our banner, and celestial beatitude to those who shall have slain only one of our enemies! . . ." Independently of these machinations, his holiness was careful to send emissaries to the emperor of Austria, to obtain succours.

Bonaparte, informed of what was going on, immediately informed the court of Rome, that he would at once commence hostilities, if the pope did not stop his intrigues, and at once fulfil his engagements with the republic. Pius the Sixth appeared resigned to obedience; he assembled in an immense gallery the tableaux destined for the ransom of Rome; he drew from the castle of San Angelo all the money which remained in the famous treasury of Quintus the Fifth; he constrained the churches, convents, pious houses, and congregations to surrender to him their ornaments and precious vessels which were not absolutely necessary for the celebration of divine service; he compelled all his subjects to surrender their plate, and even searched their houses for precious stones, golden ornaments, and even the rings of the women. When he had accumulated in his treasury all the wealth of his people, he informed the French general that he was ready to satisfy the republic.

The commissaries of the directory went immediately to Rome, to receive the pledges of the capitulation, and inform Pius the Sixth that it was the will of France that he should retract, disavow, and annul all bulls, decisions, sentences, censures, edicts, mandamuses and generally all writings emanating from the Holy See since the commencement of the revolution; that he should abolish the inquisition in all Catholic countries, and suppress the barbarous practice of castration on children destined to chant in the churches.

These conditions, which added nothing to the material part of the treaty and which were made for a humane end, appeared to excite the anger of the pope to the highest point. His holiness maintained that their only tendency was to deny his infallibility, to make him avow in the face of Europe, that he was an impostor, and that religion was only composed of absurd or odious practices.

He asked for a consultation with the sacred college, as to the measures he was to take under the circumstance. It was a new ruse to gain time and put off the fulfilment of the execution of the treaty, until the arrival of the Austrian troops would permit him to break openly with the republic.

In fact, as soon as it was known at Rome, that Austria had resumed the offensive, the priests recommenced preaching; the pope redoubled his activity to procure pecuniary resources; he altered the money; compelled the cultivators to sell their grain at a low price, and for paper billets to provision the troops; he organised a civic guard, built embattled guard-houses in all the quarters of Rome, and transformed the holy city into an arsenal. On all sides were seen but soldiers and carts laden with muskets, cannon, tents, and materials of all kinds. The enthusiasm communicated itself even to the Romans; contributions flowed into the apostolic treasury; gold, silver, jewels, provisions, beasts, all that they possessed, was placed at the disposal of the holy father. Several rich citizens raised bodies of troops at their own expense; the constable Colonna equipped an entire regiment of infantry; the banker Torlonia armed a company of calvary; it was a sort of madness which had seized all their heads.

In order to produce this result, Pius the Sixth had employed great means. All the convents of the ecclesiastical states had received orders to set their madonnas to playing. In the villages the statues of the Virgin moved their arms, opened their eyes, raised their legs; in the cities the crucifixes sweated blood and oil; at Ancona St. Cyriacus uttered long bursts of laughter; at Rome the skulls of St. Peter and St. Paul sang hymns, and what was most extraordinary, most miraculous was, that in the presence of the pope, the cardinals, and more than eighty thousand persons, a madonna walked, moved her head three times, rolled her eyes in their orbits, and uttered groans. These juggleries, executed by means of automata, alarmed the gross minds of the Romans, and raised the exasperation of fanatics to its height.

Pius the Sixth, had at last the satisfaction of seeing his execrable policy produce the results which he expected; on the day of the outbreak, bands of monks, sbirri, and misguided fanatics, surrounded the palace of the commissaries of the republic, and vociferated threats of death, which would have been without doubt executed, had it not of been for the interference of the chevalier Azara, the ambassador of Spain; repulsed from the palace of the ambassador, they spread howling through the streets of Rome, assassinating all the French they met to the cries of "Long live Mary! Long live Pius the Sixth!" they then went into the interior to accomplish their mission as executioners.

Fortunately new victories gained by Bonaparte over the Austrians, forced the pope to put an end to these scenes of carnage. Pius, fearful of drawing the French army to Rome,

wrote in haste to the general, to make protestations of his good intentions towards the republic. He at the same time sent a message to the emperor of Austria, to obtain the aid of ten thousand soldiers, and informed him that he had made excellent arrangements to organise a civil war in France; he also informed him, that he was amusing the republican commissaries, whilst awaiting the arrival of the Austrians, and that immediately on the junction of the two armies, he would replace the tiara of the popes with the casque of the Cæsars, display the famous labarum of Constantine, and march at the head of the soldiers to combat the proud Corsican and his brigands.

This letter fell most mal-appropriately into the hands of Bonaparte; the armistice was immediately broken off, the French army entered the territory of the church, and in fifteen days conquered half of it. It was hoped that the infamous Pius would then receive the just punishment of his knaveries and his crimes. It was not so; whether Bonaparte wished to take advantage of the occasion to resist the directory, who had ordered him to seize on Rome, or whether he thought the existence of the religious authority useful for his profound and secret designs, he stopped his march and proposed a negotiation, which was promptly accepted. His holiness sent as his plenipotentiaries to the French general, his nephew, the duke de Braschi, the marquis Camillus Massini, the cardinal Mattei and Monsignor Galoppi, with full powers to treat of peace. It was agreed between them and the general-in-chief of the army in Italy, that the Holy See should pay thirty-one millions of francs to the republic, should settle a pension on the family of the unfortunate Basseville, who was assassinated at Rome, should surrender Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and Modena for ever to France, and should receive a French garrison in Ancona. This arrangement signed, Bonaparte went immediately towards the Tyrol, leaving fifteen thousand men under the command of General Victor, to guard the conquered countries and see to the execution of the treaties.

Pius the Sixth again endeavoured to appease the storm; but these shocks, this incessant disquietude, and above all his debauchery with the beautiful dutchess de Braschi, his daughter, had given a fatal blow to his health, and a few days after the conclusion of the treaty of Tolentino, he fell so sick, that they began to think of giving him a successor.

His two bastards, Romuald and the duke de Braschi, hastened to lay hands on the treasures collected in the Vatican, and destined to pay the ransom of Rome. But as the citizens had exhausted all their resources to raise the millions demanded by Bonaparte, and were beginning to partake of the ideas of the French in regard to priests and kings, they rose at this new spoliation, went to the palace of the duke de Braschi, and forced him to leave the city to shun the popular vengeance. Unfortunately, the pope recovered, and things were restored to their former footing; only his

holiness dared not increase the taxes to satisfy the exigences of the treaty of Tolentino, and turned towards the clergy to replace the sums stolen by his nephews.

The priests, threatened in their property, turned immediately against the pope, cried out tyranny, called the people to revolt, accused Pius the Sixth of all the calamities which had fallen on Rome, and dared, in their sermons, to designate the holy pontiff by the names of stupid, incestuous, sodomite, and robber. They made a poor girl, named Labrousse, play the part of a prophetess, who announced publicly that the empire of the pope was approaching its termination; that heaven was tired of the reign of these infamous impostors, and that Pius the Sixth was about to be hurled from the throne of the apostle.

It was in the midst of these circumstances that Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the general-in-chief of the armies of Italy, arrived in Rome, to claim the execution of the treaties of Tolentino, and to demand the enlargement of all Italians who were incarcerated for their political opinions. As soon as this was known in Rome, the city changed its appearance as if by enchantment; the noblest enthusiasm succeeded to stupor. In an instant the streets, the public places, highways, were filled with crowds of people, who made the air resound with patriotic acclamations and with threats of death against Pius the Sixth; then this immense multitude, as if urged on by the same inspiration, rushes to the Transteverine quarter and spreads the tricoloured flag amid cries, a thousand times repeated, of "Huzza for liberty! Huzza for France!"

These manifestations, these cries, these menaces, exasperate the old pope, he wishes to reason with those Romans, who had been accustomed, for so many ages, to bow the head cowardly beneath the yoke; he wishes to try, by an act of cruelty, to retain the power which is escaping from him, and orders his sbirri to charge the people. The soldiers of the execrable Pius fall on the citizens, massacre women, children, and old men, beat down the flying with their balls, cover the streets with dead bodies, pursue the unfortunate who had taken refuge in the palace of the French embassy, and transform that inviolable asylum into a field of carnage. Joseph Bonaparte, General Duphot, and the officers of the embassy immediately rushed forward to stop the massacres. At the sight of them, the rage of the sbirri appears to redouble, and the officer who directs the butchery, cries out in a loud voice, "Kill, kill, these are French." At the same moment, General Duphot falls mortally wounded by a ball; the commissary and the officers only escape the same fate by retreating up the staircase of the palace. At length the ambassadors of the foreign powers, warned by an express, hasten thither with their suites, and come in time to disengage the representatives of the republic, and prevent new assassinations.

The chevalier Azara, in the name of the

diplomatic body, went at once to the Vatican, to address energetic remonstrances to the pope on the atrocity of his conduct; but the infamous Pius feigned extreme surprise; swore on a crucifix that he had given no order, and even dared to say that he was entirely ignorant of all that had passed in the city, since he had been shut up in his oratory for several hours, occupied in praying to God for the republic. Joseph Bonaparte, indignant at such an excess of impudence and hypocrisy, informed him that he would quit Rome, unless he at once obtained satisfaction for the murder of General Duphot. Fourteen hours passed by without any ecclesiastical officer presenting himself in the name of his holiness to announce to him that he would proceed against the guilty. The ambassador then executed his threat and departed for Florence.

It was not in Rome only that the pontiff had organised massacres against the French and their partizans; on almost the same day, like scenes took place in the principal cities of the states of the church, and in Venice; at Verona, especially, the priests had shown a boldly ferocious cruelty; not only were several thousand inoffensive men murdered by their orders, but, shame for ever on those wretches, they led bands of assassins into the hospitals, who tore from their beds four hundred sick or wounded French, who were all pitilessly stabbed or thrown into the Adige.

The people of Italy at last opened their eyes to the crimes of Pius the Sixth, and commenced joining the republic; at Milan, the indignation which the conduct of the pope excited, produced an explosion in all circles and in all assemblies. Every where were heard cries of "Death to the pontiff assassin, vengeance for the French, our liberators." An Italian patriot even pronounced a public discourse, in which he expressed the wish, "That the Tiber would soon roll its majestic waves amidst a free people, and that the blood of a pope would purify the earth from eighteen centuries of crime, shame, and servitude."

General Berthier, charged with avenging the republic on the attempts of Pius the Sixth, marched on Rome at the head of his troops, and passed through the states of the church with as much security as if he had been traversing French departments; he was every where received with transports of joy. In vain did the cardinals, priests, and all the black cohorts of monks and Jesuits endeavour to kindle the fanaticism of the populace; their voices found no echoes: in vain did saints and madonnas move their arms and legs, roll their eyes, and sing psalms; no one rose against the republican army. Nay, Berthier had not yet arrived beneath the walls of Rome, when the citizens had already proclaimed their independence, and planted the tree of liberty before the capitol and in all the public places.

As soon as the French columns appeared, a deputation went to meet them, to announce to the general that free Rome opened its gates to the regenerators of nations. Berthier immediately entered the city, in the midst of

an incredible number of citizens, to the sound of trumpets, accompanied by his staff, a hundred soldiers of the different regiments of cavalry, and the grenadiers of his army. When he arrived at the foot of the capitol he halted, and pronounced the following discourse before an immense auditory: "Manes of the Catos, Pompeys, Ciceros, and Brutuses, receive the homage of the free French, in that capitol in which you have so often defended the rights of the people, and illustrated the Roman republic. The children of the Gauls, with the olive branch of peace in their hands, come to this august place to restore the altars of liberty erected by the first Brutus! Are you Romans, who come to reconquer your lawful rights? recollect your glorious ancestors, cast your eyes on the sacred monuments which surround you, and resume your ancient greatness, and the virtues of your fathers."

Frenzied acclamations replied to the address of the republican general. After this imposing ceremony, Berthier returned to his camp. Pius the Sixth, still shut up in the Vatican, wished to endeavour to disarm his formidable foe; he sent the most eminent persons of his court to him to treat of peace, and obtain a favourable capitulation. But the firmness of Berthier soon dissipated the illusions of the pope; the general refused to receive the deputation; he informed the envoys that he no longer recognised the sovereignty of the pope, and that he only admitted the delegates of the Roman republic to his presence.

The citizens had already constituted a government on the model of the ancient constitutions of Rome, had appointed seven consuls, decreed the downfall of Pius the Sixth, and brought some cardinals to trial as spoliators and speculators. Assured of the assistance of France, after the reply of the republican general to the overtures of the pope, the new heads of the Roman government proceeded to acts of high justice. They placed seals on the museums, galleries, and all the precious objects which decorated the churches, to place them beyond the reach of the rapacity of the pontiff; they sold for the benefit of the state the statues and vases which adorned the splendid villa of Cardinal Albani, and the palace of Cardinal Busca at Santa Agatha dei Monti, two prelates who had shared in all the robberies committed by the bastards of the pope; they expelled several cardinals from Rome; threw into prison Doria, the secretary of state, the politic Antonelli, the astute della Somaglia, with their worthy acolytes Borgia, Caranda, Roverella, Carandini, Vincenti and Mattei, to have them judged by the tribunals. The famous Abbe Maury, who had been made a cardinal by Pius the Sixth, as the price of services rendered to despotism, was fortunate enough to get out of Rome and escape public vengeance. As for the pope and his two bastards, the people, always great, always merciful, pardoned their lives and contented themselves with taking from them their rich domains, the palaces, and the trea-

asures stolen from the nation, or acquired with the public funds.

The dutchess de Braschi, that shameless courtesan, doubly incestuous with her brother and her father, the wife of one, and the mistress of the other, was treated with still more indulgence; the consuls left with her a part of the ornaments and precious stones given her by the pope, and exiled her to Tivoli, where she consoled herself in the arms of another lover for the ruin of her family.

All these catastrophes had cast the pope into a despondency, which amounted almost to idiocy. At last the governor of Rome, General Cervoni, inflicted the last blow on him, by informing him officially that the people had reconquered their rights, and that he was no longer any thing in the government. "And my dignity," exclaimed the pope, anxiously, "what becomes of it?"—"It will be preserved to you," replied the general, "and a pension of two thousand Roman crowns is granted to you to maintain your rank."—"And my person, what is to become of it?"—"It is safe," replied Cervoni, "and they even grant you a hundred men for your guard."—"I am still pope then," exclaimed the holy father, with a strange laugh. The governor of Rome having retired, the old audacity of the pontiff seemed to rekindle. He called to him his chamberlain and his attendants, and prepared with them plans for new Sicilian vespers, in which were to be engulfed all the French, and all the partizans of the new government. Fortunately, they were apprised of what was going on, and made arrangements to arrest the execution of these criminal plans.

The removal of Pius the Sixth was one of these measures. In vain did the old pope, who saw all his plans thus disconcerted, wish to protest against the violence which was done him, and which tore him from his people and his duties; he was placed in a carriage with his physician, his steward, and his cook, and driven towards Tuscany. He was first placed in the convent of St. Augustine of Sienna, where he remained three months. He lived there peaceably, and almost forgotten by the world, when an extraordinary event, an earthquake, shook the asylum which had been given him, and destroyed some of the walls of the building. Although he had incurred no danger, since, at the time of the catastrophe, he was walking in the gardens of the city, he was so alarmed that he was unwilling to re-enter the convent. They placed at once at his disposal a country house, called "The Lower Regions," which induced sarcasms of the irreligious, and made them say, that the holy father was at last in his place. Some time afterwards he was transferred to the grand chartreuse of Florence, where he remained three months.

But in his exile, the old pope had not renounced the hope of being avenged on the French; from the depth of Tuscany he organised insurrections, and Rome soon became the theatre of frightful massacres. Bands of

fanatics, led by priests and monks, with a crucifix in one hand, and a torch in the other, traversed the streets and the public places; the French fell every where, assassinated by blessed daggers, to the shouts of "Huzza for Mary! Huzza for Pius the Sixth!" The Italian patriots were cast into the Tiber; a whole company of the guard of the Vatican was surprised, and murdered to the last man. It was difficult to foresee where these assassins would have stopped, if General Vial had not marched against them at the head of his troops, and seized the most mutinous.

Those who escaped from the republican general fled to the country, and excited the fanaticism of the inhabitants of Albano, la Riccia, Genzano, and Villettri, and returned towards Rome with a body of six thousand men. They even dared to give battle to the French. The engagement took place at Frattocchi, but it was not of long duration; at the first charge they fled and yielded the field of battle.

His holiness was not content with creating embarrassments to the republic in the heart of Rome itself; he laboured to excite enemies to it in the other parts of Italy. In concert with England, he intrigued through his agents with the imbecile Ferdinand the Fourth, king of Naples, and his shameless wife, Marie Caroline, and induced them to declare war on the French nation.

The king of the Two Sicilies was for a short time victorious; Rome, destitute of troops, fell into the power of the Neapolitans; the French, pressed on all sides by an innumerable army, were compelled to retreat. But they soon took their revenge under general Championnet; the enemy were in their turn driven back, even to Naples, and constrained to surrender. Ferdinand the Fourth was hurled from the throne, and the Parthenopean republic proclaimed.

His eminence, Cardinal Ruffo, the minister of the king, and the indefatigable agent of ultra montanism, then threw himself into the Calabrias, excited insurrections among the ignorant inhabitants of these countries, hoisted the white cross as a signal for a crusade against the republicans, distributed indulgences and blessings, raised an army of brigands, and marched on Naples at the head of his bands.

The French, attacked by sea and land, were again obliged to retreat, and the Neapolitan patriots were compelled to capitulate to the royal army. They did not, however, surrender until they had obtained permission to leave the kingdom with their property. As soon as Cardinal Ruffo entered the capital, shame for ever on him! shame on Ferdinand the Fourth and Marie Caroline! shame on England and Admiral Nelson, in contempt of a treaty clothed with the royal seal, guaranteed by the representative of Great Britain, that execrable priest arrested all the citizens suspected of republicanism, and had them judged by a special tribunal called the Junta. As many as three hundred executions were counted in a day; and as if this commission

of executioners was not yet enough to exterminate the unfortunate Neapolitans, who had given in their adherence to the Parthenopean republic, Ruffo excited his barbarous Calabrese to pillage, incendiarism, rape, and murder, and transformed the opulent city of Naples into a vast plain of carnage.

Pius the Sixth learned, with indescribable transports, the success of his machinations, and being unable to restrain, in his heart, the joy which he experienced, he addressed a brief to all Christian bishops, to announce the triumph gained over the enemies of the church, and also to announce that the time was near in which the papacy would sally forth, radiant, from the dungeons in which it had been crucified in his person. His holiness called on the priests of all countries to draw near kings, to aid them with their counsels, their prayers, and if necessary, with their arms, in order to bring back the people beneath their sway, and to put an end more promptly to the revolutionary hydra.

The holy father felt so satisfied of a rapid change in his fortune, that he recalled his nephew the duke de Braschi to him. The handsome minion, who knew that his uncle had considerable sums, and a large quantity of precious stones, hastened to Florence, took advantage of his state of suffering, which prevented him from rising, and stole his treasures; then, on the news that the directory, tired of the incessant efforts of the pope, had

determined to transfer him to France, he fled from Tuscany like a thief, with the gold and precious stones of his uncle. Pius the Sixth left Florence in charge of the commissioners of the republic, and went towards Turin; he crossed the Alps, and arrived at Valens, in Dauphiny, which had been designated as his place of exile.

By order of the directory he was installed in the apartments of the governor of the citadel; they showed him all the attention which a free people never cease to bestow on an enemy whom they have conquered; they even permitted him to form a court of all his servants, and the priests who had accompanied him; but nothing could console the old pope in his exile; the last ingratitude of his cherished bastard had inflicted a terrible blow on him. Moreover, the resources of life were singularly used up by age, debaucheries, and excesses at the table; a paralysis, which had at first fallen on his limbs, extended to his entrails, and freed the earth, on the 29th of August, 1799, of the last pontiff of the eighteenth century.

Alas! God had not yet decided, in his immutable decrees, the ruin of the execrable institution of the papacy; after Pius the Sixth, other pontiffs were yet to sit on the dishonoured chair of the apostle; sacrilegious hymns were yet to resound beneath the roofs of the Vatican, and tyrants celebrate the triumphal march of despotism over liberty.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

PIUS THE SEVENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH POPE.

Conclave at Venice—Bonaparte, consul, has the monk Chiaramonti chosen pope, by the name of Pius the Seventh—Origin of the new pontiff—His republican doctrines—He calls the first consul the eldest son of the church—He gives the same title to the count of Provence—Knavery of the holy father—Concordat of 1801—Pius the Seventh re-establishes the Jesuits in Russia—Catholic reaction in France—Organization of the episcopal sees—Publication of the organic articles—The pope protests against this addition to the concordat—Divisions among the French prelates—Political changes in France—Bonaparte is proclaimed emperor of the French by the name of Napoleon the First—Pius the Seventh receives orders to come to Paris to consecrate him—Cowardly obsequiousness of the holy father to Bonaparte—The pope wishes to canonise one of the relatives of the emperor—Ridiculous pretensions of the sovereign pontiff—Rupture between the altar and the throne—Return of Pius the Seventh—He becomes the most bitter foe of Napoleon—Letters of the emperor to his holiness—The French take military possession of the holy city—Pius the Seventh is deprived of his temporal sovereignty—The pope excommunicates the emperor—His holiness is conducted a prisoner to Savona—The red and black cardinals—National council—Concessions of the holy father—Pontifical brief—Pius the Seventh is conducted to France—He signs a new concordat at Fontainebleau—Retraction of the pope—His holiness rejects the concordat he had granted by virtue of his infallible power, and declares that he acted under the inspiration of the spirit of darkness—Napoleon sends the pontiff back into Italy—Bull for the solemn re-establishment of the Jesuits throughout Europe—Fall of the emperor—Return of the Bourbons into France—Pius the Seventh sends to compliment Louis the Eighteenth—Provisional arrangement for the Gallican church—Religious persecutions—Death of the pontiff.

THE nineteenth century opened under the most favourable auspices for the people; kings, who for so many years had ruled the nations by fear, were, in their turn, trembling on their

tottering thrones; priests, who for fourteen centuries had reigned despotically over consciences, to the misfortune of mankind, were reduced to conspire in the dark; the papacy, that fatal and monstrous institution, which had been the cause of so many calamities, so many disasters, so many persecutions, found itself, since the death of Pius the Sixth, on the eve of being completely annihilated. But men were not yet sufficiently freed from superstition, and the triumph of liberty was yet deferred.

Bonaparte, consul, who had already thought of covering his brow with the diadem of Charlemagne, and foresaw the moment when he would need a new Leo the Third to consecrate him, collected together the scattered stones of the pontifical Babel, which the republic had dispersed, and rebuilt it. Twenty days after his advent to power, thirty-five cardinals assembled in Venice, to put an end to the vacancy in the Holy See, and to give a new head to the church.

Each power intrigued as usual to have one of its creatures appointed, and sought to assure itself of the votes; France succeeded, either because it was most skilfully served, or paid best. After a hundred and four days of discussion and strife, Cardinal Barnabas Louis Chiaramonti carried it, and was proclaimed pope on the 4th of March, 1800, by the name of Pius the Seventh.

The new pontiff was only fifty-eight years old; he came from Cesena, and was the son of Count Scipio Chiaramonti and the countess Ghini. His parents had entered him when very young into the order of the Benedictines. Afterwards Pius the Sixth, who was allied to his family, had raised him in succession to the dignity of abbot, bishop of Tivoli, then of Imola, and, finally of cardinal. In these different positions he had given proof of extreme flexibility of opinions; thus, after having been an extravagant partizan of absolutism, he had suddenly turned to liberalism; and on the occasion of the enclosure of his diocese in the Cisalpine republic, had pronounced a superb homily, in which he proved, by relying on texts of scripture, that in order to be a good Christian, one must be a democrat. The wary cardinal had foreseen that, by affecting liberal sentiments he assured himself of the protection of France, and prepared the way to the pontifical throne.

Having become pope, he pursued the crafty policy which had procured him the tiara; he exhausted all forms of adulatory thanks to the consul Bonaparte, for the assistance he had afforded him; he proclaimed him the chosen of God, the surpassingly just. As we may suppose, all these base flatteries had an interested purpose; it was to obtain the interference of France to constrain the emperor of Germany to permit him to leave Venice, and renounce his plan of establishing the Holy See at Vienna.

The first consul listened favourably to his requests, and informed Francis the Second, that he must place no obstacle in the way of

the departure of Pius the Seventh. His holiness embarked, reached Pegaro, and took the road for Rome. The French no longer occupied the apostolic city, and had been replaced by the Neapolitans. The pope thought it was good policy to have protectors on both sides; and, to make his court to the Bourbons, he hastened to inform the count of Provence, officially, of his exaltation, giving him the title of "King of France and eldest Son of the Church." Then, on the news that the first consul had crossed the Alps, and was invading Italy a second time, at the head of a formidable army, he wrote to him, gave him also the title of "Most Christian Prince, eldest Son of the Church," and opened the first negotiations in relation to the famous concordat, which was definitively concluded in the following year, on the 15th of July, 1801.

By this convention, Pius the Seventh transferred to the head of the French government the rights and prerogatives which the ancient kings had enjoyed near the Holy See; he even authorised the priests to take the oath of fidelity to Bonaparte, without troubling himself farther about the divine right of the fallen dynasty. The pope only reserved to himself the canonical institution of the bishops, in order to be able to paralyse the action of religion in France, so as to suit his interests. The first consul had the weakness to accede to this clause, either because he did not foresee all the consequences, or because he wished, by this compliance, to assure himself of the devotion of Pius the Seventh to further his ulterior designs. It is true, that as a compensation, his holiness placed the French clergy at the feet of the conqueror, and imposed on the priests an obligation to reveal to the government all the conspiracies of which they should obtain a knowledge; that is to say, should envelope the royalists in a vast net, and use religion as a kind of sacred espionage.

The concordat was scarcely signed, when Pius the Seventh entered openly on the path of Catholic reaction, re-established the company of the Jesuits in Russia, and sent the good fathers into France, by the name of the Adorers of the Sacred Heart, and Associates of the Faith. Converts reappeared, professed houses were reopened, and from them were lanced forth thousands of fanatics, commissioned to degrade and subjugate the people.

His holiness had been too fast in his work; the mass of the nation was alarmed at the efforts of the clergy, and pronounced so energetically against a return to Catholic superstitions, that the consular government was obliged to defer the publication of the concordat concluded with the Holy See, until the 13th of April, 1802. Bonaparte having had time, in the interval, to reduce men to submission to him, the pope was enabled to employ himself about the reorganization of the high clergy of France.

Out of a hundred and thirty-five episcopal sees which existed before the revolution, fifty-four were vacant in consequence of the death or renunciation of the titulars, and many

others in consequence of the voluntary absence of their pastors, who had refused to take the civic oath, and had emigrated. In the conquered countries of Germany, Flanders, and Savoy, out of twenty-four dioceses, ten were also vacant from like causes. The sovereign pontiff addressed a bull to the constitutional bishops, and the prelates who had not taken the oath, to hand in their resignations, and consent to a new election for the interest of the church. The sworn-in pastors obeyed, and deposited their powers in the hands of the consuls. It was not so with the rebel bishops who had fled to foreign countries, and who regarded themselves as martyrs: they refused to adhere to the measures commanded by the court of Rome, and called the pontifical bull violent and irregular. Pius the Seventh went on, declared all the old churches suppressed, and promulgated a decree which authorised a new division of the territory of the republic into ten archbishoprics, and fifty-nine bishoprics. He then sent the cardinal Caprara, as his legate a latere, to Paris, with the most extensive powers, to regulate, in concurrence with the minister of worship, Portalis, all that had connection with religion.

His eminence had an audience of the first consul on the day succeeding his arrival. Immediately afterwards he went to work to deliver the bulls of canonical institution to the prelates designated by Bonaparte. Things went on very smoothly; the exercise of the Catholic worship was solemnly re-established in France, and the legate, as a token of satisfaction, published an extraordinary jubilee, that the faithful might be enabled to purchase pardon for their faults. A very small number consented to encourage the traffic in indulgences; the majority of the nation remained indifferent; some energetic men, who were sincerely devoted to their country, even dared to blame the conduct of the first consul. General Lannes, amongst others, said on this occasion, "Bonaparte steepes himself in the holy water. Holy water will drown him."

He was not long in discovering the capital fault he had committed in becoming dependent on the court of Rome. The concordat was scarcely promulgated when he sought to regain, gradually, the authority of which he had deprived himself so improperly, by publishing organic articles, which were none others than the four propositions of the French clergy, and the maxims of the Gallican church contained in the pragmatic sanction. These articles rendered the authority of the government indispensable for the publication of bulls, briefs, and rescripts from Rome, as also for the lawful exercise of the powers of nuncios, legates, and envoys from the Holy See; they authorised a recourse to the council of state in case of abuse of power by the pope; rendered vain all exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and forbade the instruction of the four celebrated articles of 1682. His holiness, irritated at seeing the first consular place obstacles in the way of his plans of absolute sway, protested against the organic articles as hostile to

religion, and contrary to the doctrines of the church, and secretly fomented divisions among the French clergy. Thirty-six bishops, at his instigation, drew up a protest against the measures taken by government in regard to the diminution of the old number of bishoprics; they protested forcibly against the subjection of the spiritual power to the temporal authority; they lashed as apostates the prelates who accepted them, and excommunicated them; they even attacked the apostolical bulls, and drew up a manifesto in favour of the rights of Louis the Eighteenth to the throne; rights, they said, he held of God, and which imposed on the French, by virtue of the religious law; rights from which nothing could free them. These positions, called canonical, were intended to weaken the oath of fidelity to the established government, to excite a schism in the church, and to revive the old pretensions of the popes over France; but the hypocritical Chiamonti had to do with a more skilful man than himself, and was to succumb in the strife.

Bonaparte, who, since the 18th of Brumaire, had had himself appointed successively first consul, consul for life, and finally, emperor, instead of addressing recriminations to him concerning the conduct of the bishops, simply informed him through Cardinal Fesch, his uncle, the ambassador of France at Rome, that he desired his holiness to start at once for Paris, to come to consecrate him in his capital. The pope, not daring to resist the wishes of the new Cæsar, assembled the consistory, informed the cardinals of his determination to cross the Alps, appointed Gonzalvi to replace him in the political government of Rome, and left the apostolic city on the 2d of November. At Turin he found several persons, sent by Napoleon to increase his train, and render his journey more imposing. He arrived at Fontainebleau on the 26th, where the emperor awaited him. He remained there several days to recruit, and on the 28th of November started with Napoleon to make his entrance into Paris. The refractory bishops imitated the conduct of the pope and submitted.

On the day appointed for the consecration, Pius the Seventh went to the church of Notre Dame, clothed in a cape glittering with precious stones, the tiara on his head, escorted by a numerous clergy, and preceded, according to the Roman usage, by an officer carrying the sacred slipper on a cushion, which excited the mirth of the Parisians, and greatly injured the gravity of the cortege. He had by his side two assistant cardinal deacons, the cardinal Braschi, the nephew of Pius the Sixth, and the cardinal de Bagano; a little in advance were the cardinal bishop Antonelli and the cardinal deacon de l'Évangile Casselli. His holiness was conducted to one of the thrones, which had been erected in the interior of the nave, to wait for the emperor. As soon as his majesty entered, the ceremony commenced. Napoleon placed himself on his knees to receive, with the empress, the sacred

anointing; he then rose, and without waiting for Pius the Seventh to crown him, took the diadem from his hands, placed it on his head, and then crowned Josephine.

On the day succeeding this grand solemnity, Chiaramonti, who cherished the secret hope of making his compliance advantageous for the interests of the Holy See, claimed the abolition of the organic articles. Napoleon did not show any disposition to sacrifice the rights of his crown to his gratitude, and refused to yield to his desires. Pius was not rebuffed, he returned to the charge, and in order to carry the matter, set to work a means which he regarded as infallible. He proposed to the emperor to canonise a poor fellow, called brother Bonaventure Bonaparte, who had died in a convent some hundred years before. To the great astonishment of his holiness, Napoleon, instead of being touched by the illustrious honour which he desired to confer upon his family, protested against the ridicule which would fall upon him, and declared that he should oppose, with all his might, the making a saint out of the monk Bonaventure. This second refusal greatly indisposed the pope against his host; but he dared not show his secret sentiments, on the contrary, he affected to lavish on him more than ever testimonials of his friendship, and on the mere proposal of Portalis, minister of worship, he granted the hat of a cardinal to Cambaceres, as well as to du Belloy; he then erected Ratisbon into the metropolis of all Germany. It is true, that the minister had consented, in exchange, to grant some claims which he had drawn up in a memoir, and which were eleven principal ones:—"The abolition of divorce, as incompatible with the principle of indissolubility of marriage taught by the church; the absolute inspection by the bishops over the morals and conduct of the clergy who were dependent on them; means for the Catholic clergy to live decently, and to maintain for themselves the interest of the sacerdotal caste; the renewing of the old laws concerning the celebration of Sundays and feast days; the exclusion of public education from all married priests or devotees; the submission of the French clergy to the judgments of the Holy See; the restoration of the religious establishments and congregations which the revolution had abolished; allowances for the Lazarists, the seminary of foreign missions and that of the Holy Spirit; and finally, an equivalent in money for the abbey of Clairac, given to the Holy See by the renegade, Henry the Fourth, at the time of his last abjuration."

Several of these things were immediately granted to his holiness, others were put off to a more remote time. These first concessions induced the pope to draw up a new memorial on the political affairs of Italy. In this singular piece Pius the Seventh claimed the post of administrator of the patrimony of St. Peter, with the possession of the apostolic domains, which were annexed to the territory of the French empire, or to that of the Italian republic, and to ex-

cite the generosity of the conqueror, he lavished on him all the forms of the most servile adulation. Napoleon remained insensible to this excess of degradation; he did not even reply formally to Chiaramonti, and contented himself with replying to him, through his minister, that he would never consent to dismember his empire, still less to diminish the territory of a people who had given it to him, in order to increase the dominions of an ambitious priest. And without troubling himself any more about Pius the Seventh, he left Pius, crossed the Alps, and was crowned king of Italy at Milan.

Though disappointed in his pretensions, Chiaramonti was unwilling to go from France without leaving upon its soil traces of his passage. At his voice cohorts of Jesuits sprang from beneath the earth, formed themselves into a society by the name of the Fathers of the Faith, and spread themselves through all the provinces. His holiness then retook the route to his dominions; but on removing from the capital, he carried with him a profound, implacable hatred, the hatred of a priest against the emperor. He gave proofs of it on the very day of his arrival at Rome, by anathematising the maxims of the Gallican church, by the confirmation of the bull "*Auctorem Fidei*," and by associating himself with the policy of the cabinet of St. James.

Napoleon replied to the pontifical bulls by imperial decrees, and by dismembering the Roman states piecemeal. His holiness, exasperated, summoned the eldest son of the church to declare, if it was his intention to despoil him of all his provinces. The emperor informed him, by his ambassador, that he was aware of the intrigues of the pontifical court, and that he would not respect the dominions of St. Peter, unless Pius the Seventh would drive the English from his ports, and give in his adhesion to the continental blockade. The pope, to whom such a measure was very disagreeable, and who dared not, however, enter upon an open struggle with the French, objected that religion imposed on him the duty of maintaining a neutrality, and of not closing his kingdom to foreigners.

To close all discussion, Napoleon placed garrisons in the ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia, and gave to his brother Joseph the kingdom of Naples, the principalities of Beneventum and Ponte Corvo, which were included in it; he then informed the pontiff that he wished him to crown the new king of the Two Sicilies. Chiaramonti still refused to comply with the wishes of the emperor, pretending vain scruples of conscience. But the true motives for his conduct were the refusal of Joseph to receive the crown of Naples in the capacity of a vassal of the Holy See, and the hope that he entertained of seeing his enemy crushed by the combined forces of England, Russia, and Austria. The famous battle of Austerlitz, gained by the French, destroyed his illusions. He then sought to regain the good graces of Napoleon, and addressed crafty congratulations to him on his

new victory; the emperor replied to him, that "if he did not wish to expose himself to a severe chastisement, he must walk in a straight line, shun the maze of politics, and not ally himself with heretical powers which were incapable of protecting him."

"All Italy," added Napoleon, in another letter on the same subject, "will be submissive to my law; but I will not touch the independence of the Holy See. I will even repay the expenses which the movements of my army have cost it, on condition that your holiness will have the same regard towards me in temporal affairs, that I have towards you in spiritual, and then you will put an end to useless overtures to heretical enemies of the church, and to powers that cannot do you any good. You are the sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor. All my enemies must be yours. You must not then permit any agent of the king of Sardinia, nor any Englishman, Russian, or Swede to reside at Rome, nor in your dominions, nor any vessel pertaining to those powers, to enter your ports. I will still have for your holiness, the filial deference which I have shown to you under all circumstances; in return, you will remember that I am accountable to God for the good of the people. How then can I, without grief, see religion compromised by the delays of the court of Rome, by miserable pretensions? How will they answer to God, who show so much zeal in patronizing marriages with protestants, and wish to oblige me to unite the members of my family with heretics? How will they answer to God who retard the expediting of the bulls of my bishops, and give up my dioceses to anarchy? It was six months before the prelates could enter upon the exercise of them, and it might have been arranged in eight days.

"In the affairs of Italy, I have done every thing for the bishops; I have consolidated the interests of the church; I have touched nothing spiritual, neither at Milan nor Naples, nor in any of the cities over which my power is extended. I do not decline intercourse with men endowed with a true zeal for religion, and converse with them; but since God has committed the maintenance of religion to me, I will act without the court of Rome, if it remains in guilty inaction. If your holiness had followed the advice I gave you at Paris, the religion of Germany would be organised, and not be in the bad condition in which it is. In that country, and in Italy, all would have been arranged in concert with the Holy See and properly. But I cannot permit a thing to languish for a year which might be done in fifteen days. It was not by sleeping that I have carried to so high a state the clergy and public worship, and reorganised religion in France, so that there is no country in which it is doing so much good, or is more respected, or enjoys more consideration. Those who hold any other language deceive you and will be the cause of great evils..."

Instead of listening to the voice of reason, and giving satisfaction to the emperor for his

just complaints, the pontiff fell into a fit of rage on the receipt of this letter. He immediately assembled the consistory, and announced to the cardinals that he was about to engage in a terrible strife with France, and that he would not cease from it, until he had trampled the cockatrice beneath his feet.

Napoleon, as his only reply, sent troops, who took military occupation of Rome; he then incorporated the soldiers of the pope into his own regiments, seized the control of the posts and the press, sent off the foreign cardinals, in defiance of the protest of the sacred college, and had them conducted without the states of the church. His holiness, still more exasperated, sent a comminatory brief to the emperor, threatening him with pontifical thunders, if he did not hasten to recall his troops and implore pardon for his past conduct. Napoleon punished his presumption by annexing to the kingdom of Italy the handsomest provinces of the church, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino.

This vigorous action quieted the pope; for some months the court of Rome dared not make any hostile manifestation to France; but soon, on the news of the embarrassments of Napoleon in his war with Spain, the old audacity of Pius the Seventh reappeared, and intrigues were renewed with more activity than ever between the cabinets of St. James, Vienna, and the Quirinal palace. In consequence of these intrigues, the war was rekindled in Germany.

Napoleon darted with more rapidity than light, to chastise his enemies, gained the victories of Abensberg, Landshut, and Eckmühl, over the Austrian troops, and entered Vienna on the 13th of May, 1809. On the 17th, he issued his famous decree which declared the states of the church reunited to the French empire.

As soon as this measure was known at Rome, the holy father became violently enraged; he vociferated the most horrid imprecations against the emperor, France, the Italians, the English, all Christian nations, friendly or hostile, who had seconded him in his wars, or who had not conquered in the combats. When he had exhaled his anger in powerless threats, he thought of awakening the fanaticism of the people, and culminated a bull of excommunication against Napoleon. His attempt was again foiled; the Italians remained indifferent; his manifesto only served to show to Europe into what discredit the thunders of the Vatican, so terrible in the hands of Gregory the Seventh, had fallen; independently of the disgrace which the pope experienced in this matter, he had the mortification to be taken from his palace and led into exile in the city of Savona.

A few days afterwards he learned that Napoleon, the conqueror of the Austrians at Wagram, had signed a treaty with Francis the First at Schenbrunn, and had imposed, as the first condition of peace, his marriage with the archduchess Maria Louisa, the eldest daughter

ter of the emperor. This news took from Pius the Seventh his last hope; still he did not yield. Armed with the concordat of 1801, which gave him the right to confer the episcopate in France, he continued the war against Napoleon. The latter then discovered the enormous fault which he had committed in recognising the interference of the pope as necessary in the appointment of bishops; but it was too late, the conqueror of kings was constrained in some sort to obey a fanatical old man, and to leave several episcopal sees vacant, to which Pius the Seventh refused to give his sanction.

Serious divisions resulted from this among the high dignitaries of the clergy, and especially among the cardinals. Thus, on the celebration of the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa, thirteen members of the sacred college, out of twenty-six who were at Paris, did not present themselves at the ceremony, under the pretext that the holy father had not authorised the divorce of the emperor from Josephine, and in reality to make their court to Pius the Seventh, the sole dispenser of places and benefices.

To put an end to this ridiculous strife, Napoleon determined to send the following declaration to the holy father through one of his prelates: "In accordance with the orders of his imperial and royal majesty, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation, etc., we are charged to notify Pope Pius the Seventh, that he is prohibited communication with any church of France, or any subject of the emperor, under penalty of disobedience on his part and theirs; warning him that he ceases to be the organ of the Catholic church, and that his majesty is about to have him deposed."

Napoleon, in fact, thought seriously of assembling a national council to judge the pope, abolish the concordat of 1801, and establish, in a dogmatic manner, the rights of metropolitans in regard to the institution of bishops. His holiness, restored to moderation by the imminence of the danger, then offered to make concessions, consented to enter into negotiations with the French envoys, and drew up a note, in which he offered canonically to constitute the bishops named by Napoleon; to extend the French concordat to Tuscany, Parma, and Placenza, and to insert in a private act a clause which legitimatised the installation of bishops by the metropolitan or the oldest prelate of the province.

These concessions not having satisfied the emperor, the bishops received orders to hold a council on the 17th of June, 1811. Several preparatory meetings took place before the solemn session; what strangely surprised Napoleon, was the violent opposition manifested in it to his edicts. He was ignorant, that it was the habit of the clergy, in its spirit of rule, to turn against their protectors the authority they have been imprudent enough to grant them. Perceiving then that a majority of the bishops was imbued with ultra montane maxims, he closed the council at its first session, and arrested the bishops of

Tours, Ghent, and Tournay, who had openly declared themselves to be the agents of Pius the Seventh. This proceeding rendered more docile a new meeting of the prelates which took place in the palace of the archbishop of Paris on the 5th of the following August; the fathers there decided the question in regard to episcopal institution, in compliance with the desires of the emperor. It was supposed that his holiness would oppose the principles of the Gallican church; it was not so; he declared that the opinion of the prelates was in accordance with his own; he joined to his brief, instructions concerning the manner in which bishops should conduct themselves in conferring the institution of the metropolitan, and passed high eulogiums on the fathers for the wisdom they had evinced in so delicate an affair. He even went further, and addressed a private letter to Napoleon, called him his most dear son, emperor and king, lavished on him the most fulsome epithets, and terminated by entreating him not to oppose a reconciliation. He, however, avoided touching on the causes which induced his disgrace, and particularly on the extension Napoleon wished to give the concordat, by applying it to the provinces of the French empire, to Rome itself, to the states annexed to the kingdom of Italy, to Holland, Hamburg, and the Rhenish provinces. The wary pontiff had calculated that such a step would not compromise his position, and would force his enemy to set him at liberty; his hopes were deceived; the emperor did not reply to his letters, and sent the bishops to their respective dioceses without taking the trouble to close the council.

Napoleon then had on hand more serious subjects of apprehension than the subjugation of a pope; he was engaged in immense preparations for war, and in his gigantic plan for the invasion of Russia. But before commencing this brilliant and disastrous campaign, he sent orders to the court of Turin, to transfer the holy father into France. His holiness made no protest, started with an escort, and arrived on the 20th of June, 1812, at Fontainebleau, which had been fixed upon as his place of residence. The princes of the church who dwelt at Paris, and were called the red cardinals, were permitted to go and make their court to him; the black cardinals, so called because they had been deprived of their purple by the emperor for having refused to be present at his marriage with Maria Louisa, were alone excluded.

After the unfortunate retreat from Moscow, Napoleon returned to France, and was immediately occupied with resuming negotiations with the pope. He went to Fontainebleau, and fixed the basis of a new concordat, which was acceded to by his holiness. The principal conditions were, "That Pius the Seventh should exercise spiritual functions in France and Italy, as his predecessors had done; that ambassadors and other envoys near the Holy See, should be regarded as members of the diplomatic body; that the pontifical domains not then alienated, should remain the pro-

erty of the pope, and should be administered by his agents; that he should be allowed for the alienated domains, a revenue of two millions of francs; that the emperor should have six months to nominate to the vacant sees; that the metropolitans should make the necessary inquiries into the merits of the nominee; that the pope should institute him in the six months following the notification; that, neglecting this, the right of investiture should revert to the metropolitan or oldest bishop of the province; that the propaganda, the penitentiary, and the archives should be established in the place where the pope was sojourning; that the latter should renounce the sovereignty of Rome, and consent to transfer the Holy See into France." The two contracting parties solemnly signed the treaty on the 25th of January, 1813. Festivals were given in celebration of this happy event, and Pius the Seventh embraced Napoleon, although he was not yet relieved from his excommunication. This agreement was of short duration; the cardinal ministers having been set at liberty, and having received permission to join the pope, the intrigues recommenced. Pacca and Gonzalvi frightened the pontiff about the consequences of the concordat which he had signed, and induced him to take an extreme resolution, to protest against his own acts, to revoke what he had done, to afford to the Christian world the scandalous sight of a pope giving the lie to his own infallibility.

His holiness then wrote to the emperor on the 24th of March, that is, two months after the signing of the concordat, to inform him of his new determination. "It is the spirit of darkness, it is Satan, who prompted to me all the articles of that concordat! . . . The most bitter repentance, the greatest remorse, rend my soul, which has neither truce nor peace; I retract, as Pascal the Second retracted the promises he had made to Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany; and I protest that I will not agree to any treaty until I am restored to all my rights, spiritual and temporal. . . ."

Napoleon, irritated at the very bad faith of the pontiff, paid no attention to this declaration, and issued a decree to maintain the concordat. This measure would, without doubt, have led to great disorders in the church, and produced a schism, if political events had not turned aside the general attention from ecclesiastical affairs.

For the fifth time, the foreign sovereigns, subsidised by the gold of England, had formed a new coalition, and were preparing to invade France. Hordes of Russians, Austrians, English, Prussians, Swedes, Hollanders, Danes, Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Portuguese had united to crush the great nation, and formed several armies, whose total amounted to more than eleven hundred thousand men. Napoleon, perceiving the necessity of not leaving a fire place of discord in the heart of the empire, and being unable to conquer the obstinacy of the pope, authorised his return to Rome.

His holiness had scarcely arrived in his

states when great changes took place in France. Napoleon had succumbed; the Bourbons had returned at the rear of the baggage waggons of the foreign armies, and Louis the Eighteenth was enthroned at the Tuilleries. Pius the Seventh hastened to write to the new king to congratulate him on his happy advent. After this he persecuted the Italian patriots who had sided with the French; he condemned some of them to banishment, others to the galleys, most to death. The fanatical priests also thought of having a festival after their own fashion, in honour of the return of the holy father; they preached a crusade against the republicans, distributed holy daggers to murder the heretics, and in their furious excitement, designated the Israelites to public vengeance, and demanded from the pope authority "to eat a roast Jew." The interference of the ambassadors of the powers were necessary to prevent the cannibals from executing their horrible plan. The Israelites saved their lives, but not their fortunes. His holiness confiscated their property, overloaded them with imposts, and shut them up like a herd of unclean animals, in a separate quarter called "Ghetto."

Pius the Seventh was then engaged in an act which the satellites of despotism regarded as most important, the restoration of the odious Society of Jesus. He published for this purpose, on the day of the octave of the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola, the following bull: "The Catholic world, with one voice, demands the re-establishment of the Jesuits; it recognises the abundant fruits which these apostles have produced in every country. . . . The dispersion of the very stones of the sanctuary in these last periods of calamities, the annihilation of the discipline of the religious orders, the glory of the Catholic religion, exact that we should yield to the wishes of the whole people by reorganising this sacred militia. We should believe ourselves guilty before God of great dereliction of duty, if in the great dangers of the Christian republic, we neglected the aid which the special providence of Christ grants us; and if placed in the bark of St. Peter, agitated and assailed by continual tempests, we refused to employ vigorous and experienced rowers, offering of themselves to break the waves of a sea which each moment threatens the papacy with shipwreck and death. . . . Induced by such powerful motives, we have decreed, of certain knowledge, by virtue of the plenitude of our apostolic power, and as lasting for ever, that all the concessions, privileges, faculties, and rights granted to the Jesuits of the Russian empire, and of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall hereafter extend to the use of our ecclesiastical states, and also to all those of other kingdoms. . . ."

This bull was immediately sent to France, with the wax candles for Candlemas day, which his holiness sent to the royal family; but in the interval singular events had transpired. Napoleon had left the island of Elba, which had been assigned to him by the allies for his residence, had disembarked on the

shores of France, and reconquered his throne. The Bourbons had fled in disgrace from Paris, and had gone towards Ghent. The sovereign pontiff was extremely alarmed on learning this unhopèd-for return of Bonaparte to power; no longer believing himself in safety at Rome, he hastened to leave it with his court, and went to Genoa. There he received a letter from the emperor, which was a model of wisdom and mildness.

"Most holy father," wrote Napoleon, "you have heard during the last month of my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and of the departure of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events ought, however, to be known to you; they are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, which knows its rights and its duties. The dynasty which foreign bayonets imposed on the French people was no longer made for it. The Bourbons have been unwilling to associate themselves in sentiments, wants, and morals with them; the people determined to separate from them. Their voice called a liberator; I hastened to them. From the moment I touched the shore, the love of my people has carried me to the bosom of the capital. The first care of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French; my sweetest thought is to render it at the same time useful to the tranquillity of Europe.

"Enough glory has by turns illustrated the flags of the different nations; the vicissitudes of fate have sufficiently made great reverses succeed great successes; a more beautiful arena is now opened to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the sight of great combats, it will be sweeter to know hereafter no other rivalry than that of the advantages of peace, no other strife than that of the happiness of the people. France is pleased to proclaim sincerely this noble end of all its wishes; jealous of its own independence, the invariable principle of its policy will be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations. If such are, as I believe, the paternal sentiments of your beatitude, tranquillity is assured for a long period, and justice, seated on the confines of different states, will alone be sufficient to guard the frontiers."

Such were the sublime sentiments which animated the great soul of Napoleon, but which were not shared by the allied kings. Thus the war recommenced more terribly than ever. England made desperate efforts, subsidised, with all her means, hostile armies, opened her treasures for treasons of all kinds, and then cast a million of men on the French territory. The battle of Waterloo put an end to this struggle; Napoleon, defeated, not by fortune, but by the treason of his generals, abdicated the crown and surrendered to the English; magnanimous imprudence, which he paid for with his liberty, his life. The wretches, in contempt of the laws of nations,

dared to retain him a captive, to conduct him to a rock in the midst of the seas, in a fatal climate, to torture, to assassinate him.

On the first news of the reverses which the armies of the emperor had experienced, his holiness returned in triumph to Rome; as soon as he was installed in the Quirinal palace, he appointed ambassadors to go to compliment Louis the Eighteenth, on his return to France. The cardinal legate, Hercules Gonzalvi, and the sculptor Canova, were sent on this mission; they were at the same time to present to the allied sovereigns, briefs to obtain the entire restitution of the provinces of which the pope had been despoiled, as well as the pictures, statues, and objects of art which had been carried off from the museum at Rome; they were also to solicit the recall of the Jesuits into France. All these things were granted to the sovereign pontiff. The provinces were soon invaded by swarms of the black disciples of Ignatius Loyola; at Bourdeaux, St. Anne, Forcalquier, Montmorin colleges were opened under the direction of the good fathers; shortly after, their number was increased by all those who were driven from Russia by Alexander, and who fell upon Dole, Laval, Vitry, Avignon, and especially Paris.

Pius the Seventh, satisfied of the submission of Louis the Eighteenth, supposed that he could push his encroachments still farther, and presented to him a concordat, based upon that of Leo the Tenth with Francis the First, that is to say, which made France retrograde three centuries. The king signed it, but did not wish to make it obligatory on his clergy, either from not caring to place himself beneath the feet of a spiritual father, who had so long treated him as a younger son, or from fear of the refusal of the sanction of the legislative chamber, in which all regard for the public good was not extinguished.

His holiness, still more encouraged by the success of these efforts to go on, intrigued actively at the Congress of Vienna, and was placed in possession of the three provinces, the March of Ancona, Macerata, and Zermo, of the duchies of Camerino, Beneventum, and Ponte Corvo, as well as the provinces of Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara, known by the name of the three legations, and even claimed some cities of this last legation situated beyond the Po, as well as the city of Avignon, and the Venaissin country.

The fatal influence of the court of Rome was already extending itself over the different kingdoms of Europe; the senate of Savoy had received its atrocious old laws, and restored the afflictive and infamous penalties of barbarous ages against blasphemers; Bavaria had signed a concordat with the pope; the emperor had done the same for the kingdom of Poland; the king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand the Seventh, was forced to grant compensations to the Holy See for the suppression of the disgraceful tribute of a hackney; the protestant princes of Germany found themselves vigorously pressed, solicited, and threatened to permit the Jesuits to enter their

dominions; from all quarters, was at last announced the restoration of the papacy. Fortunately, the Catholic and protestant princes of the states of the Germanic confederacy were alarmed by the progress of the court of Rome. To avoid a collision, they arranged among themselves the principle of unlimited freedom of worship, and proposed a concordat, established on this basis, to the pontiff. He refused to adhere, under the pretence that such a treaty would compromise his temporal and spiritual power; they went on, notwithstanding his censures. The holy father then walked with erect head in the path of reactions; he rallied around him the kings of the holy alliance, declared a terrible war against liberal ideas, fulminated excommunications against the democrats of France, the illuminati of Germany, the radicals of England, and the Carbonari of Italy; he persecuted liberal writers to the utmost, and even pushed his

vengeance so far as to persecute a venerable old man, the virtuous Llorente, the author of the History of the Inquisition of Spain, who had taken refuge at Paris. At the instigation of Monseigneur Macchi, the apostolic nuncio, the minister of police sent to this venerable octogenarian, already a great invalid, an order to quit France in a few days, though it was then mid-winter. Llorente obeyed, started, and died before reaching the frontier.

God struck the persecutor in his turn. On the 6th of July, 1822, Pius the Seventh fell in his chamber and broke his hip; all the aid of science could not cure him, and he died on the 20th of April, 1823, in the eighty-first year of his age, after having reigned twenty-three years, five months, and six days. His funeral was celebrated with the usual pomp, and his coffin was deposited, as usual, in the sarcophagus, in which the dead awaits the living pontiff.

LEO THE TWELFTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH POPE.

[A. D. 1823.]

Inclusive and exclusive factions in the conclave—Annibal della Genga is proclaimed pope by the name of Leo the Twelfth—His history before his exaltation—He excites the king of Spain to violent measures against the Cortes—Pastoral letter of the archbishop of Toulouse—Resistance in France to the progress of ultra montanism—Sickness of the holy father—He proclaims the opening of the universal jubilee—Churches of Germany, Switzerland, England, and Ireland—Encyclical letter of the pope—The Jesuits obtain the exclusive privilege of teaching in the states of the church—Death of Louis the Eighteenth—Advent of Charles the Tenth to the throne of France—Opening of the holy door—Speculations of the pontiff in indulgences—Fanaticism of the Jesuit missionaries in France—Considerable wealth extorted by the pope during the jubilee of 1825—Presents from his holiness to the royal family—The Jesuits persecute the liberal press—The last auto-da-fe celebrated in Spain—Knareries of the priests in France—Miracle of the cross at Migné—Efforts of the Jesuits to seize on instruction in France—Struggle between them and the university—Ordinances against them—The Catholics of England and Ireland—Death of Leo the Twelfth.

WE think it useful, at a time when every thing is presaging the imminent ruin of the papacy, to explain the usages which govern the sacred college, and to transmit to posterity the regulations which are established for the elections of the head of the church, before they have fallen into forgetfulness. The cardinals are divided into three classes; the first comprises six cardinals, called suburban; these are the prelates of Sabine, Frascati, Porto, St. Rufinus, Veletri, Palestrina, and Albano; the second includes fifty cardinal priests, among whom are bishops of different nations; the third is composed of fourteen cardinal deacons; but this number of sixty-six princes of the church is never full; the sacred college usually contains from fifty-five to sixty members. The pope must, to procure an election, obtain one more than two-thirds of all the votes. On the opening of the conclave, the cardinals divide into two sections, called the inclusive and exclusive. The first, com-

posed principally of Italians, who are always in a majority, has for its aim to unite electors enough to choose a pope from among its number; the exclusive is formed of foreign prelates, and of those who have not yet sold their votes; by way of opposition, it endeavours to organise a minority to prevent the election. Moreover, France, Spain, and Austria exercise a right of exclusion, that is to say, they can reject a candidate who has obtained a majority, if he is not agreeable to them; but this right having been exercised once by each power, they are then compelled to accept the choice which is made.

Sixteen days after the death of Pius the Seventh, fifty cardinals entered the conclave to give him a successor. The intrigues, which had been very animated before the meeting of the sacred college, still continued for twenty-six days. At last the cardinal Annibal della Genga, prevailed over his competitors, and was proclaimed pope by the name of Leo

the Twelfth. The choice had fallen on a prelate only sixty-three years old, which appeared to be a departure from the habits of the cardinals, who usually elevated to the Holy See, out of preference, titularies who were bowed by age, and inclining to the tomb. But Annibal made up for this defect by languishing health and precocious infirmities, the fruits of the debauchery of his youth, which made them foresee that he would not preserve for a long time the deposit which had been confided to him.

The new pontiff was born in the diocese of Fabriano; his father was named Hilary Count della Genga, and his mother Louisa Periberti. His parents had made him embrace the ecclesiastical state in his youth, in which he was not long in raising himself to the highest dignities, by means of his intrigues with the Roman courtisans, and his liaisons with the bastards of the incestuous Pius the Sixth. He had obtained from that pope the title of archbishop of Tyre, and the nunciopship of Cologne. Under Pius the Seventh he had been accredited as nuncio extraordinary near the diet of Batisbon, to defend the interests of the court of Rome, and was sent afterwards to Napoleon, to bring the powerful emperor of the French into the interests of the pope. In this last mission the prelate had been distinguished for his baseness and servility; he constantly loaded Napoleon with the most extravagant praises; called him the imperial hero, the new Charlemagne, the regenerator of the world; he proclaimed him to be the strongest among the great, the most glorious among the powerful, the predestined of God from all eternity. . . . Which did not prevent him, when fortune turned, when Napoleon was constrained to yield the throne to the Bourbons, from presenting himself at the court of Louis the Eighteenth, in the capacity of extraordinary nuncio, and congratulating him that the god of armies had led him, as it were, by the hand to the throne of his ancestors, to put an end to the tribulations of the Catholic church, that holy spouse of Christ, which had not ceased to lament over the evils caused by the usurper.

On his return to Italy, Annibal was promoted to the cardinalate, and obtained besides the post of vicar general to his holiness. He was already archpriest of St. Mary Majora, prefect of the congregation of the residences of bishops, of ecclesiastical immunity, and of the spiritual affairs of the Roman college and seminary, and was accumulating enormous benefices. He had acquired a very great influence over the mind of Pius the Seventh, and had contributed powerfully to restore the barbarous practices abolished during the sojourn of the French, the strappado, the rack, and the odious tortures employed by the holy inquisition.

Such were the antecedents of this fanatical priest. Having become pope, he wished to finish the work commenced by his predecessor, annihilate liberty, and cause civilization to retrograde to the ages of barbarism. He

addressed congratulations to the king of Spain, Ferdinand the Seventh, a knavish, cowardly, and perjured prince, in regard to his restoration, and to Louis the Eighteenth, for the aid he had lent that monarch in men and money, to induce the triumph of despotism. He then essayed to extend his influence over France, and excited the cardinal Clermont Tonnere, archbishop of Toulouse, who was at Rome, to draw up a pastoral letter for his flock, which he could use as a pilot balloon, to enable his holiness to judge of the state of men's minds. The prelate, in his letter, asked for legislative modifications, so that the laws of the kingdom should be in harmony with those of the church, that is, should concur in subjugating and stupefying the nation. He demanded the restoration of solemn festivals, or Catholic rests; the restoration of a great number of religious orders of that monkish militia, which had for centuries weighed down the nation, devoured the substance of the people, and corrupted their morals. He also claimed the independence of the ministry, that is, that they should restore to the priests the rich domains which had been extorted from weak souls, and of which the republic had despoiled them; finally, he wished the suppression of the organic laws.

All France was in an uproar on the appearance of this pastoral letter. The writers of the opposition denounced it as encroaching on the constitutional liberties, consecrated by the charter, and used such energetic language, that Louis the Eighteenth was constrained to issue a royal ordinance, which declared this letter abusive, and suppressed it, as contrary to the laws of the kingdom, the prerogatives and independence of the crown.

In the mean while Leo the Twelfth fell sick, and so badly, that the cardinals hoped for a short time that he would yield to the attack; but he recovered, and after some months of convalescence, was enabled to resume the course of his apostolic labours. One of his first cares was to promulgate the bull "*Quod hoc ineunte sæculo*," which announced the opening of the universal jubilee, for the year 1825, in order to revive the trade in dispensations, indulgences, benefices, and absolutions, which had become much discredited since the French revolution. He also desired to make his influence predominant in protestant countries, now by allying himself with the people against the sovereigns, now by making common cause with the latter, according as his policy required. He succeeded, in this way, in producing serious collisions in the cantons of Berne, Geneva, and Vaud; in several German states, in Hanover, and in Ireland. He then attacked the philosophical and liberal schools, whose progress caused great inquietude to the Holy See, and denounced it to the vengeance of nations in an encyclical letter. His holiness thus expressed himself:

"There is a sect, my brethren, who, arrogating wrongfully to themselves the name of philosophy, have rekindled from their ashes the dispersed phalanxes of errors. This sect,

covered externally by the flattering appearances of piety and liberality, professes toleration, or rather indifference, and interferes not only with civil affairs, but even with those of religion; teaching that God has given entire freedom to every man, so that each one can, without endangering his safety, embrace and adopt the sect or opinion which suits his private judgment. . . . This doctrine, though seducing and sensible in appearance, is profoundly absurd; and I cannot warn you too much against the impiety of these maniacs. . .

"What shall I say more? The iniquity of the enemies of the Holy See is so increased, that besides the deluge of pernicious books with which they inundate Europe, it goes so far as to turn the religion of the holy scriptures to detriment. A society, commonly called the Bible Society, spreads itself audaciously over the whole earth, and in contempt of the traditions of the holy fathers, in opposition to the celebrated decree of the council of Trent, which prohibits the holy scriptures from being made common, it publishes translations of them in all the languages of the world. Several of our predecessors have made laws to turn aside this scourge; and we also, in order to acquit ourselves of our pastoral duty, urge the shepherds to remove their flocks carefully from these mortal pasturages. . . . Let God arise: let him repress, confound, annihilate this unbridled license of speaking, writing, and publishing—"

His holiness wished to create powerful auxiliaries for himself in the strife on which he was about to enter, and naturally thought of the Jesuits. He loaded the good fathers with honours and wealth, in order to attach them the more to his cause; he yielded and assigned for ever to the company and its general, Louis Fortis, the Roman college, with the church of St. Ignatius, several convents, the oratory called that of Father Caravita, the museum, the library, the observatory, and all the dependencies. He invested them, moreover, with the exclusive privilege of teaching, and published a constitution in regard to the mode of directing education in the ecclesiastical states.

Once entered on the path of reform, the fanatical Leo the Twelfth did not confine himself to the first regulations. He made edicts about the simplest things—about costumes, furniture, equipages, spectacles, balls. Rome soon assumed a lugubrious and funereal aspect, as in the time of the fierce Pius the Fifth, of sanguinary memory. The irksome ceremonies of religion replaced the most innocent pleasures; holy spies swarmed, night and day, through the city of the Cæsars, to surprise the delinquents, and watch over families. The pontifical censure extended as far as the toilette of the females. Severe penalties were inflicted on all the Roman ladies, who permitted their noble and graceful forms to be robed in gauze. He even went still further, and mounted up to the source of the delinquency of coquetry, and prohibited mantua makers, seamstresses, and milliners from making

dresses low in the neck, under penalty of excommunication.

Whilst Leo the Twelfth was playing his part as pope at Rome, Louis the Eighteenth was finishing his reign, and leaving the throne of France to the count d'Artois, his brother, an old rake, who had become a hypocrite, a bigot recruit and ally of the Jesuits; the new sovereign took the name of Charles the Tenth.

Three months after this event, the jubilee opened; Leo the Twelfth went, as usual on Christmas eve, to the porch of the church of St. Peter in great state, covered with a mantle of silver, an emblem of the rich harvest on which he counted, he struck three times on the casing of the door, which fell inward and left a free passage to the imbecile devotees who desired to carry their offerings.

Although it was no longer in those fine times of the church in which the publication of the jubilee made so much wealth flow into Rome that the cellars of the Vatican could not contain it, still the pope had cause to be satisfied. The Jesuits knew admirably how to take advantage of the superstition of the Catholics. They organised missions, traversed the cities, villages, smallest boroughs, planted crosses, preached in the open air, fanatised the populace, and every where extorted money from the faithful. Independently of these extraordinary means, Leo the Twelfth had conceived the idea, in order to increase his treasures, to set in vigour the taxes of the apostolic chancellery for the redemption of crimes, which had not fortunately succeeded with him. He was heard to say, on the occasion of this measure, to the cardinals who remonstrated with him on the danger of giving just pretexts to the enemies of the papacy to declaim against the abuse, "Bah! fear nothing; we will bring all the writers to reason. I act to-day with money for religion, in order to act to-morrow for religion with money."

In fact, he expended, generously, a very large sum in the purchase of a sword, and a cap ornamented with precious stones, which he sent to the stupid duke of Angouleme, the eldest son of Charles the Tenth. He joined to them, for the dauphiness, the silver mantle with which he had opened the holy door, as well as magnificent medals; and for Madame, the widow of the duke de Berri, the second son of the king, two cameos in agate, representing the Saviour and St. Peter, and two reliquaries containing, the one, a piece of the wood of the manger in which Christ was born; the other, a piece of the stone of the tomb of the chief of the apostles. There were very many at the court of France who were incredulous about these two last objects. The prince and princesses were, nevertheless, flattered by the presents of his holiness, and, in exchange, they promised to second Charles the Tenth with all their power in the war which he had declared against the press. They could only proceed, however, gently, on account of the universal repulsion which ultra montanism excited, and especially on account of the institutions of the country.

But in Spain things went on faster; the priests, not being restrained as in France, by constitutional laws, cast themselves with a species of fury on the path of Catholic reaction; the frightful inquisition, which had been re-established since the return of the fanatical Ferdinand the Seventh, confined thousands of victims in its prisons. The Jesuits went still farther; at Valencia they celebrated an auto-da-fe, and burned an unfortunate Jew, who was condemned as a relapsed heretic, with all the pomp used in the fine times of Ferdinand the Catholic and Philip the Fifth, under the terrible inquisitors, Torquemada and Don Diego Sarmiento de Balladarés. This atrocious execution took place in the beginning of the year 1826. Leo the Twelfth, to his disgrace, gratified with the plenary indulgences of a special jubilee those who had co-operated in or merely assisted at the punishment of the Israelite, and declared in his bull that the presence of a Catholic at an auto-da-fe, was equivalent to a hundred stations in a hundred different churches.

His holiness being unable to act in the same way in Germany and France, and impose silence on the incredulous through terror, was obliged to have recourse to other means; he ordered the Jesuits to perform miracles. A fanatical prince, who had embraced the ecclesiastical state, named Hohenlohe, was commissioned to perform cures in the different circles of the Germanic confederacy, and acquitted himself admirably. In France, where they feared lest too rigorous investigations should be made about the sick, the Jesuits acted differently; they chose a small hamlet, called Migné, in the diocese of Poitiers, which was inhabited by poor peasants, as the theatre of their miracles, and one night, at the close of the religious exercises, on the 17th of December, 1826, they made a phenomenal cross appear in the air. There being no one there to unmask the imposture, all those present were convinced of the existence of the prodigy, and cried out, a miracle. The clergy made a great noise about it, and used it to extend their moral influence. The pope, on his side, did not fail to show the lively interest which he took in the miracle, and sent to the humble church of Migné a golden cross, containing a piece of the true cross. From that moment the good fathers thought that every

thing was allowed them; they entered upon an open strife with the university, and sought to seize on the exclusive education of youth. The university defended itself, addressed energetic remonstrances to the deputies, and had the ministry of public instruction taken away from Count Frayssinous, bishop of Hermopolis, who was secretly affiliated to the congregation. The new minister, the grand master of the university, immediately commenced purging the primary instruction from those mitigated Jesuits, known by the name of Brothers of the Christian School; he then drew up a report to the king, to put an end to the encroachments of the Jesuits, and to have the execution of the laws of the kingdom assured, in all the secondary ecclesiastical schools. Charles the Tenth, forced to make a concession to public opinion, authorised the formation of a commission, to decide on the measures to be taken to make clerical instruction accord with political legislation, and the maxims of the French public law. This commission came to a kind of agreement, and yielded several points to the university, in order to obtain permission for the Jesuits to have a certain number of colleges freed from the supervision of government. Fortunately, the chamber of deputies refused to ratify this arrangement, and decided that all the colleges kept by the good fathers, should be submitted to university regulations, especially those of Billom, Aix, Bourdeaux, Dôle, Forcalquier, Montmorillon St. Anne d'Auray, and St. Acheul; and, moreover, that no one could hereafter be employed either in directing or teaching, in a house of education, which was dependent on the university, or even on the secondary ecclesiastical schools, unless he first declared in writing that he did not belong to any religious congregation.

Leo the Twelfth wrote at once to the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, to console them for the check they had experienced; he at the same time addressed strong remonstrances to Charles the Tenth, on his weakness, and enjoined on him to try a stroke of state policy in defence of the altar.

The holy father had not the happiness to see his wishes hearkened to; he soon afterwards became very ill, and breathed his last on the 10th of February, 1829, about ten o'clock in the morning.

PIUS THE EIGHTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST POPE.

[A. D. 1829.]

Election of Pius the Eighth—History of Cardinal Castiglioni before his elevation to the throne of the apostle—Synodical letter of his holiness—Revolt of the inhabitants of Imola—Catholic emancipation in Ireland and England—O'Connell, the first Catholic admitted into the house of commons—He demands the repeal of the union and a separate parliament for his own country—Pius the Eighth recognises the usurper, Don Miguel, as the lawful sovereign of Portugal—Blasphemers put to the torture by the inquisition of Spain—Pragmatic sanction of the protestant princes of Germany—The Camarilla at the court of Charles the Tenth—French revolution—Fall and flight of Charles the Tenth—The duke of Orleans is proclaimed king of the French, by the name of Louis Philippe the First—His holiness refuses to recognise the new king—Negotiations on the subject—Death of Pius the Eighth.

AFTER forty-nine days of vacancy in the Holy See, and thirty-six days of struggles and intrigues in the conclave, the cardinals united their suffrages on Francis Xavier Castiglioni, who was proclaimed pope by the name of Pius the Eighth.

The new head of the church was in his sixty-eighth year; he was born at Cingoli, a small town, situated near Orsino, in the states of the church, on the 20th of November, 1761. His parents, who had remarked in him, from his earliest youth, a supple, servile character, joined to much astuteness, had sent him to Rome, to remove him from them, and make a priest of him. This aversion, which Castiglioni inspired in his family, was the cause of his high fortune. Having entered on the ecclesiastical career, he made rapid progress in it. In the year 1800 he was made bishop of Monte Alto, a small city of the March of Ancona, by Pius the Seventh. In 1808 he obtained the hat and the bishopric of Cesena; in 1821 he passed into the order of cardinal bishops, and became the titular of the suburban see of Frascati; he was finally made grand penitentiary and prefect of the congregation of the Index. Having become sovereign pontiff, he considered it an honour to show that he would continue the policy of his predecessors, and would pursue the impious work of subjugating the people. He addressed the following circular letter to the bishops of Christendom, to inform them of his detestable intentions, and to excite them to lend him assistance.

"It is your duty, venerable brethren, to turn all your attention towards the secret societies of factious men, of fierce republicans, the declared enemies of God and kings, who apply themselves wholly to desolating the church, to destroying states, to troubling the universe, and who, by breaking the bridle of the true faith and passive obedience to princes, open the way to all crimes. We ourselves labour with all our might, that the church and public matters should not suffer from the attempts of these mysterious sects, who, by virtue of oaths of darkness, seek to hurl religion and empires into the abyss. But these are not the only dangers to which the altar and

the throne are exposed; the children of the age sap these two divine institutions by other means, which, if less violent, are no less dangerous. We speak of these innumerable errors which the press is scattering about, of those false and perverse doctrines which attack the Catholic faith, no longer secretly and in the dark, but boldly and openly. We say it weeping; yes, the roaring lions have cast themselves upon Israel; yes, they have united against God, against his Christ, and his ministers; yes, these impious have exclaimed, 'Destroy the church, destroy it even to its foundations.' It is thither that the dark manœuvres of the sophists of this age tend, of those philosophers who maintain that the Catholic religion is but a tissue of absurd falsehoods, of ridiculous superstitions, invented by corrupt, greedy, and impostor priests, in order to degrade the nations. We must, venerable brethren, pursue these dangerous sophists; we must denounce their works to the tribunals; we must hand over their persons to the inquisitors, and recall them by tortures to the sentiments of the true faith of the spouse of Christ."

The exhortations of his holiness awakened the zeal of the Italian prelates, and gave fresh aliment to the war against the liberals. The cardinal Justiniani, bishop of Imola, was distinguished among others by a display of excessive rigour, so that the populace interfered and rose in insurrection to put an end to his atrocities.

Other events, produced by very different causes, but which were equally favourable to the extension of the Holy See, were occurring in the kingdom of Great Britain; the Irish Catholics had constrained George the Fourth to decree their political emancipation, and to render them competent to sit and vote in the two houses of parliament, and exercise all civil and military functions, on the sole condition that they should take an oath of fidelity to the king, the state, and the protestant succession, and should abjure all fealty or allegiance to any foreign power.

The immediate result of the emancipation bill was to introduce into parliament the celebrated Daniel O'Connell, one of the most

ardent defenders of Irish nationality, and who was afterwards to become so famous by the name of the great Agitator. Seven days after his entrance into the house of commons, he claimed, in the name of his oppressed country, that which he still demands, the repeal of the union, and a separate parliament, with this difference, however, that at that period his eloquent voice scarcely excited the proud disdain of the Tories, whilst now it causes the members of the English oligarchy to tremble in the midst of their sumptuous palaces.

An usurpation had also taken place in Portugal. Don Miguel the Sanguinary, the brother of Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, had seized on the throne of his young niece, Dona Maria, and had established in the country a system of unheard-of terror, so as to banish, in a few months, forty thousand citizens, to imprison twenty-eight thousand, and to torture, behead, or poison eleven hundred and twenty-five victims.

His holiness, charmed with the absolutist tendencies of Don Miguel, hastened to recognise him as the lawful sovereign of Portugal, and sent an apostolic nuncio to him to renew diplomatic relations with the court of Lisbon. The court of Madrid also gave great cause of satisfaction to the sovereign pontiff. The ferocious Ferdinand the Seventh, plunged in the most extravagant bigotry, tightened daily, more and more, the chains of the people, re-established the most absurd and odious laws, gave an incredible preponderance to the clergy, revived the old ordinances against blasphemers and sacrilegious persons, and filled the prisons of the inquisition and the jails with the unfortunate who were suspected of tolerance.

Germany alone caused lively disquiet to Pius the Eighth. The princes of the Germanic confederacy published an edict, which was but a pragmatic sanction in thirty-nine articles, containing these principal dispositions:—1. All acts of spiritual authority shall be submitted to the temporal power, as well as acts of local authority as those of the sovereign pontiff, whether new or old. 2. Communications with Rome, about spiritual order, shall be regulated by the civil power. 3. Provincial councils shall not be held but by the authority of the civil power, and in the presence of its commissioners. 4. Appeals to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, of any kind whatsoever, shall be prohibited. 5. The state shall determine the conditions of the choice of bishops, shall interfere in the choice of dean, shall determine their authority, and regulate their powers, as well as those of the chapters. 6. It shall also determine the duration of theological studies, concur in the examinations which the candidates shall undergo, as well as those of ecclesiastics who shall desire to be promoted to a curacy or other prebend. 7. The exercise of ecclesiastical authority shall be subordinate to the decisions of the civil power, in consequence of the tendency to appeals as from an abuse of authority . . .

The pontiff declared that the execution of these articles was incompatible with the existence of the Catholic church in Germany, and he addressed a brief to the archbishop of Freyburg, as well as to the prelates of Mayence, Rottemburg, Linburg, and Fulda, to exhort them to resist the grand dukes of Hesse and Baden, the elector of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Nassau, and the king of Wurtemberg, the signers of this edict, "of a scandal forged by the enemies of the Catholic church . . ." "Recollect," he said to them, "that the holy spouse of Christ is free by divine appointment, and is not submitted to any earthly power. Pursue then its enemies without relaxation with all the power of your words, and raise against them the irresistible floods of the wrath of the populace . . ."

These paternal exhortations had no influence on the edict of the protestant princes, on the contrary, they made the opposition to the Catholic church more violent. In France, the philosophical spirit was making equally rapid progress, notwithstanding the ultra montane, the resistance of the sovereign, and the persecutions of the Camarilla, a kind of secret council, composed of Louis Lamburschini, the nuncio of his holiness, of Monseigneur de Quelen, archbishop of Paris, of the prince de Polignac, and of the heads of the Jesuits of Montrouge, who directed the actions of Charles the Tenth.—These misérables, seeing the inutility of their impious manœuvres to stop the leap of the nation, wished to try extraordinary measures; they elaborated a plan of attack against liberty, and induced the imbecile monarch to issue the famous ordinances of 1830, which abolished the liberty of the press, changed the law of election, and declared the chamber dissolved before it had even met, all of which violated the charter of the kingdom.

A sublime revolution was accomplished; in three days the people of Paris reconquered the liberty of France, crushed three generations of kings. Alas, this triumph was to be of short duration; ten days afterwards, two hundred and nineteen representatives of the citizens reconstructed a royalty, and made the duke of Orleans king of the French. The new monarch took the name of Louis Philippe the First.

As soon as he was installed upon the throne the prince thought of rallying the clergy to him, and sent for the archbishop of Paris, to induce him to be the first to take an oath of fidelity to the new dynasty. The prelate replied badly to the advances which were made him, and declared that he would not officially authorise any priest, either by precept or example, to offer up public prayers for him, until an order had been given him by the sovereign pontiff to do so; he only consented to send an express to Pius the Eighth to learn his decision. The negotiator of this strange affair was the bearer of a private and secret letter from the queen of the French, and a missive from the archbishop.

His holiness, after having taken cognizance

of the contents of the despatches which were addressed to him, put several questions to the diplomatist, and asked him, among other things, if he could hope that the new government would not degenerate into a democracy, and on the reply of the latter that such were not the intentions of Louis Philippe, the pope added that this assurance gave him some tranquillity, but that he could not recognise the king of the barricades until he had consulted with the other sovereigns of Europe. The envoy, little satisfied with this reply, endeavoured to carry matters by intimidation, and announced to the holy father that in case of refusal, his government had determined to separate the Gallican from the Roman church, and to appoint as patriarch the celebrated bishop Gregory, who was entirely opposed to ultra montanism. Pius the Eighth replied without emotion, "It is written there shall be schisma, and heresies, and the people shall rend each other in religious quarrels."

The French diplomatist, unable to overcome the obstinacy of the pope, turned to the cardinals, neglected no means to gain them over to his court, and acted with so much skill, that the sovereign pontiff, circumvented

by all the princes of the church, determined to recognise the new king of the French.

This act was one of the last events which signalised the reign of Pius the Eighth; his holiness had experienced for several months a stiffness in the articulations, which rendered every movement painful and grievous; on the 17th of November, the very day on which the revolution of Poland broke out, his sickness assumed so severe a character, that he foresaw his approaching end, and on the 30th of the same month the old pope expired, after a reign of a year and eight months.

His mortal remains were exposed in the Pauline chapel of the Quirinal palace; his entrails were enclosed, according to custom, in an urn, and carried to the church of Saints Vincent and Anastasius. After the ceremony of exposure, his body was carried into the Sixtine chapel of the Vatican, and from thence into the church of St. Peter, behind the grating of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, so that the faithful might approach it to kiss his feet, and from thence into a lofty tomb of state beneath the choir, from whence it was not to be borne but to give room to his successor.

GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH, THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND POPE.

[A. D. 1831—1846.]

THE task which we had imposed on ourselves of unveiling the crimes, and the turpitudes of the Roman pontiffs, from the first ages of the church to our own days, is now accomplished. We will leave to other historians the care of relating to posterity the scandalous elevation of Cardinal Capellari to the throne of the church, the intrigues, the struggles, the bargains to which his election gave rise, and which prolonged the vacancy of the Holy See for sixty-four days. It remains to us but to state the condition of the pontifical court during the reign of Gregory the Sixteenth.

Alas, Rome still remains as in past ages, the sink of vice, a hearth of corruption; the Quirinal palace, the actual residence of the pope, has no cause to envy the Vatican of the Borgias; the tiara is still the emblem of pride, licentiousness and avarice; the princes of the church are still the most infamous of men; the priests are still animated by that same fanatical spirit which, for almost two thousand years, has rendered them the scourge of the human race; finally, the Jesuits are still, as formerly, ambitious, corrupters, insatiable, audacious, the enemies of all liberty, and form the most immoral, dangerous, and execrable corporation which exists in the world.

Gregory the Sixteenth, the worthy protector of this sacred militia, has declared himself

the champion of despotism, the cowardly flatterer of kings, until the day in which he shall be able to crush their heads. Thanks to him, the house of God has become a cave of robbers, the church has Judaised, has taught the consecration of the rights of races, of privileges and of birth, instead of preaching that doctrine of love, charity, and devotion, which Jesus came to announce to men; it has sanctified the monstrous principle of the passive obedience of the people to the will of sovereigns; it has placed among the articles of faith the sacrilegious dogma which condemns the common people to fertilise the earth by their sweat, and to impose on themselves the hardest privations, in order to gorge with wealth the crowned Sardanapalus who weigh down humanity.

We will pass over, in silence the internal excesses of the Quirinal palace; other writers will unveil, at the proper time, the mysteries of the private life of the pope, the origin of astonishing fortune of Cajetanino, first the chamberlain, then the barber of Cardinal Capellari; they will explain the excessive tenderness of the holy father for the beautiful Cajetanina, and her seven children; they will tell the causes which have given to her an apartment in the Quirinal palace, on the same story with that of the pope. We will content ourselves with stating, that at Rome strange

rumours are circulated on this subject; that Gregory the Sixteenth is openly designated as the father of the children of Cajetanina, and that the disguised exile of a cardinal appointed to the legation of Ravenna is attributed to a fit of jealousy; that in the circles of the city an anecdote is related concerning a young nurse of Tivoli, remarkably handsome, attached to the family of the chamberlain, who had for a short time attracted the attention of his holiness; that the intemperance of the sovereign pontiff is publicly blamed; that he is accused of living like an epicurean, and of getting drunk every night on the wine of Orvieto, which he corrects, it is said, with champagne, to weaken it.

But what concerns us chiefly to know is, the species of religious crusade undertaken by the court of Rome against the new order of ideas; it is the redoubled audacity of the ultra montane clergy; it is the brutal appeal which the pope makes to force, to stifle the germs of liberty in the heart of the people of Italy; it is the execrable bull issued by Gregory the Sixteenth against the Israelites.

"All the Jews," says his holiness in this edict, "who reside at Ancona and at Sinigaglia, shall no longer receive Catholic nurses, nor engage Christians in their service, under penalty of being punished conformably with the pontifical decrees. All the Israelites shall sell, within three months, their moveable and immoveable property, if they do not wish it sold at auction. None of them shall reside in a city without the authority of the government; in case of contravention, they shall be sent into their respective ghettos. No Israel-

ite shall sleep out of his ghetto, nor induce a Christian to sleep in that accursed enclosure, nor carry on friendly relations with the faithful, nor trade in sacred ornaments, nor books of any kind, under a penalty of a fine of a hundred crowns and of seven years imprisonment. The Israelites, in interring their dead, shall not make use of any ceremony, nor shall they use torches under penalty of confiscation. Those who shall violate our edicts, shall incur the penalties of the holy inquisition. The present measure shall be communicated in the ghetto, to be published in the synagogue.

"The chancellery of the holy inquisition, June 24th, 1843.

"Fra Vincenzo Salina, Inquisitor General."

It is useful to explain the reason why his holiness speaks only of the Jews of Ancona and Sinigaglia in his bull; it is because in all the cities of the states of the church, these odious measures are rigidly executed; whilst in the legation of Ancona, since the recent occupation by the French in 1832, they had been abolished by General Cubières and his successor General Gazan, who had both, on this occasion, worthily represented France, and employed the temporary authority with which they were invested in that country, for the triumph of progressive ideas.

As is seen, it is the destiny of the papacy to drag itself in a miry and bloody track, to persevere in its struggle against the revolutionary movement, by teaching its detestable doctrines, by its furious attacks on civilization, until it shall have been crushed beneath the wheels of the car of liberty.

[While the preceding work was passing through the press, intelligence was received of the death of Gregory XVI. His demise took place on the 1st of June. He had been indisposed, but at the latter end of May was pronounced entirely recovered; and the suddenness of his demise, it is remarked in European journals, may give occasion to reports similar to those which sprung up upon the deaths of some of his predecessors.

His successor, Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, takes the name of Pius IX. He is only fifty-four years of age, and is therefore one of the youngest cardinals ever elected to the papacy. His election was over before the arrival of the foreign cardinals, the conclave lasting only forty eight hours. On the 21st of June, 1846, the coronation took place. Pius IX. is a member of a noble Italian family, and was born near Ancona. He entered the priesthood very young, and is said to be an able diplomatist.]—*Translator*.

THE END.

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or
on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

NOV 4 '64-3 PM	MAR 13 1969
TAM 16573 REC'D LD	MAR 13 '70-2 PM
REC'D LD	
FEB 28 '65-5 PM	OCT 21 1978
MAR 21 1969	REC. CIR. MAR 28 1979
REC'D LD	
MAR 12 1969	
	SEP 3 1979
FEB 1 1970 2 2	REC. CIR. SEP 5 1979
RECEIVED	MAY 03 1988
JAN 24 '70-3 PM	APR 25 1988
LOAN DEPT.	

LD 21A-60m-4 '64
(E4555s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C006147

